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PALESTINIAN JEWISH TEXTS
(PRE-RABBINIC)

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES
OR
THE LITTLE GENESIS



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THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

OR

THE LITTLE GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ETHIOPIC TEXT

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

We desire to express our thanks to Canon Charles and Messrs. A. and C. Black, for their permission to reprint here the translation of *The Book of Jubilees*, published in 1902.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.
G. H. BOX.

INTRODUCTION

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THE Book of Jubilees, or, as it is sometimes called, "the little Genesis," purports to be a revelation given by God to Moses through the medium of an angel ("the Angel of the Presence," i. 27), and containing a history, divided up into jubilee-periods of forty-nine years, from the creation to the coming of Moses. Though the actual narrative of events is only carried down to the birth and early career of Moses, its author envisages the events of a later time, and in particular certain events of special interest at the time when he wrote, which was probably in the latter years of the second century B.C., perhaps in the reign of the Maccabean prince John Hyrcanus. Though distinguished from the Pentateuch proper ("the first Law," vi. 22), it presupposes and supplements the latter. The actual narrative embraces material contained in the whole of Genesis and part of Exodus. But the legal regulations given presuppose other parts of the Pentateuch, especially the so-called "Priest's Code" (P), and certain details in the narrative are probably intended to apply to events that occurred in the author's own time (the latter years of the second century B.C.). The author himself seems to have contemplated the speedy inauguration of the Messianic Age, and in this respect his point of view is similar to that of the Apocalyptic writers. But his work, though it contains one or two passages of an apocalyptic character, is quite unlike the typical apocalypses. It is largely narrative based upon the historical narratives in Genesis and

Exodus, interspersed with legends, and emphasizing certain legal practices (such as the strict observance of the Sabbath, circumcision, etc.), and laying much stress upon their eternal obligation. But his main object was to inculcate a reform in the regulation of the calendar and festivals, in place of the intercalated lunar calendar, which he condemns in the strongest language. He proposes to substitute for this a solar calendar consisting of 12 months and containing 364 days. The result of such a system is to make all festivals, except the Day of Atonement, fall on a Sunday; the author also fixes the date of the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost) on Sivan 15th (in place of the traditional Sivan 6th). He obviously believes that the prevailing system has produced grave consequences in religious practice. The proper observance of the feasts, which had been prescribed by divine authority, is, according to his view, rendered impossible so long as the right principles for regulating the calendar are ignored. These principles are justified from the written Law, and are represented as having been ordained in heaven. To what party or tendency in Judaism did the author belong? Various answers have been given to this question, which will be fully discussed below. It is very difficult to believe, as Dr. Charles contends, that the author was a Pharisee, for the positions he advocates are in many respects fundamentally opposed to later Pharisaic practice. In particular, how can any member of the Pharisaic party, which from its beginning championed popular religious custom, have advocated a solar calendar? More can be said for the view that the author was a member of the Hasidim or "pious" (who must not be confounded with the Pharisees), while in a recent important discussion Leszynsky has made out a strong, if not quite convincing, case for Sadducean authorship. The Book has sometimes been styled a Midrash, but such a descriptive term needs some qualification. It claims to be a revelation, and not a mere exposition of Genesis and

Exodus. At the same time, there is a certain Midrashic tendency observable in the way the author rewrites the older narratives, which reminds one of the work of the Chronicler as compared with the earlier canonical books which he remodelled. But *Jubilees* is not at all like the typical Midrash of the later Rabbinical period; it is more independent, and resembles rather such works as the "Chronicles of Jerahmeel," or the earlier (narrative) part of the "Apocalypse of Abraham."

The Book, which was probably composed in Hebrew, is divided into fifty chapters, and appears to be complete.

TITLES

The Book was known under various titles, most of them in Greek as referred to in later Greek writers. The most important are "*Jubilees*" (= τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι) and "*the little Genesis*" (= ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις and variants). Both of these seem to go back to Hebrew originals, and there would thus appear to have been two authoritative Hebrew titles of the original Hebrew work, viz. *ha-yôbēllîm* (or *sēfer hā-yôbēlôth*), and *Berēshîth zûtā*. In the latter the epithet "*little*"¹ refers not to the extent of the work, but to its relatively inferior position as compared with the canonical Genesis. It is also noteworthy that a clear reference to our Book is made in the recently recovered fragments of a "*Zadokite Work*."² The passage runs as follows (xx. 1) :

And as for the exact statement of their periods to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all these, behold it is treated accurately in the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks.

This is remarkably like the opening words of the Prologue of our Book: *This is the history of the division*

¹ Applied also to certain minor midrashîm ("midrash *zûtā*," etc.).

² First published by Schechter in 1910 (Cambridge Press).

of the days . . . of the events of the years according to their (year-) weeks, according to their jubilees. . . .
Cf. also the colophon at the end of the Book :

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

Other titles of our Book are : *The Apocalypse of Moses* (Syncellus); *The Testament of Moses* (the Catena of Nicephorus); *The Book of Adam's Daughters* (perhaps applied only to a portion of *Jubilees*); *The Life of Adam* (perhaps an amplified excerpt of our Book).

VERSIONS AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

The complete text of the Book is extant in an Ethiopic Version, which is also the most accurate that has survived. Four MSS. of it are known, and are preserved in European Libraries, the two most important in the National Library in Paris and in the British Museum respectively. A critical edition of the text, based on all the known MSS., has been published by Dr. Charles (Oxford, 1895), which was preceded by an important one by Dillmann (published 1859). Fragments of a Greek, Latin and (possibly) a Syriac version are also extant. The fragments of the Greek version are contained in numerous citations in Justin Martyr, Origen, Diodorus of Antioch, Isidore of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Syncellus and other writers. The Latin version, of which about one-fourth has been preserved, is very valuable for the criticism of the text. The fragments that have survived were first published by Ceriani (in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, 1861), and have been edited by Rönsch (1874), and more recently by Charles (in his edition of the Ethiopic text referred to above). What may possibly be a fragment of a Syriac Version of our Book is contained in a British Museum MS. (Add. 12154, fol. 180) entitled "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called *Jubilees*." But whether this

is really part of a complete version is very doubtful (see Charles, *op. cit.*, Appendix iii.).

It is generally agreed that both the Ethiopic and Latin versions were translated from the Greek which, it may be inferred from the large number of quotations scattered about in different writers over a wide period, must have been widely diffused. The fact that a Greek text underlies these versions is clear from such phenomena as the presence, in the Ethiopic, of transliterations of Greek words (*e. g.* ἡλίου, "of the sun," in xxxiv. 11); proper names are transliterated as they appear in Greek, not in Hebrew; and certain textual corruptions can only be explained by reference to an underlying Greek text. Similar phenomena characterize the Latin version. Thus in xxxviii. 12, "timoris" = δειλίας, which is corrupt for δουλείας; and sometimes the Greek has been misunderstood, as *e. g.* in xxxviii. 13, "honorem" = τιμήν, which should have been rendered by "tributum."

It is more difficult to determine whether a Semitic original underlies the Greek, and, if that be the case, whether the original Semitic text was Hebrew or Aramaic. It must be admitted that in a number of passages where the text of the canonical Genesis is cited the Ethiopic agrees with the LXX against all other authorities (see Charles' *Jubilees*, p. xxxiv). But these cases are not, on the whole, either numerous or important.¹ On the other hand, the Ethiopic often agrees with the LXX, supported by other authorities (especially the Samaritan text and version) against the Masoretic Hebrew text, and there are other variations in the textual phenomena. From a survey of these phenomena Charles deduces the conclusion, no doubt rightly, that "our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. . . . Our book represents *some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac.*"²

¹ They may be due to assimilation in the Greek Version with the LXX.

² *Jubilees*, p. xxxviii.

It agrees with the LXX, or with combinations into which the LXX enters, more often than with any other authority or group of authorities. On the other hand, it is often independent of the LXX, and in a considerable number of cases attests readings, with the support of MT and Sam., against the LXX, and manifestly superior to the latter. 'It is noteworthy that it never agrees with M against all the other authorities. These phenomena suggest that the composition of *Jubilees* is to be assigned to "some period between 250 B.C. (LXX version of the Pentateuch) and A.D. 100 [when M was finally fixed], and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter."' ¹

A number of considerations may be adduced which suggest that the original language of *Jubilees* was Hebrew. Thus mistranslations of Hebrew words occur, e. g. in xliii. 11, the word rendered (as corrected) "I pray thee," is, in the Ethiopic, "in me"—a confusion of the Hebrew *bî* = *δέομαι* (Gen. xlv. 18) with the Hebrew word (spelt in exactly the same way) which = "in me;" there are also numerous Hebraisms surviving in the Ethiopic and Latin versions,² as well as paronomasiae based upon Hebrew words.³ It is noteworthy, also, that the author lays special stress upon the sacred character of Hebrew, which was originally the language of creation (cf. xii. 25-26; xliii. 15). Moreover, he represents his work as having emanated from Moses, and a genuinely Mosaic work would naturally be written in Hebrew. Finally, certain parts of *Jubilees*, or of something remarkably like *Jubilees*, have survived in Hebrew form in certain Hebrew books, especially the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, and the Midrash Tadshe. It is not improbable, also, that a Hebrew form of *Jubilees* was known to the compiler of the *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (see Friedlander's Introduction to the latter book, p. xxii). The only ground for suggesting that the Semitic

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxxix.

² Cf. *o. g.* xxii. 10, "eligere in te" = Heb. *bāḥar bē*.

³ See Charles, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii for details.

original may have been Aramaic rather than Hebrew is the presence of certain Aramaizing forms of proper names (e. g. *Filistin*, with the termination *n* instead of *m*) in the Latin version. But in all these cases the Ethiopic transliteration has *m* (not *n*), and it seems probable that the Aramaizing forms in these cases are due to the Latin translator, who there is other ground for supposing was a Palestinian Jew. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the original language of our Book was Hebrew.

AFFINITIES WITH OTHER LITERATURE

Though there is no reason to doubt the essential unity of our Book (that is to say, that it was composed and written in its present form by one author), it is equally clear that this writer incorporated earlier traditions and legends into his work. Thus he refers explicitly to Noachic writings (xxi. 10; cf. x. 13), and has apparently incorporated two considerable sections of a "Book of Noah" in vii. 26-39 and x. 1-15. It is well-known that this Noachic Book was also one of the sources of the Book of Enoch, 1 Enoch, vi.-xi., lx., lxv.-lxix. 25, and cvi.-cvii. being probably derived from it. There is reason, also, to believe that the author of *Jubilees* was acquainted with some form of the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch). According to Charles the parts of 1 Enoch with which our author was acquainted are 1 Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-xc. He seems clearly to refer to the last section in iv. 17:

And he [Enoch] was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months.

Here the Enoch-book referred to forms a description of 1 Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. ("the Book of the courses of the Heavenly Luminaries"), while iv. 19 (*And*

what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgement; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations) forms an exact description of the "Dream-Visions" in 1 Enoch lxxxiii.-xc.¹ There are also a number of parallels with the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, but these are not sufficient to show dependence on either side; the phenomena rather suggest that both writers are using common sources: cf. xxviii. 9; xxx. 2-6, 18, 25; xxxi. 3-4, 13, 15, 16; xxxii. 1, 8; xxxiii. 1, 2, 4; xxxiv. 1-9; xxxvii.-xxxviii.; xli. 8-14, 24-25; xlvi. 6-9.

It has already been mentioned that a knowledge of our Book seems to be presupposed in some of the later Jewish literature. Thus the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, a late compilation written in Hebrew, contains much material common to *Jubilees*; at times it reproduces the actual words of the text of the latter. Another late Jewish work, the Midrash *Tadshe*, contains passages which are largely identical with portions of the text of our Book. This Midrash was compiled in its present form by Moses ha-Darshan in the eleventh century A.D., but is based upon a much earlier work by R. Pinchas b. Jair (end of second century, A.D.), who utilized materials from our Book. Besides the above, our Book appears to have been known to the compiler of the Samaritan Chronicle (twelfth century, A.D.), and also to the compiler of the *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (finally redacted in the ninth century A.D.). In fact, in both cases there is implicit a certain amount of polemic (especially in calendar-matters) against the positions advocated in *Jubilees*. But besides this, there is a remarkable parallelism in subject-matter between our Book and the *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, to which Friedlander calls attention. He points out that both "are alike in being practically Midrashic para-

¹ For further parallels see Charles, *Jubilees*, pp. lxviii ff.

phrases and expansions of the narratives contained in the Book of Genesis and part of the Book of Exodus. . . . Both books deal with the Calendar . . . and in this respect they recall the Books of Enoch." Both "have chapters setting forth the story of the Creation (*Ma'aseh Bereshith*). . . . The past is recalled and the future revealed. The nature of God, angels and man is unfolded. We read of sin and grace, repentance and atonement, good and evil, life and death, Paradise and Gehenna, Satan and Messiah."¹

Numerous references to *Jubilees* occur in Christian literature (patristic period and later), where long extracts from the Book are often cited, and by name. These have been collected by Charles (*op. cit.*, pp. lxxvii ff.), who also cites a number of parallels between our Book and the New Testament. But these are somewhat vague, and are hardly sufficient to establish any real or direct connexion.

THE SPECIAL AIMS AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK

It is obvious that *Jubilees* is dominated by certain interests and antipathies. It is to a large extent polemical in character, and its author desires at once to protest against certain tendencies which, in his view, threaten true religion, and to inculcate certain reforms. Incidentally it commends certain religious practices, and endeavours to invest them with enhanced sanctions. In the forefront, as its name ("the Book of Jubilees") suggests,² stands the question of the Calendar. It is all important in the author's view that the divinely ordained principle according to which history is divided up by year-weeks (*i. e.* periods of 7 years) and Jubilees (*i. e.* periods of 7×7 years) is recognized (cf. i. 26 f.). Accordingly, he gives a history from Creation to Moses, in which the sequence of events is recorded and dated exactly

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxii. †

² This is obscured by such titles as "the little Genesis," "the Apocalypse of Moses," etc.

by jubilee-periods, or portions of such. This leads up to a final section in which the law respecting jubilees and sabbatical years is solemnly enjoined. The writer's aim seems to have been nothing less than a reformation of the Jewish Calendar. The prevailing system has led to the nation, "forgetting" new moons, festivals, and sabbaths (and (?) jubilees);¹ in other words, it has produced grave irregularities in the observance of matters which were of divine obligation.

A cardinal feature of the writer's system is the jubilee-period, which consists of 7×7 (i. e. 49) years. Here we are confronted with a difficulty. The passage in Lev. (xxv. 8-14) which ordains the observance of the jubilee-year expressly identifies this, in the present form of the text, with the fiftieth year (Lev. xxv. 10 and 11). But it is incredible that the author of our Book would deliberately have violated the express injunctions of the Pentateuch on such a matter, and we are driven to conclude that he had a text before him in which the word "fiftieth" was absent.² The wording of verses 8 and 9 is ambiguous, and allows of the explanation that the jubilee-year was the forty-ninth and not the fiftieth. It is quite possible that in verses 10 and 11 "fiftieth" has been added to the text, in the interests of the rival explanation that ultimately prevailed, for, as has been pointed out already, our Book presupposes a text of the Pentateuch that is independent of and earlier than M.T. This explanation suffers from the difficulty that the LXX and other ancient versions (including the Samaritan text) support the currently received reading. But it is not improbable that on such a matter the influence of orthodox views may have operated to bring their text of the verses into harmony with the currently accepted theory.³

¹ vi. 34; cf. i. 10.

² So Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer*, pp. 156 ff.

³ It should be noted that the Talmud (T.B., Ned., 61a) refers to the view (held by R. Jehuda) that the jubilee-period was forty-nine years.

But more revolutionary is the writer's advocacy of a solar calendar. In ii. 9 he says, "God appointed the sun to be a great sign upon the earth for days and for sabbaths, and for feasts and for years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years." In Gen. i. 14 this function is assigned to the sun *and the moon*; but in our Book the moon is deliberately excluded. The writer objected fiercely to the traditional calendar which was based upon the changes of the moon, and was adjusted to the solar year by means of intercalation. How can his apparent violation of the express wording of Scripture be explained? His answer would probably have been that the solar year of 364 days (cf. vi. 32) was actually the system implied in the Pentateuch. It has been pointed out by Bacon¹ that in the P sections of the Flood-narrative in Genesis a year of 364 days is pre-supposed. It is said that the Flood began on the 17th day of the second month, and ended on the 27th day of the second month the following year, *i. e.* reckoning by the ordinary lunar months, 12 months ($= 12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ days) or 354 days + 10 days (to make up the solar year), or 364 days in all, this completing the one whole year which, according to the Babylonian source, was the length of the Flood's duration. Thus the author of *Jubilees* had a dogmatic basis within the text of the Pentateuch itself for his view that the true year was a solar one of 364 days. He may very well have believed that whatever may be the exact significance of Gen. i. 14, it could not override this fact. It is interesting to notice that this tradition of a solar year of 364 days should be implicit in the P sections of Genesis. There are strong reasons for believing that the author of *Jubilees* was a priest, and, as such, may have been acquainted in some special way with this priestly tradition. There are, however, difficulties in connexion with the reckoning of such a solar year. It is obvious that a year of 12 months, each

¹ In *Hebraica*, vol. viii. (1891-2), cited by Charles on vi. 32.

of which contains 30 days, will only yield a total of 360 days. It has been supposed that our author overcame this difficulty by inserting one intercalary day at the beginning of each quarter. Thus each three months would contain $31 + 30 + 30 (= 91)$ days. But this solution will not harmonize with the date assigned by our author to the Feast of Weeks, which is the "middle" of the third month (xvi. 13). Scholars are agreed that the 15th of Sivan is meant. Now the Feast of Weeks was to be celebrated on the fiftieth day, counting from the "morrow" after the Sabbath of Passover (Lev. xxiii. 15 f.). The Pharisees, as is well known, interpreted "Sabbath" here to be the first day of the Feast (Nisan 15th), whatever the day of the week on which it fell, and reckoned from Nisan 16th, which would bring the Feast of Weeks to Sivan 6th. Another view, with which our Book agrees, interpreted "sabbath" as = "week" (as in fact it has this meaning throughout the rest of the verse). Then render: *And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the (festival) week, from the day that ye bring the wave-sheaf, seven complete weeks shall there be, until the morrow after the seventh week ye shall number fifty days*: the festival-week would be Nisan 15-21, and its "morrow" Nisan 22; reckoning 28 days to the month, this would leave 6 days in Nisan + 28 days in Iyar + 15 in Sivan = $49 + \text{Nisan } 22 = 50$ days. This seems to have been the reckoning of our author. Moreover, since the year he advocates contains 364 days, the festivals would always fall upon the same day of the week, and as Nisan 1st the first day of Creation fell, according to his scheme, on the first day of the week, *i. e.* Sunday, it must always fall on that day; thus Nisan 14th and 21st would always fall on a Sabbath, while Nisan 22nd and Sivan 15th would always fall on a Sunday. To make the Feast of Weeks fall on the 1st day of the week was a Sadducean practice, and one that it is inconceivable that any Pharisee can ever have sanctioned or tolerated. It will be noticed, however,

that the view of our author, according to which the Feast of Weeks falls on Sivan 15th, implies a reckoning of 28 days to the months Nisan and Iyar. How is this to be reconciled with a solar year of 12 months? Eppstein supposes that our author used two reckonings, one for the civil year of 12 months, 8 of 30, and 4 of 31 days, and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months each containing 28 days. But it is difficult to believe that the writer used two systems side by side. A better solution would be that he added a week to every third month, which would make each 3 months consist of $28 + 28 + 35$ days (total 91 days), or $4 + 4 + 5$ weeks. It is evident that his calendar-system is based upon the number 7; thus each month consists of 4×7 (or 5×7) days, while the year consists of 52×7 days, the year-week of 7 years, and the jubilee of 7×7 years. On this reckoning the Feast of Weeks would still fall on the 15th of Sivan, but the 15th would not strictly be the "middle" of that month, which, *ex hypothesi*, consisted of 35 days. It might, however, be used loosely for such a date. Perhaps, too, the author desired to avoid specifying more particularly this date, because current Sadducean practice (based upon a different length of days assigned to the months) would not quite harmonize with it.¹ With regard to the Passover, it is noticeable that our author interprets the phrase "between the two evenings" (at which time the Passover lamb was to be slain, cf. Exod. xii. 6; Lev. xxiii. 5) to mean the third part of the day (xlix. 10); *i. e.* assuming the day to contain 12 hours, we may fix the third part as from 2 to 6 p.m. This, again, contradicts Pharisaic practice. Notable, too, is the mention of wine in connexion with the Passover: *All Israel [i. e. in Egypt] was eating the flesh*

¹ Thus the Abyssinian Jews (Falashas), maintaining old practice, reckon the 50 days from Nisan 22, as our author does, but fix Sivan 12 as the date for the Feast of Weeks, as they use alternate months of 30 and 29 days. It should be noted that the author of 1 Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. also advocates a year of 364 days.

of the paschal lamb and drinking the wine (xlix. 6). Now this was a Pharisaic custom in later times, and has no basis, apparently, in the canonical account in Exodus. In view, however, of the fact that our author usually follows the prescriptions of Scripture with scrupulous care, the question arises whether he did not, in fact, derive this from the Pentateuch. Leszynsky suggests¹ that the word rendered "bitter herbs" in Exod. xii. 8 ("with bitter herbs shall they eat it") was interpreted by our author to mean "wine"—the word simply means "bitter," or "what is poisonous," and a cognate form is used in connexion with wine in Deut. xxxii. 32. It is certainly curious that our author makes no mention of "bitter herbs" in connexion with the Egyptian Passover.

The Feast of Tabernacles, too, as described in our Book (xvi. 10-31), has certain peculiar features. In particular, the specifically Pharisaic custom of pouring water on the altar² at the Feast is not mentioned or recognized. Now as early as the time of Alexander Jannæus (102-76 B.C.) the Pharisees tried to enforce the adoption of this custom upon the Sadducean priest-king, who, to show his contempt, allowed the water, which should have been poured solemnly on the altar, to run over his feet. The protest that ensued was followed later by a massacre of Pharisees. It is difficult to believe that our author, a few years earlier, if he was himself a Pharisee, could have been ignorant of this custom, which was based upon old popular tradition. His silence concerning it is much more probably deliberate. The custom was objectionable, from the Sadducean standpoint, because it had no basis in the written Law. The custom of wearing wreaths upon the head which is here prescribed (xvi. 30) is also unknown to tradition; nor has it, apparently, any Scriptural basis, unless it was inferred as an act of rejoicing, from the words "and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days" (Lev. xxiii. 40), taken in conjunction with the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 207 ff.

² Cf. *R.W.S.*², p. 401 f.

command (in the preceding clause) to take "branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook." Wearing a wreath of palm-leaves may have been regarded as one of the ways in which this command was to be fulfilled.

Even more striking are the sections which give directions about the observance of the Sabbath (l. 1-13; cf. ii. 29-30). These directions are very severe. The following actions are prohibited on the Sabbath under penalty of death: travelling by land or sea, buying or selling, drawing water, carrying burdens out of the house, killing or striking, snaring beasts, birds or fish, fasting or making war, marital intercourse. The last prescription is in direct opposition to Pharisaic practice, as is also the severe penalty imposed for non-observance of the various prescriptions. It is interesting to notice that these agree with the practice still maintained by the Falashas, Samaritans, and Karaite Jews. Probably this rigid view of sabbath-observance was cherished in specially pious priestly circles at the time when our author wrote. In this connexion it may be noted that our Book, in its interpretation of the law about the fruit of newly-planted trees given in Lev. xix. 23-24, agrees with the view of the Samaritans and Karaite Jews in directing that the first fruits of the fruit of the fourth year should be offered on the altar, and what remained given to the priests. According to Pharisaic practice what remained was to be eaten by the owners within the walls of Jerusalem.

Another point in which *Jubilees* upholds a view which is certainly not Pharisaic is on the question of the law of retribution, the so-called *lex talionis*. It is well known that while the Sadducees insisted on the strict letter of the Law, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," the Pharisees strove to mitigate its harshness by the substitution (except in the case of murder) of compensating money-payments. Moreover, the Mishna directs that where the death-penalty is inflicted it is to be carried out by the

sword (cf. *Sanhedrin* ix. 1: "These are to be be-headed"). Our Book, however, seems to wage a polemic against such views in no uncertain language:

Take no gifts for the blood of man,¹ lest it be shed with impunity, without judgement; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. And take no present or gift for the blood of man; blood for blood (xxi. 19 f.).

In iv. 31 f. the circumstances of Cain's death are described: *his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgement. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tables: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour, with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him."*

It is true that a school of Pharisees (the School of Shammai) still, to some extent, upheld, in theory at any rate, the severer and older view. But this does not alter the fact that it was a distinctive tenet of the Sadducees; and it is difficult to believe that any Pharisee can, at any time, have used such unqualified language as that employed in the extracts given above.²

At this point we may well ask what was the author's attitude towards the belief in a future life? At the time when he wrote the doctrine of the resurrection of the body had become well established in certain Jewish circles. In the Book of Daniel it had received classical expression: It was a cherished belief of the Pharisaic party. Now our Book does not in any way accept such a belief. The one passage in which the language employed might, at first sight, suggest a hint of such a belief is a sentence describing the happiness of the righteous in the age of felicity which is to dawn:

¹ This would be allowed in certain cases of homicide. (not deliberate murder) by the Rabbinical Law.

² Cf., however, xlviii, 14 note.

*And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they will rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries* (xxiii. 30).

But here there is probably no reference to the idea of a resurrection. As Charles points out, the words "shall rise up" have here "apparently no reference to the resurrection, and mean merely that when God heals His servants (cf. Rev. xxii. 2) they become strong." The clause in the preceding verse, *all their days will be days of blessing and healing* (cf. also i. 29) renders "this view the most probable." On the other hand, the opening words of xxiii. 31:

*And their bones will rest in the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy,*

though they are susceptible of another interpretation, may point to a belief that the righteous dead are destined to enjoy a blessed immortality. But it is to be noticed that no emphasis is laid on the idea; and in any case no countenance is given to the doctrine of resurrection. This attitude accords with the Sadducean position. What the Sadducees maintained was that the resurrection doctrine could not be proved from the Pentateuch. They did not assert that the personality was annihilated at death, or deny the doctrine of immortality—indeed, it is by no means impossible that some sections of the Sadducean party accepted this doctrine; but in general their position towards this question—apart from that of the bodily resurrection—was cautious and reserved. And this certainly seems to be the attitude of our author. It should be noted that Sheol is represented—somewhat vaguely and in poetical passages—as a place of punishment for the wicked (vii. 29; xxii. 22; xxiv. 31). This looks like the converse of the idea that the righteous dead are destined to enjoy a blessed immortality. In this connexion a word may be said about the angelology and demopology of our Book. These are in a fairly advanced stage, and imply much the same development as is to be seen in 1 Enoch and the *Testaments of*

the XII Patriarchs. There are three classes of angels, two of a superior order, the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification (cf. ii. 2, 18), and, besides these, a numerous inferior order who presided over natural phenomena (ii. 2). It is noteworthy that the two superior orders are represented as observing the Sabbath, and as fulfilling the prescriptions of the Law regarding circumcision, etc.; they even observe in heaven the great festivals, such as the Feast of Weeks (vi. 18).¹ Various activities are assigned to the angels in connexion with mankind throughout our Book.²

Over against the angelic orders there stands a well-organized demonic kingdom, presided over by "the prince of the Mastêmâ" (cf. xvii. 16; xlviii. 2; xviii. 9, 12, etc.).³ Among the Satanic beings that appear in our Book is Beliar (i. 20).

What is the attitude of our author towards the Messianic Hope? The hope for the coming of the Messianic King who should spring from the old Royal House of David was always cherished among the masses of the people, and in times of unusual stress was apt to flame up in vivid expression. The Pharisees, who themselves sprang from the ranks of the people, were naturally influenced by this tradition, and gave literary expression to it in the *Psalms of Solomon* (70-40 B.C.?). But at the time when our author wrote the desire for a Messianic King of the House of David was probably only latent. A period of national prosperity came in during the reign of John Hyrcanus, and the people generally were well content. It is not to be supposed, however, that the popular hope had completely died away. It was merely quiescent. On the other hand,

¹ Besides the above there were the seventy angelic patrons of the nations (xv. 31 and note) and the guardian angels of individuals (xxxv. 17).

² For details see Charles, *op. cit.*, p. lvii f.

³ This is the right form of the expression (not "prince Mastêmâ"): "Mastêmâ" in derivation and meaning = "Satan" (cf. x, 8 note).

there was a party, which no doubt had its seat in the priesthood, and may represent the old Sadducean party, that claimed for the priesthood not only sacerdotal but also ruling functions: Levi's descendants are not only to be priests, but also the civil rulers of the nation, and this view receives expression in our Book (cf. xxxi. 15). Now it is well known that the Pharisees objected to the double office being exercised by one person, and when Alexander Jannæus assumed the title of "king" this feeling broke out into open hostility. At a somewhat later time a Pharisaic author in the *Psalms of Solomon*, looking back upon the terrible events that followed the break-up of the Hasmonean dynasty, evidently regards the bloody chastisement which the Jews had to endure at that time from the hands of the Romans as the punishment inflicted on the people for having acquiesced in the usurpation by the Hasmoneans of the royal dignity which had been reserved for the Messianic prince of the House of David. Especially significant in this connexion is the promise recounted in our Book of Levi (xxxii. 1): *And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the Priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever.* This, originally the title of the priest-king Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), was revived by the Maccabean princely High Priests, and there is some evidence that in certain (? Sadducean) quarters it was expected that the Messiah would spring from the tribe of Levi, and even from the priestly ruling Maccabean house.¹ The one possible reference to the hope of a Messiah from Judah in our Book occurs in the blessing of Judah, xxxi. 18:

A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons over the sons of Jacob;

Here Judah is addressed, and is singled out for special honour by the side of Levi. This was only

¹ Cf. *Test. Levi*, xviii.; Reuben, vi.; Ps. cx. 4 (? addressed to Simon Maccabæus). The Pharisees objected to the use of this title.

natural, as the Jews derived their name from the tribe of Judah, who may be regarded as a sort of symbol of the nation generally. But who is meant by "one of thy sons"? Some would see in this a reference to the expected Messiah, but if this be so it is very vague. It is much more likely that the historic David is meant. The priestly author is significantly silent about a Davidic Messiah. Any Messiah he may have hoped for would, according to his view, spring from the tribe of Levi. He does not accept the view that the Davidic dynasty is of eternal duration, even ideally. May he not, too, have been thinking, in the address to Judah, of Judas Maccabæus? ¹ Judas by his warlike exploits had shed a new glory on the name "Judah." But Judas himself belonged to the priestly family of the Hasmonæans, and it would be easy for our author to see in him the embodiment of the glories of the tribe of Judah, without diminishing the claims of the priestly tribe to civil as well as sacerdotal primacy.

In the same context (xxx. 20) two lines occur in the address to Judah which run as follows:

*And when thou sittest on the throne of the honour of
thy righteousness,
There will be great peace for all the seed of the sons
of the beloved.*

The exact meaning of these words is not clear. They can hardly refer to the expected Messiah from David's House, because in that case the context would demand the use of the third person, whereas the second person is employed and Judah is being addressed. Leszynsky suggests that here in the Hebrew original there may be an allusion to the Sadducees, suggested by a word-play in the Hebrew word for "righteousness" (*sedek*). But even so the sentence is not clear. Is our author still thinking of Judas Maccabæus? If so, he may mean "and when thou (Judas), in the person of thy High-Priestly successors, sittest as Priest-king on thy Sadducean

¹ So Leszynsky.

throne of honour. It must be admitted that this is not very convincing, and the sentence remains obscure and uncertain in meaning. But of the high position assigned by our author to the tribe of Levi there can be no doubt. The lofty position of High-Priest and civil ruler is assigned to Levi as a reward for the destruction of Shechem (cf. xxx. 17-23; xxxii. 1-3). As Kohler says: "The Levites are represented as the keepers of the sacred books and of the secret lore entrusted to them by the saints from of yore (xlv. 16; cf. x. 14). This indicates that the priests and Levites still included among themselves, as in the days of the author of the Book of Chronicles, the men of learning, the masters of the schools, and that these positions were not filled by men from among the people, as was the case in the time of Shammai and Hillel." Other features of our Book entirely accord with this. For instance, the glorification of the Patriarchs in which our author loves to indulge is the development of a tendency already marked in the Priestly Sections of the Hexateuch.¹ In *Jubilees* they become saints of the Law. Incidents which might reflect discredit upon them (such as that described in Gen. xii. 11-13) are omitted. Abram is represented as having known the true God from his youth (xi. 16-17; xii. 1 ff.). Jacob is "a model of filial affection and obedience." A noticeable feature is also the insistence upon the unique position of Israel among the nations, and its rigid separation from the latter. Circumcision is a sign of Israel's elect position (xv. 26) and a privilege which they enjoy in common with the two chief orders of angels (xv. 27). This is also true of the Sabbath, which the same angelic orders observe with Israel. It is needless to add that our author glorifies the Law, which is of heavenly origin and everlasting validity. This is his estimate of the Law in its narrow sense, *i. e.* the Pentateuch. It is by this criterion that he measures everything. It is true that *Jubilees*

¹ See Carpenter, *Hexateuch*, i. 123 (cited by Charles).

contains incidents and amplifications which are not to be found in the written Torah. But the author is careful to base everything that is of legal obligation upon the letter of the Law itself. Anything that he allows himself to introduce by way of amplification or addition serves merely to enhance the obligation of the written precept:

Finally, his eschatology is essentially that of one who is primarily interested in the Law. In xxiii. 12-31, he introduces an apocalyptic passage which gives a history of the Maccabean times from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Messianic Kingdom, the advent of which is just at hand. A dark picture is drawn of the inroads of Hellenism, and of its disintegrating effects upon the observance of the Law and the covenant (xxiii. 16-20); the warlike efforts of the Maccabees to reclaim the Hellenizers to Judaism are then described (xxiii. 20-22), and the cry of the nation for deliverance from its calamities (xxiii. 23-25). Then follows a passage (xxiii. 26-32) in which, as a consequence of Israel's renewed study of the Law, a happier period follows. The Messianic Kingdom is to be "brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature." Its members are "to attain to the full limit of 1000 years in happiness and peace." Prof. Charles¹ adds: "The writer of *Jubilees*, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic Kingdom had already set in."

The important point to notice about this picture is that the dawn of the happier Age is brought about by renewed study and observance of the Law:

And in those days the children will begin to study the laws,

And to seek the commandments,

And to return to the path of righteousness (xxiii. 26).

The result is a gradual transformation of men and their environment. There is no catastrophe. It is

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvii.

doubtful whether the author clearly envisages a final judgement, though there may be an allusion to such, in rather vague language, in xxiii. 30 f. The tone throughout is priestly, and it can hardly be doubted that the author was a priest.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

According to Charles, the author was not only a priest but a Pharisee "of the straitest sect." We have already seen that many of the positions advocated in the Book are essentially un-Pharisaic in character. Such a fundamentally Pharisaic doctrine as the resurrection of the body is not accepted, and it is more than doubtful whether the author looked for the advent of a Davidic Messiah. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive any Pharisee at any time advocating the adoption of a solar calendar. Then, again, though there were, of course, Pharisaic priests in later times, when the influence of Pharisaism had become all-powerful, it would certainly be remarkable to find in the second century B.C. so priestly a writer as our author a member of the Pharisaic party. For that party arose from the ranks of the people. It was essentially a lay movement, and it championed popular religious, as opposed to priestly, tradition. All this has been instinctively felt by the Jewish scholars¹ who have discussed the problems connected with the authorship and general character of our Book. By these scholars our Book has been variously ascribed to Essene (Jellinek, 1855), Samaritan (Beer, 1856-7), Hellenist (Frankel, 1856), and Jewish-Christian (Singer, 1898) authorship. None of these views is entirely satisfactory. More can be said for the view that the author belonged to the party—if party it can be called—of the Hasidim ("Assideans" or "Hasideans") who are referred to in 1 Maccabees.²

¹ With the distinguished exception of Dr. K. Kohler (in *JE*, s.v. *Jubilees*), who accepts Charles's view, though he suggests that the book may reflect early Hasidæan practice.

² Cf. 1 Macc. vii

These "pious" members of the Jewish community were devoted adherents of the Law, and banded themselves together to resist the Hellenizers even unto death. They must not be confounded with the Pharisees, who may, however, have been influenced by them. There is nothing to show that the earlier Hasidim accepted popular religious tradition which had no basis in the written Law. Indeed, the reverse is probable. We know that, in spite of their anti-Hellenism, they scrupled to oppose the legitimate High Priest, even when he was on the Greek side. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether they would have countenanced the claim that the priests should exercise civil rule, while, as we have seen, the author of *Jubilees* distinctly takes up this position, and appears to have been an admirer of the Maccabean Priest-Princes—at any rate, of John Hyrcanus¹ and Simon Maccabæus. Still there is a certain affinity between our author and the Hasidim, and if he was not actually a "Hasid," he may very well have been in sympathy with members of that party in fundamental religious positions. Recently Leszynsky,² has maintained the thesis that *Jubilees* was written by a Sadducean author, and, it must be admitted, makes out a strong case. Unfortunately, scholars are not yet agreed as to the real character and position of the Sadducean party, but of recent years there has been a growing consensus of opinion that the party had a real religious basis. It was not, as it is sometimes represented to have been, a mere political party of worldly opportunists who used religious questions as a stick to beat the Pharisees, who represented true religion, while the real interests

¹ It is true that John Hyrcanus favoured the Pharisees, according to Josephus (*Ant.*, xiii. 10, 5), who even speaks of him as their "disciple." But this probably means no more than that he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards them. He also had intimate friends among the Sadducees (Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii. 10, 6).

² *Die Sadduzäer* (1912), pp. 179-236.

of their opponents were to safeguard their privileged position and wealth. If such books as Sirach are really, in any sense, Sadducean, and if we weigh the evidence of Josephus impartially, we may conclude that the real Sadducees represented the conservative tradition of the old scribal schools which grew up under priestly influence. The Sadducees stood for the written Law of Moses against the oral tradition, derived from popular religious elements, represented by the Pharisees. What could not be proved from the Law they refused to accept. Their essential objection to the new doctrine of the resurrection of the body was that it could not be proved from the Law. They stood for priestly privilege against the democratic tendencies of the Pharisees, who wished to bring in the laity as much as possible. It was natural that this party should be strong among the priests, and especially among families connected with the High Priesthood. The best members of it were, no doubt, pious devotees of the Law. This is not to say that worldly-minded members of the party did not exist. No doubt there were such, and some such men may have found it convenient to attach themselves to the Sadducean party. There were also worldly and hypocritical adherents in the ranks of the Pharisees. But in neither case is it just to estimate the essential character of the party from such elements. The persistence of the Sadducean party for so long a time within Judaism suggests that it possessed elements of real vitality and vigour. No doubt, also, it was divided into sections—one such is known to us as the sect of the Boethusians. In view of its long continuance as an active party, and its significance in the history of Judaism, it must have stood for something more than mere negations. While it rejected the resurrection doctrine, the hope of a Davidic Messiah, and the Pharisaic oral tradition, it upheld the sole binding force of the written Torah, and emphasized priestly privilege.

Judged by these criteria, our author may well have

been a pious Sadducean priest. It is not necessary, of course, to suppose that all the positions upheld in our Book were commonly accepted by the Sadducean party. Our author had views of his own, particularly regarding the calendar—which at the time when he wrote seems to have been a burning subject of debate—which would not necessarily have commended themselves to the party generally. It is to be noted that the positions he upholds on other matters often agree with those of the Samaritans and Falashas and Karaite Jews, who are well-known to represent old Sadducean views on various points.

On one point of detail the Ethiopic text of our Book does uphold a specifically Pharisaic view. In xvi. 18, Israel is spoken of as destined to become *a kingdom and priests and a holy nation*. This is an echo of Exod. xix. 6, but there the Hebrew text has *a kingdom of priests* ("And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation"). Now the alteration yielded by the text of our Book here reflects the Pharisaic exegesis of this passage; the same alteration appears also in Rev. v. 10 (cf. i. 6). The Pharisees were anxious to separate the kingdom from the priesthood, and expounded Exod. xix. 6 in this way, as the Jewish Targums attest. But the original text of our Book can hardly have been under any such influence. Such an exegesis would contradict the express claims made for the priesthood elsewhere in the Book. The Latin version, which has "a kingdom of priests" (as in the original Hebrew text in Exod. xix. 6), is no doubt right. Probably the Ethiopic scribe was influenced by the form of the text in Rev. v. 10, and introduced it here.

We may sum up by saying that the author was undoubtedly a pious priest, a devoted adherent of the Law, and an upholder of priestly tradition; he was certainly not a Pharisee, but has affinities with the Hasidim or "pious" of early Maccabean times; not improbably he was a Sadducean priest. The exact date of the composition of *Jubilees* cannot be

fixed with absolute certainty, but no doubt, as Charles has argued, it falls some time within the reigns of Simon Maccabæus or John Hyrcanus, the flourishing period of the Hasmonean rule. This, at any rate, may be inferred from the historical sketch embodied in the apocalyptic passage, xxiii. 12-31, and is reinforced by a number of other considerations. The date to which the various phenomena point is some time in the last half of the second century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The most recent, and in many respects the most important, discussion of *Jubilees* is contained in Leszynsky's *Die Sadduzäer* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 179-236. Leszynsky's arguments have been referred to fully above. Kohler's article in *JE*, vol. vii. ("Jubilees Book of") is interesting and useful. Of earlier works the following are important:

Jellinek, *Ueber das Buch der Jubiläen* (1855);

Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim* (Leipzig, 1856); also *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen* (1857);

Frankel in *Monatsschrift* (1856);

Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis* (Stuhlweissenburg, 1898).

There is a good discussion in Schürer *GJV.*, iii. 371-384, with full Bibliography.

SHORT TITLES, ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS
USED IN THIS EDITION

1 Enoch = The Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

2 Enoch = The Slavonic Book of Enoch.

Ap. Bar. = The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.

Pirke de R. Eliezer is cited according to the edition (~~English translation with notes by W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., and C. H. Bon, M.A.~~) of G. Friedlander (London, 1916).

MT = Masoretic text.

Sam. = Samaritan version, and Hebrew text in Samaritan characters when both agree.

Syr. = the Syriac version of the Old Testament.

Vulg. = Vulgate.

() Words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor from some other source.

[] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

† † Words so enclosed are corrupt.

Charles's *Jubilees* = *The Book of Jubilees translated from the Ethiopic Text*, by R. H. Charles, D.D. (London, 1902).

JE = Jewish Encyclopædia.

*RWS*² = *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (1911).

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Prologue

THIS is the history of the division of the days ¹ of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of ² their (year) weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world,³ as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as He said unto him, "Go up to the top of the Mount."⁴

God's Revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai

(i. 1-26 : cf. Ex. xxiv. 15-18).

1. And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month,⁵ on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying : "Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them."⁶ 2. And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And He called to Moses on

¹ The Prologue sums up the contents of the Book as at once a *history* and a *chronological system based upon the number seven*.

² *i.e.* according to (their year-weeks) : a year-week = seven years (cf. Lev. xxv. 8 f.).

³ The writer apparently intended to write a history from Creation to the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom.

⁴ Cf. Exbd. xxiv. 12.

⁵ Cf. Exod. xix. 1.

⁶ Cf. Exod. xxiv. 12.

the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the Mount. 4. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history¹ of the division of all the days of the law, and of the testimony. 5. And He said: "Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this Mount, and write them² in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. 6. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them,³ that they will recognize that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognize that I have been truly with them. 7. And do thou write for thyself⁴ all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck,⁵ before I bring them into the land of which I swear to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: "Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. 8. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their tribulation:" and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them.⁶ 9. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness, and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare.⁷ 10. And

¹ Cf. i. 26. According to the Jewish Midrash, also, God showed Moses "all the generations that should arise," as well as "all the minutiae of the Law" (*Shemoth rabb.* xl.; *Megilla* 19b).

² Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

⁴ Cf. i. 27.

⁶ Cf. Deut. xxxi. 20.

³ Cf. Deut. xxx. 1.

⁵ Cf. Deut. xxxi. 27.

⁷ Cf. Exod. xxiii. 33.

many will perish and they will be taken captive,¹ and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place² which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle,³ and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set My name upon it, and that it should dwell (there). 11. And they⁴ will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images,⁵ and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they will sacrifice their children to demons,⁶ and to all the works of the error of their hearts. 12. And I will send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear,⁷ and will slay⁸ the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change everything so as to work evil before My eyes. 13. And I shall hide My face from them, and I shall deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring,⁹ and I shall remove them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter¹⁰ them amongst the Gentiles. 14. And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. 15. And after this they will turn to Me¹¹ from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles,¹² and they will seek Me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek Me

¹ N. Israel is referred to.

² *i. e.* the Temple in Jerusalem.

³ The Tabernacle is apparently thought of as still in existence (in Jerusalem) during the time of the monarchy.

⁴ *i. e.* Judah.

⁵ Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3 ff.

⁶ Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6.

⁷ Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 19.

⁸ Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34.

⁹ Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 14.

¹⁰ Cf. Deut. iv. 27, xxviii. 64.

¹¹ Cf. Deut. iv. 30.

¹² Cf. Jer. xxix. 14.

with all their heart and with all their soul. 16. And I shall disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I shall †remove them the plant of uprightness†,¹ with all My heart and with all My soul,² and they will be for a blessing and not for a curse,³ and they will be the head and not the tail.⁴ 17. And I shall build My sanctuary⁵ in †their midst, and I shall dwell with them, and I shall be their God, and they will be My people⁶ in truth and righteousness. 18. And I shall not forsake them nor fail them;⁷ for I am the Lord their God." 19. And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, "O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance,⁸ so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against Thee. 20. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit,⁹ and let not the spirit of Beliar¹⁰ rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. 21. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which Thou hast delivered with Thy great power¹¹ from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit,¹² and let them not be ensnared in their sins from henceforth until eternity." 22. And the Lord said unto Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness,¹³ and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their

¹ The obelized words are corrupt. Charles suggests reading "And I will plant them the plant of uprightness in the land."

² Cf. Jer. xxxii. 41.

³ Cf. Zech. viii. 13.

⁴ Cf. Deut. xxviii. 13.

⁵ i. e. the second Temple.

⁶ Cf. Lev. xxvi. 12 and often.

⁷ Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6.

⁸ Cf. Deut. ix. 26.

⁹ Cf. Ps. li. 10.

¹⁰ Beliar (Belial) is here, as in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (see Introduction to that work), a Satanic being, apparently "the prince of the devils."

¹¹ Cf. Deut. ix. 29.

¹² Cf. Ps. li. 10 (and ver. 20 above).

¹³ Cf. Deut. xxxi. 27.

fathers.¹ 23. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart² and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. 24. And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be My children. 25. And they will all be called children of the living God,³ and every angel and every spirit will know, yea, they will know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them. 26. And do thou write down for thyself all these words⁴ which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them⁵ throughout eternity."

God commands the Angel to write (i. 27-29).

27. And He said to the angel of the presence:⁶ "Write⁷ for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. 28.⁸ And the Lord will appear to the eyes

¹ Cf. Lev. xxvi. 40.

² Cf. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6.

³ Cf. Hos. i. 10.

⁴ viz. those contained in our Book (the *Book of Jubilees*) as distinguished from the *Book of the First Law* (vi. 22 = the Pentateuch), which was written by the angel himself.

⁵ viz. in the perfect theocracy inaugurated by the Messianic Kingdom.

⁶ Cf. Isa. lxiii. 9; *Test. XII. Patr.*, Judah 25: probably Michael is meant. Note that the medium of communication is an angel, and cf. Gal. iii. 19 ("The Law . . . ordained through angels"). Later Judaism rejected this idea.

⁷ i. e. not the Pentateuch, "but a history up to the Messianic Kingdom" (Charles, in *Oxford Corpus*).

⁸ Read this ver. after ver. 25.

of all,¹ and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob,² and King on Mount Zion³ for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy." 29. And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel⁴ took the tables of the divisions of the years⁵—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens⁶ and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem⁷ on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing⁸ and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The Angel dictates to Moses the Primæval History: the Creation of the World and Institution of the Sabbath (ii. 1–33; cf. Gen. i–ii. 3).

II. And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and appointed it as a sign

¹ Cf. Rev. i. 7 (in the final theophany).

² Cf. i. 24; Jer. xxxi. 1.

³ Cf. Isa. xxiv. 23.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xiv. 19.

⁵ From these the angel dictates to Moses (who writes) the Book of Jubilees.

⁶ Text corrupt. Read "from the day of creation, till the heavens."

⁷ *i. e.* in the Messianic Kingdom.

⁸ Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

for all His works. 2.¹ For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels² of the presence, and the angels of sanctification,³ and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds,⁴ and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost,⁵ and the angels of the voices⁶ and of the thunder and of the lightning,⁷ and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer,⁸ and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of His heart. 3. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. 4. And on the second

¹ 2-3 record the creations of the first day, seven in number, viz. heaven, earth, the waters, spirits, the abysses, darkness, light. According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* iii., "eight things were created on the first day: namely, heaven, earth, the light, darkness, Tohu (chaos), Bohu (void), wind (or spirit), water." Perhaps *Tohu* and *Bohu* here = *abysses*.

² According to our Book the angels were created on the first day, and this probably represents the view of earlier Judaism. This was opposed by later Judaism, which objected to the idea that angels assisted in the work of creation on the days following the first. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* placed the creation of angels in the *second* day; some Rabbis on the *fifth* (cf. *Gen. rabb.* i. 5).

³ Cf. ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14. These are the two chief orders of angels. The "angels of sanctification" sing praises to God.

⁴ The various classes of angels that follow constitute the third or lowest order. They preside over the elements and natural phenomena; cf. 1 Enoch lx. 12-21, lxxv., lxxx.; 2 Enoch xix. 1-4. For the "angels of the winds," cf. Rev. vii. 1 f.; 1 Enoch xviii. 1-5, xxxiv.-xxxvi., lxxvi.

⁵ Cf. 1 Enoch lx. 17-18.

⁶ Cf. Rev. iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18.

⁷ Cf. 1 Enoch lx. 13-15.

⁸ Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxii. 13-20.

day¹ He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down, below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. 5. And on the third day² He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. 6. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 7. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all (plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day. 8. And on the fourth day³ He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. 9. And God appointed the sun⁴ to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 10. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for

¹ Cf. Gen. i. 6-7; 2 Enoch xxvi.-xxvii. According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* iv. the following were created on the second day: the firmament, angels, fire for flesh and blood, and the fire of Gehinnom.

² Cf. Gen. i. 9-13 (dry land, seas, herbage, fruit trees = 3 works). Our Book adds a fourth, the Garden of Eden (so also the Midrash *Beresith rabb.* xv.; 2 Enoch xxx. 1). Another view was that Paradise (? the Heavenly Paradise) was created before the world; cf. 4 Ezra iii. 6 (note).

³ Cf. Gen. i. 14-19; 2 Enoch xxx. 2-6.

⁴ Note the intentional omission of the moon. The writer objected to a calendar based upon the changes of the moon.

prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day¹ He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by His hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that flies, the birds and all their kind. 12. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day² He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. 14. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. 15. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds.³ 16. And He finished all His work on the sixth⁴ day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. 17. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day,⁵ that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. 18. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes—He hath bidden us

¹ Cf. Gen. i. 20-23; 2 Enoch xxx. 7; 4 Ezra vi. 47 ff. According to our Book the three works of the fifth day were the great sea-monsters, fish and birds; according to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* ix. birds, fish and locusts.

² Cf. Gen. i. 24-28; 2 Enoch xxx. 8 f.

³ Cf. ii. 23 (below).

⁴ This is possibly the right reading of Gen. ii. 2a (so Sam. text, LXX, Syr.). It implies a severer view of Sabbath observance. The Masoretic text has "seventh."

⁵ Cf. Exod. xxxi. 13.

to keep the Sabbath with Him¹ in heaven and on earth. 19. And He said unto us: "Behold, I will separate unto Myself² a people from among all the peoples, and these will keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so shall I bless them, and they will be My people and I shall be their God. 20. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob³ from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My firstborn son,⁴ and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work." 21. And thus He created therein a sign⁵ in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us⁶ on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him⁷ who hath created all things as He hath blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people⁸ above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. 22. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour⁹ acceptable before Him all the days. . . . 23. There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made¹⁰ until

¹ The two chief orders of angels observe the Sabbath with God (and Israel). The third order and the Gentiles are denied this privilege.

² Cf. 1 Kings viii. 53.

³ Cf. Isa. xli. 8 ("Jacob whom I have chosen"), xliv. 1, 2.

⁴ Cf. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27.

⁵ For the Sabbath day as a sign between God and Israel, cf. Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12.

⁶ i. e. with God and the superior angels.

⁷ The Sabbath is to be a delight.

⁸ Cf. Deut. vii. 6.

⁹ Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

¹⁰ It is probable that at end of 22 above there is a lacuna in the text (indicated by the dotted line). Charles restores the missing words as follows: *As there were two and twenty letters, and two and twenty (sacred) books [viz. in the Old Testament], and two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made two and twenty kinds of work, etc.*

the seventh day; this ¹ is blessed and holy; and the former ² also is blessed and holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. 24. And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. 25. He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever doth any work thereon shall die,³ and that he who defileth it shall surely die. 26. Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy ⁴ and not do thereon any work, and not to defile it, as it is holier than all other days.⁵ 27. And whoever profaneth it shall surely die, and whoever doeth thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 28. And every one who observeth it and keepeth Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and blessed throughout all days like unto us. 29. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure,⁶ and that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk,⁷ †and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,† ⁸ which they had not

¹ viz. the Sabbath.

² viz. Jacob.

³ Cf. Exod. xxxi. 14, 15, xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32 f.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xx. 8.

⁵ Cf. ii. 30.

⁶ Cf. Isa. lviii. 13.

⁷ Deduced from Exod. xvi. 23, 25.

⁸ The obelized words should either be omitted or read *after their own pleasure* above. For the law about "bringing in or taking out . . . any burden" on the Sabbath, cf. ii. 30, l. 8; Jer. xvii. 21 f.; Neh. xiii. 19; John v. 10.

prepared for themselves on the sixth day¹ in their dwellings. 30. And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house² on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees: on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 31. And the Creator of all things blessed it,³ but He did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them alone He permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 32. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days. 33. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.⁴

Paradise and the Fall (iii. 1-35; cf. Gen. ii. 4-iii.).

III. And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moveth on the earth, and everything that moveth in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moveth on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moveth in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name.⁵ 3. And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no help-

This is in accordance with Rabbinic law which forbids anything being eaten on the Sabbath unless it had been prepared beforehand for that purpose on a week-day.

¹ This was relaxed later by the Rabbinic law of *erub*, which was based on Exod. xvi. 29. See *JE*. v. 203 f. (s.v. *Erub*).

² i. e. Israel.

³ Cf. Exod. xxvii. 21, etc., for the phrase.

⁴ Cf. Gen. ii. 19.

meet for him.¹ 4. And the Lord said unto us : " It is not good that the man should be alone : let us make a helpmeet for him." ² 5. And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. 6. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her : " This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh ; she will be called [my] wife ; because she was taken from her husband." ³ 7. Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.⁴ 8. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife : in the second week He showed her unto him : and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days.⁵ 9. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered into the Garden of Eden. 10. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tables⁶ in

¹ Cf. Gen. ii. 20.

² Cf. Gen. ii. 18 ; LXX and Vulg. have pl. (" let us make"), but MT Sam. Syr., " I will make."

³ Cf. Gen. ii. 21-23. According to the Talmud, Adam was originally (as first created, Gen. i. 27) hermaphroditic.

⁴ Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

⁵ For these laws cf. Lev. xii. 2-5, according to which in the one case the mother was not to enter the sanctuary till the lapse of forty days, in the other eighty days. The reason for this is given in the following section (9), according to the author of *Jubilees*. This peculiar idea recurs elsewhere (Philo, *Book of Adam and Eve*), but not in Rabbinic literature, except for some slight traces. See Charles, *ad loc.*

⁶ Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxix. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2 ; the expression also occurs in *Test. XII. Patriarchs*. In our Book the *heavenly*

regard to her that giveth birth: "if she beareth a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplisheth these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child.

11. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days."

12. And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the Garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. 13. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who beareth a male or a female child the statute of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. 14. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days. 15. And in the first week

17 A.M.

of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the Garden of Eden for seven¹ years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage.² 16. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed,³ and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered

tables are conceived of as the divine statute book of which the Mosaic Law is the earthly reproduction; but they also contain records of events and predictions. The underlying idea is predestinarian.

¹ According to *Ber. rabba* xviii., *Sanh.* 38b, Adam was only six hours in the Garden; cf. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xviii. (Adam entered the garden at the seventh hour and was driven forth at twilight, i. e. the twelfth hour on Friday the eve of the Sabbath).

² Agriculture is a divine institution. Here the instruction is given by angels; contrast Isa. xxviii. 26-29. See also 4 Ezra vi. 42. *Test. XII. Patr.* Issachar iii. 5.

³ Cf. Gen. ii. 25.

its fruit, and ate, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being kept].¹ 17.² And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, "Hath God commanded you, saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" 18. And she said to it, "Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." 19. And the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil." 20. And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit was good for food, and she took thereof and ate. 21. And when she had first covered her shame with fig-leaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he ate, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. 22. And he took fig-leaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and covered his shame. 23. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . .³ 24. And He was wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her:⁴ "I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy return⁵ shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee." 25.

¹ The bracketed words are a dittograph.

² For 17-22 cf. Gen. iii. 1-7.

³ Charles suspects a lacuna here. It may have contained a statement to the effect that the serpent's four feet, which it is supposed to have originally possessed, were cut off. Cf. Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. iii. 14, and Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1, 4.

⁴ Cf. Gen. iii. 16.

⁵ So LXX and Syr. (ἡ ἀποστραφή σου), MT, "thy desire."

And to Adam also He said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake : thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou wast taken ; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 26. And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden.¹ 27. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. 28. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walketh, and of whatever moveth, so that they could no longer speak : ² for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue. 29. And He sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them. 30. And to Adam alone did He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and cattle. 31. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tables as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves.⁴ 32. And on the new moon of the fourth month, Adam and his wife went forth from the Garden

8 A.M.

¹ Cf. Gen. ii. 17-19, 21; 24.

² i. e. the incense-offering of Exod. xxx. 34.

³ For this belief cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. i, 4. The idea underlying the text here is that up to this time both men and animals spoke Hebrew, which was the universal language till the building of the Tower of Babel.

⁴ A protest against the Greek custom of exposing the person in public athletic sports; cf. 1 Macc. i. 13 f.; 2 Macc. iv. 9-14; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5, 1.

of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of 'Eldâ,¹ in the land of their creation. 33. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 34. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he knew her. 35. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.²

Cain and Abel (iv. 1-12; cf. Gen. iv.).

IV. And in the third week in the second jubilee she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter Awân.³ 2. And in the first (year) of the third jubilee, Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept the offering of Cain. 3. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, complaining because he had slain him.⁴ 4. And the Lord reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him, and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth.⁵ 5. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, "Cursed is he who smiteth his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and the man who hath seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other."⁶ 6. And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. 7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week they became joyful, and Adam knew

¹ Charles suggests that 'Eldâ may be a corruption of the Hebrew word meaning "nativity" (land of "nativity").

² Cf. iii. 15.

³ i. e. "iniquity" (Heb. 'āwen). Another daughter, 'Azûrâ (= ? "well guarded"), was born later. Cain married 'Awân and Seth 'Azûrâ. There is great divergence as to these names in later writers. According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, Cain's wife was his twin-sister (xxi.).

⁴ Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

⁵ Cf. Gen. iv. 11-12.

⁶ Cf. Deut. xxvii. 24.

his wife again, and she bare him a son, and he ¹ called his name Seth; for he said "God hath raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him."² 8. And in the sixth week he ¹³⁴⁻¹⁴⁰ begat his daughter 'Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took 'Âwân ^{A.M.} his sister to be his wife and she bare him Enoch,³ at ¹⁹⁰⁻¹⁹⁶ the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year ^{A.M.} of the first week of the fifth jubilee, houses were built ^{197 A.M.} on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons.⁴ ²²⁵⁻²³¹ 11. And in the fifth week of the fifth jubilee Seth ^{A.M.} took 'Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth ^{235 A.M.} (year of the sixth week) she bare him Enos.⁵ 12. He ⁶ began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth.

The Patriarchs from Adam to Noah (cf. Gen. v.); Life of Enoch; Death of Adam and Cain (iv. 13-33).

³⁰⁹⁻³¹⁵ 13.⁷ And in the seventh jubilee in the third week ^{A.M.} Enos took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare ^{325 A.M.} him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan. 14. And at the close of the ³⁸⁶⁻³⁹² eighth jubilee Kenan took Mûalêlêth⁸ his sister to be ^{A.M.} his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, ^{395 A.M.} in the first week in the third year of this week, and ⁴⁴⁹⁻⁴⁵⁵ he called his name Mahalalel. 15. And in the second ^{A.M.} week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third ^{461 A.M.} week in the sixth year, and he called his name Jared;⁹ for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on

¹ So Sam.; but MT "she." In our Book it is generally the father who names the child.

² Cf. Gen. iv. 25.

³ Cf. Gen. iv. 17.

⁴ Pseudo-Philo, *Bibl. Antiq.*, gives the names of these nine sons.

⁵ Cf. Gen. iv. 26.

⁶ So LXX and Vulg.; but MT "then it was begun (men began)."

⁷ For 13-14 cf. Gen. v. 9, 12.

⁸ A fem. form = "she who praises God."

⁹ Cf. Gen. v. 15.

the earth,¹ those who are named the Watchers,² that they should instruct the children of men,³ and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, and her name was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch.⁴ 17. And he⁵ was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom⁶ and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book,⁷ that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months. 18. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years,⁸ and set in order the months and re-

¹ This last line looks like a quotation from 1 Enoch vi. 6 ("who descended in the days of Jared"). Note the play in Hebrew on the name *Jared* (*yâred*) and "descended" (Heb. *yâredû*). The myth of the descent of the angels was based on Gen. vi. 1-4, but was rejected by the Rabbis, who rendered "sons of God" (i. e. angels) "sons of the judges."

² This name is given to angels in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23; in 1 Enoch it is applied especially to the fallen angels (cf. 1 Enoch i. 5, x. 9, 15 and often).

³ This statement is interesting. It describes what was probably the original commission by God to the angelic watchers, who, however, fell when they descended to the earth. According to 1 Enoch, Enoch acquired his supernatural knowledge from the instruction of angels.

⁴ Cf. Gen. v. 18.

⁵ The passage that follows about Enoch (17-23) implies knowledge on the part of the author of Enochic writings. Charles infers that these were 1 Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., and lxxii.-xc.

⁶ Cf. the phrase "Scribe of righteousness" applied to Enoch in 1 Enoch xii. 4, xv. 1.

⁷ Probably a reference to 1 Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. ("The Book of the courses of the Heavenly Luminaries").

⁸ There is nothing in 1 or 2 Enoch about "jubilees," etc. This statement is probably due solely to the author of *Jubilees*, who wished to invest the institution with a spurious antiquity.

counted the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them) known to him. 19. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision ¹ of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he ² saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and
 582-588 for their generations. 20. And in the twelfth jubilee,
 A.M. in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî ³ the daughter of Dânel.
 587 A.M. the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Methuselah. ⁴ 21. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth ⁵ and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything. 22. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all. 23. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden ⁶ in majesty and honour, and behold there he writeth down the condemnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. ⁷ 24. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood ⁸ upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of con-

¹ The reference is probably to the "Dream-Visions" (1 Enoch lxxxiii.-xc.).

² i. e. Enoch. The writings of Enoch are mentioned elsewhere (1 Enoch, *Test. XII. Patriarchs*).

³ Edna in 1 Enoch lxxxv. 3.

⁴ Cf. Gen. v. 21.

⁵ 1 Enoch xxiii.-xxxvi.

⁶ Cf. 1 Enoch lxx. 1-3.

⁷ Cf. 1 Enoch xii. 3 f., xiv. 1. The title ("Scribe of the Knowledge of the Most High") is conferred upon Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50 (Syriac text).

⁸ Cf. 2 Enoch xxxiv. 3.

demnation.¹ 25. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, (even) sweet spices,² acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. 26. For the Lord hath four places³ on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East.⁴ and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the world.⁵ 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Azriâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech.⁶ 28. And in the fifteenth jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâkî'il, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, "This one will comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground which the Lord hath cursed."⁷ 29. And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation,⁸ and he was the first to be buried⁹ in the earth. 30. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony

¹ Cf. x. 17.² Cf. Exod. xxx. 7.³ Three of these places are connected with critical events in the history of the world; Eden (with Adam), Sinai (with Moses), Zion (with David).⁴ The exact identification is uncertain; possibly the mount above Eden, where the Scythians live, is meant. Other suggestions are Mt. Ephraim, which would imply a Samaritan authorship, and Lubar, on Ararat, which would connect well with the history of Noah.⁵ Cf. i. 29.⁶ Cf. Gen. v. 25.⁷ Cf. Gen. v. 29.⁸ Cf. iii. 32.⁹ This implies the view that Abel's body was not buried before Adam's. According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (xxi.), Adam was at first uncertain what to do, but then buried Abel's corpse.

of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge : " On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die." ¹ For this reason he did not complete the years of this day ; for he died during it.

31. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year ; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house, and he was killed by its stones ; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment. 32. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tables : " With the instrument with which a man killeth his neighbour with the same shall he be killed ; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him." ² 33. And in

1205 A.M. the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ēmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year
1207 A.M. in the fifth week : and in the third year thereof she
1209 A.M. bare him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him
1212 A.M. Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare him Japheth.³

The Fall of the Angels and their Punishment ; the Deluge foretold (v. 1-20 ; cf. Gen. vi. 1-12).

V. And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God ⁴ saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were

¹ Cf. Gen. ii. 14. Notice that " day " here is interpreted as = 1000 years—a belief early current among Jews and Christians (cf. *Ber. rabba* xix. on Gen. iii. 8), 2 Pet. iii. 8. Justin Martyr, *Trypho.* lxxxix ; cf. also *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xviii.

² The *lex talionis* ; cf. Exod. xxi. 24 (" eye for eye, tooth for tooth ") ; Lev. xxiv. 19. Similar examples are given in 2 Macc. v. 19 f., xv. 32 f. The rigorous application of this " law " was upheld by the Sadducees, as against the Pharisees.

³ Cf. Gen. v. 22. Note that Shem is represented as the eldest ; cf. Gen. x. 21 (R.V.).

⁴ This is the LXX rendering of Gen. vi. 2 (R.V. " sons of God ") and represents the older Jewish exegesis, which was later given up.

beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants.¹ 2. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way,² alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walketh on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour³ each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually.⁴ 3. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth⁵ had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes. 4. And He said: "I shall destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the earth which I have created." 5. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord.⁶ 6. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. 7. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed from under heaven. 8. And He said "My spirit will not always abide⁷ on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years." 9. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 10. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation,⁸ when judgment is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before

¹ *Giants, i. e. "Nephilim."*

² Cf. 1 Enoch vii: 5.

³ Cf. Gen. vi. 12.

⁴ Cf. Gen. vi. 3, R.V. marg.

⁵ Cf. Gen. vi. 12.

⁶ Cf. Gen. vi. 5.

⁷ Cf. Gen. vi. 7, 8.

⁸ Cf. 1 Enoch x. 12.

the Lord. 11. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom He judged not according to all their wickedness. 12. And He †made† for all His works a new and righteous nature,¹ so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all righteous each in his kind alway. 13. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and for every kind. 14. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved. 15. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. 16. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He saith that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge.² [17. And of the children of Israel it hath been written and ordained: If they turn to Him in righteousness, He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. 18. It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.]³ 19.

¹ 10-12, as Charles has shown, describe the *final* judgment. The tenses must be altered from past to future. Render: "until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment *shall be* executed. . . . And He *shall* destroy . . . and there *shall not* be left one of them whom He *shall* not have judged. . . . And He *shall* make," etc.

² Cf. xl. 8; Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

³ The bracketed clauses have been either transposed here or interpolated from xxxiv. 18-19. The reference is to the Day of Atonement which takes place on the 10th of the 7th month. For "once each year," cf. Heb. ix. 7.

And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was commanded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. 20. And the Lord said that He would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth.¹

The Building of the Ark; the Flood (v. 21-32;
cf. Gen. vi. 13-viii. 19).

21. And He commanded Noah to make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood.² 22. And Noah made the ark in all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). 23. And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, in the second month, on the new moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed³ it from without on the seventeenth⁴ evening.

24. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates⁵ of heaven, And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number.

25. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from the heaven forty days and forty nights, And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water.

26. And the waters increased upon the earth: Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high mountains,

¹ Cf. Gen. vi. 7.

² Cf. Gen. vi. 14.

³ Cf. Gen. vii. 16.

⁴ Cf. Gen. vii. 11.

⁵ Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxix. 2. Note the recurrence of the number seven in these connexions.

And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.¹

27. And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five months—one hundred and fifty days.² 28. And the ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat.³ 29. And (on the new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below.⁴ 30. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first month the earth became visible.⁵ 31. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth⁶ day in the second month the earth was dry. 32. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and birds, and every moving thing.⁷

309 A.M.

Noah's Sacrifice ; God's Covenant with him
(cf. Gen. viii. 20–ix. 17). **Instructions to Moses**
about eating of Blood, the Feast of Weeks,
etc., and Division of the Year (vi. 1–38).

VI. And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on that mountain.⁸ 2. And he made atonement for the earth,⁹ and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for

¹ For 24–26 cf. Gen. vii. 11, 12, 18, 20.

² Cf. Gen. vii. 24, viii. 3.

³ Cf. Gen. viii. 4. Lubar is mentioned again in vii. 1, 17.

⁴ Cf. Gen. viii. 2; 1 Enoch lxxxix. 7.

⁵ Cf. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

⁶ According to Gen. viii. 14 it was the 27th day of the month.

⁷ Cf. Gen. viii. 19.

⁸ Cf. Gen. viii. 20. The mountain is Lubar.

⁹ The earth needed expiation and cleansing for the vices and crimes that had polluted it.

all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save those that were in the ark with Noah. 3. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before the Lord.¹ 4. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour,² and He made a covenant with him that there should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth;³ that all the days of the earth seed-time and harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not change their order, nor cease for ever.⁴ 5. "And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it.⁵ The fear of you and the dread of you I shall inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea.⁶ 6. And behold I have given unto you all beasts, and all winged things, and everything that moveth on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat.⁷ 7. But flesh, with the life thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of your lives be required.

9 At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast), shall I require the blood of man.⁸ 8. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man.⁹ 9. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth." 10. And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat

¹ The sacrifice is elaborated here to accord with the developed ritual of a later age; cf. Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii.

2-5, 15.

² Gen. viii. 21.

⁴ Cf. Gen. viii. 22.

⁶ Cf. Gen. ix. 2.

⁸ Cf. Gen. ix. 4, 5.

³ Cf. Gen. ix. 11.

⁵ Cf. Gen. ix. 7.

⁷ Cf. Gen. ix. 2, 3.

⁹ Cf. Gen. ix. 6.

any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever throughout all the generations of the earth in this month. 11. On this account He spake to thee ¹ that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood ² upon them because of all the words of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. 12. And this testimony is written concerning you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eateth the blood of beast or of cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 13. And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God continually.³ 14. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar;⁴ every day and at the time of morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness ⁵ on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep it and not be rooted out. 15. And He gave to Noah ⁶ and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth. 16. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth.⁷ 17. For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, that they should celebrate the feast

¹ i. e. Moses.

² The proper use of blood in the daily sacrifice is here referred to; cf. 14 below.

³ For 12-13 cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 14; Deut. xii. 23.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xvii. 11.

⁵ Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8. Note that in our text here 11-14 deal with the Mosaic development of the covenant with Noah.

⁶ The text here returns to Noah.

⁷ Cf. Gen. ix. 13-15.

of weeks¹ in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. 18. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years: and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and they ate blood.² 19. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain. 20. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a commandment unto them: one day³ in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. 21. For it is the feast of weeks and the feast of first-fruits: ⁴this feast is twofold and of a double nature: ⁵according to what is written and engraven concerning it celebrate it. 22. For I have written in the book of the first law,⁶ in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day⁷ in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year. 23. And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth

¹ The "Feast of Weeks" (cf. Exod. xxxiv. 22) is here only connected with Noah's covenant, the establishment of which, it is supposed to commemorate. Later Judaism associated it with the giving of the Law on Sinai. It was celebrated, according to our Book, on the 15th day of the 3rd month.

² Notice that the non-observance of the Feast signalizes the breaking of the covenant-condition about eating blood.

³ Or "the first day (of the week)." See 22 below.

⁴ It is called "the day of first-fruits" in Num. xxviii. 26.

⁵ "Of a double nature" in that (?) it commemorates the covenant with Noah, and also has an agricultural character.

⁶ i. e. the Pentateuch.

⁷ Or "the first day" (of the week) = Sunday. Consequently, Pentecost would always fall on the same day of the week, Sunday. This accords with the Sadducean view.

month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year.¹ These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever. 24. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. 25. And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth. 26. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abysses beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them.² 27. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and, Noah was glad.³ 28. And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained. 29. And they placed them on the heavenly tables, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another (passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. 30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete.⁴ 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And

¹ According to Lev. xxiii. 24 only the 1st day of the 7th month was a "day of memorial." The "four days" here mentioned correspond to the four intercalary days "which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year" mentioned in 1 Enoch lxxv. 1. They introduce the four quarters of the year and apparently, according to the scheme of 1 Enoch and our Book, were intended to be added to the 360 days (= 12 × 30), which made up the solar year (360 + 4 days).

² Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxix. 7, 8.

³ Cf. Gen. viii. 5.

⁴ If the year consists of 52 weeks (= 4 × 13 weeks), how can it be divided into 12 months of 30 days each, which is the reckoning implied throughout the Book? For the solutions proposed see Charles's discussion, *ad loc.*

there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year. 32. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts.¹ 33. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged]² and they will neglect their ordinances. 34. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years.³ 35. For I know and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lieth) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. 36. For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now (it) disturbeth the seasons and cometh in from year to year ten days too soon.⁴ 37. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order),

¹ The effect of a solar year reckoned at 364 days would be that the festivals would always be celebrated on the same day of the week. Nisan 14 would always fall on a Sabbath, Nisan 22 (when the wave sheaf was to be offered) on a Sunday, and the Feast of Weeks, Sivan 15, on a Sunday. There is some reason to suppose that this conception of a solar year of 364 days has a dogmatic basis. See *Introd.*, p. xvii.

² The bracketed words are a dittograph.

³ For 33-34 cf. 1 Enoch lxxxii. 4-6.

⁴ A lunar year consists of 354 days. Our author wages a polemic against the use of the moon for determining the seasons and feasts. But a lunar year was accepted by the Pharisees.

and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. 38. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayest testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons¹ and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah offers Sacrifice; the Cursing of Canaan
(cf. Gen. ix. 20-28) : **Noah's Sons and Grand-sons** (cf. Gen. x.) **and their Cities. Noah's Admonitions** (vii. 1-39).

1317 A.M. VII. And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr,² one of the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year,³ and he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the seventh month. 2. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, until the first day, on the new moon of the first month. 3. And he celebrated with joy the day of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself and his sons.⁴ 4. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar which he had made, and all the

¹ Render (for "new moons") "beginnings of the months."

² Cf. v. 28.

³ Cf. Lev. xix. 23-25 (fruit of trees not to be touched during the first three years after planting).

⁴ Cf. Num. xxix. 2, 5.

fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice, and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. 5. And he placed all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to ascend acceptable before the Lord his God. 6. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy. 7. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept.¹ 8. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and went forth and told his two brethren without. 9. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame of their father, and their faces were backward.² 10. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan; an enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren."³ 11. And he blessed Shem, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. 12. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant."⁴ 13. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan.⁵ 14. And he built for himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. 15. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after the name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. 16. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name

¹ For 6-7 cf. Gen. ix. 21.² For 8-9 cf. Gen. ix. 22-23.³ Cf. Gen. ix. 24-25.⁴ For 11-12 cf. Gen. ix. 26-27.⁵ Cf. Gen. x. 6.

after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlêbâb.¹ 17. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlêbâb fronting the mountain on its east; and Na'êlâtamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatanêsês towards the west. 18. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) was born two years after the flood—and Lud, and Aram.² 19. The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah.³ 20.⁴ And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame⁵ of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. 21. For owing to these three things⁶ came the flood upon the earth, namely, owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they chose:⁷ and they made the beginning of uncleanness. 22. And they begat sons the Nâphîdm,⁸ and †they were all unlike†,⁹ and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. 23. And every one sold himself¹⁰ to work iniquity and to

1324-1372
A.M.

¹ = "righteousness of the heart."

² Cf. Gen. x. 22.

³ Cf. Gen. x. 2.

⁴ From here to the end of the chapter there is incorporated a fragment of the lost Book of Noah.

⁵ Cf. iii. 31.

⁶ viz. fornication, uncleanness and all iniquity. According to Maimonides (*Kings*, 89) Adam received six commandments against (1) idolatry; (2) blasphemy; (3) murder; (4) incest; (5) stealing; (6) perverting justice. These were enjoined by Noah, who added a seventh, prohibiting the eating of flesh with blood.

⁷ Cf. Gen. vi. 2; 1 Enoch vii. 1.

⁸ i. e. the Nephilim.

⁹ Text probably corrupt.

¹⁰ Cf. 1 Kings xxi. 20 (phrase).

shed much blood,¹ and the earth was filled with iniquity.² 24. And after this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moveth and walketh on the earth :³ and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil continually.⁴ 25. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth ;⁵ because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth He destroyed everything. 26. " And we were left, I⁶ and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness ; for in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it cometh) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother. 27. For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth, and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth.⁷ 28. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, will all be destroyed from the earth.⁸

29. And there will not be left any man that eateth blood.

Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor will there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven ;
For into Sheol will they go,
And into the place of condemnation will they descend.

¹ Cf. 1 Enoch ix. 1.

² Cf. Gen. vi. 11 ; 1 Enoch ix. 9.

³ Cf. 1 Enoch vii. 5.

⁴ Cf. Gen. vi. 5.

⁵ Cf. Gen. vi. 7, vii. 4.

⁶ Noah is the speaker here and to the end of the chapter.

⁷ Cf. x. 1 (x. 1-15 is another excerpt from the Noah apocalypse).

⁸ Cf. Gen. ix. 4, 6 ; Lev. vii. 27.

And into the darkness of the deep will they all be removed by a violent death.¹

30. There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flieth upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which hath been shed² on the face of the earth. 31. And ye shall not be like him who eateth with blood, but guard yourselves that none may eat blood before you :³ cover the blood, for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. 32. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required at the hand of any flesh that sheddeth (it) on the earth.⁴ 33. For the earth will not be clean from the blood which hath been shed upon it ;⁵ for (only) through the blood of him that shed it⁶ will the earth be purified throughout all its generations. 34. And now, my children, hearken : work judgment and righteousness that ye may be planted in righteousness⁷ over the face of the whole earth, and your glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood.⁸ 35. And behold, ye will go and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover all fruit-bearing trees. 36. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered : and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits].⁹

¹ Cf. xxii. 22 ; 1 Enoch ciii. 7, 8.

² Cf. Lev. xvii. 13 ; Ezek. xxiv. 7 (here the precept is carried back to Noah).

³ One of the seven Noachic laws (binding on all men) was the prohibition of eating flesh with the blood. Cf. note on 21 above.

⁴ Cf. Gen. ix. 4 ; Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 14.

⁵ Cf. vi. 2.

⁶ Cf. Num. xxxv. 33.

⁷ A frequent metaphor in the O.T. Israel is " the plant of righteousness " (1 Enoch x. 16, etc.).

⁸ Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 5.

⁹ These words, if genuine, direct that in the fourth year only the first-fruits (not all the fruit) are to be offered to God. Cf. Lev. xix. 23-24.

acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things. Let them offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receiveth it, and what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord ¹ eat before the altar which receiveth (it). 37. And in the fifth year ²

make ye the release so that ye release it ³ in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous, and all that you plant will prosper. 38. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his fathers commanded him. 39. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh ⁴ in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his sons' sons until the day of his death."

Genealogy of the Descendants of Shem : Noah and his Sons divide the Earth (viii. 1-30; cf. Gen. x.).

VIII. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ējâ, [the daughter of Sûsân,] the daughter of Elâm, and she bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm.⁵ 2. And the son grew, and his father taught

¹ i. e. the priests. Later Judaism directed that the rest of the fruit should be eaten by the owners within the walls of Jerusalem. The view of the text is supported by the Samaritans, the Karaite Jews and Ibn Ezra.

² Charles suspects a lacuna in the text here.

³ Or render "(In the seventh year) ye will let it (the land) rest and lie fallow" (Charles).

⁴ Cf. 1 Enoch lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14.

⁵ This name occurs in the LXX of Gen. xi. 13, but not in the MT or other Versions. It also occurs in the genealogy in Luke iii. 36.

him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven.¹ 4. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. 5. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Madai, the son of
1429 A.M. Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and
1432 A.M. called his name Shelah;² for he said: "Truly I have been sent."³ 6. [And in the fourth year he was born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of
1499 A.M. Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth-
1503 A.M. jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof.
1564 A.M. 7. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he took unto him-
1567 A.M. self a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd,⁴ the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh
week, in the third year thereof. 8. And in the sixth year thereof, she bare him a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg.⁵ 9. And they divided (it) secretly⁶ amongst themselves,

¹ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2, 3, who assigns this wisdom not to the Watchers, but to the children of Seth.

² Cf. Gen. x. 24.

³ A paronomasia is implied in the original Hebrew here.

⁴ Read *'Azûrd*.

⁵ There is a play (in the original Hebrew) on the meaning of the name *Peleg* here.

⁶ The secret division of the earth is followed by an authoritative one by Noah, and made binding on his descendants. Canaan is included in Shem's lot. Hence, the Israelite con-

and told it to Noah. 10. And it came to pass in the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us,¹ who had been sent, was with them. 11. And he called his sons; and they drew nigh to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession, and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father. 12. And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot ² the middle of the earth ³ which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ,⁴ from the mouth of the water from the river Tînâ,⁵ and his portion goeth towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extendeth till it reacheth the water of the abysses, out of which this river goeth forth and poureth its waters into the sea Mē'at,⁶ and this river floweth into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongeth to Shem. 13. And it extendeth till it reacheth Kârâsô:⁷ this is in the bosom of the tongue ⁸ which looketh towards the south. 14.

quest later is justified. Noah's division of the earth is alluded to in *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxiii. (end).

¹ i. e. one of the angels.

² For the countries included in Shem's lot, see 21, ix. 2-6, 13 b. According to Epiphanius it extended from Persia and Bactria to India, to Rhinocurura (between Egypt and Palestine).

³ According to Ezek. xxxviii. 12 (1 Enoch xxvi. 1) Palestine was the "navel" of the earth.

⁴ Probably the Rhipaeen mountains (identified sometimes with the Ural mountains).

⁵ i. e. the river Tanais or Don.

⁶ i. e. the Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

⁷ i. e. (?) the Rhinocurura (= "the torrent of Egypt") on the confines of Egypt and Palestine (Charles); cf. Isa. xxvii. 12.

⁸ i. e. either promontory of land, or bay.

And his portion extendeth along the great sea, and it extendeth in a straight line till it reacheth the west of the tongue which looketh towards the south;¹ for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea.² 15. And it turneth from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea³ on the shore of (its) waters, and it extendeth to the west to 'Afrâ,⁴ and it extendeth till it reacheth the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon,⁵ to the banks of this river. 16. And it extendeth towards the east, till it reacheth the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turneth to the †east,†⁶ and proceedeth till it reacheth the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descendeth to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. 17. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. 18. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

"Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem."⁷

19. And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three⁸ were created as holy places facing each other. 20. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. 21. And he knew that a blessed portion

¹ i. e. (?) the promontory on which Mt. Sindi is situated.

² i. e. the Gulf of Akaba; cf. Isa. xi. 15.

³ ? the northern waters of the Red Sea.

⁴ i. e. Africa in the restricted sense of the Roman province which included Egypt and the other northern parts of Africa bordering the Mediterranean.

⁵ i. e. the Nile.

⁶ ? read "west."

⁷ Cf. vii. 11.

⁸ These three holy places fall within Shem's lot.

and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr,¹ and all the mountains of Sanîr² and 'Amânâ,³ and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'êdâi,⁴ and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good. 22.⁵ And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right⁶ of the Garden, and it extendeth towards the south and it extendeth to all the mountains of fire,⁷ and it extendeth towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl⁸ and it extendeth towards the west till it reacheth the sea of Mâ'ûk⁹—that (sea) into which †everything which is not destroyed descendeth†.¹⁰ 23. And it goeth forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdîr,¹¹ and it goeth forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draweth near to the river Gihon, and goeth along the river Gihon till it reacheth the right of the Garden of Eden. 24. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy for ever for himself and his sons unto their

¹ ? Crete. The ancient Versions identify Caphtor with Cappadocia.

² i. e. Senir (Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5) = Hermon.

³ ? Mt. Amanus in N. Syria.

⁴ i. e. Media; cf. x. 35.

⁵ 22-24 give details of Ham's portion, which includes all Africa and certain parts of Asia.

⁶ i. e. to the south.

⁷ Cf. 1 Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3.

⁸ i. e. the Atlantic.

⁹ ? The great ocean stream in the extreme west.

¹⁰ The text may be corrupt. Render, perhaps, "if anything descends into it, it perishes" (Charles).

¹¹ i. e. Cadiz.

generations for ever. 25.¹ And for Japheth came forth the third portion beyond² the river Tînâ³ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extendeth north-easterly to the whole region of Gog,⁴ and to all the country east thereof. 26. And it extendeth northerly to the north, and it extendeth to the mountains of Qêlt⁵ towards the north, and towards the sea of Mâ'ûk, and it goeth forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. 27. And it extendeth until it approacheth the west of Fârâ⁶ and it returneth towards 'Afêrâg,⁷ and it extendeth easterly to the waters of the sea of Mê'at.⁸ 28. And it extendeth to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly direction until it approacheth the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ,⁹ and it turneth round towards the north. 29. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever; five great islands,¹⁰ and a great land in the north. 30. But it is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the Three Portions amongst the Grandchildren: Oath taken by Noah's Sons (ix. 1-15; cf. Gen. x. partly).

IX. And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush¹¹ towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim,¹² and to the west

¹ 25-29a Japheth's portion (N. Asia, Europe, five great islands); cf. ix. 7-13.

² Japheth's portion is elaborately described in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6, 1.

³ i. e. the river Don.

⁴ In N. Asia. Josephus identifies Gog with the Scythians.

⁵ Qêlt = probably the Celts. ⁶ ? Africa. ⁷ ? Phrygia.

⁸ i. e. the Sea of Azov (see viii. 12 above).

⁹ ? the Ural mountains (cf. viii. 12 above).

¹⁰ Including, probably, Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica.

¹¹ = Ethiopia.

¹² i. e. Egypt.

of him for Put,¹ and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea ² for Canaan.³ 2. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the the river Tigris till it approacheth the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk ⁴ to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. 3. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascendeth and skirteth the river. 4. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looketh towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ ⁵ to the border of the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram ⁶ there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ.⁷ 6. And there came forth for Lud ⁸ the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reacheth the Great Sea, and till it reacheth the east of Asshur his brother. 7. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. 8. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reacheth to the sea of Mè'at. 9. And

¹ *i. e.* Libya (west of Egypt).

² *i. e.* the Atlantic. For Canaan's portion (from Libya to the Atlantic) cf. x. 28-29.

³ For 1 cf. Gen. x. 6.

⁴ ? Pharnacia on the coast of Pontus (Charles).

⁵ Cf. viii. 21.

⁶ *i. e.* the Syrians.

⁷ Ararat; cf. viii. 21.

⁸ According to Josephus the descendants of Lud were the Lydians.

for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two brothers to the islands,¹ and to the coasts of the islands. 10. And for Javan² came forth the fourth portion every island³ and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. 11. And for Tubal⁴ there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approacheth towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue.⁵ 12. And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue⁶ till it approacheth the east of Gâdir.⁷ 13. And for Tiras⁸ there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands⁹ in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance].¹⁰ 14. And thus the sons of Noah divided unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating a curse on every one that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. 15. And they all said, "So be it; so be it," for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

¹ Including (?) Britain and Ireland.

² *i. e.* properly Ionia (so Isa. lxvii. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13): but in Daniel (viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2) it = the Græco-Macedonian Empire. Here it seems to embrace all the islands off the coast of Asia Minor.

³ ? coastland.

⁴ Tubal's portion apparently extends from Thrace to Italy.

⁵ The three tongues of land may be Thrace, Greece and Italy.

⁶ *i. e.* probably Italy.

⁷ *i. e.* Cadiz.

⁸ The descendants of Tiras may have been the Tyrseni, a branch of the Pelasgians.

⁹ Cf. viii. 29.

¹⁰ The bracketed words are probably an interpolation (Charles). Arpachshad was a son of Shem.

Noah's Sons led astray by Evil Spirits ; Noah's Prayer ; Mastêmâ ; Death of Noah (x. 1-17 ; cf. Gen. ix. 28).

X.¹ And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons² began to lead astray †the children of†³ the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them.
2. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said :

" God of the spirits of all flesh,⁴ who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition ;⁵

For Thy grace hath been great towards me,
And great hath been Thy mercy to my soul ;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4. But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth.
5. And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day : and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God ; for these are malignant, and created in

¹ Here we have (in x. 1-15) another fragment of the lost Apocalypse of Noah (as in vii. 20-39). The Hebrew original of 1-2 and 9-14 of this section is extant.

² *i. e.* the spirits which issued from the children of the angels and the daughters of men.

³ Omit *the children of*.

⁴ Cf. Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16.

⁵ Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

order to destroy. 6. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore." 7. And the Lord our God bade us to bind all.¹ 8. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ,² came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men." 9. And He said: "Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation."³ 10. And one of us⁴ He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. 11. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan⁵ on the earth. 12. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth. 13. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil

¹ Cf. 1 Enoch x. 4, 12.

² The word apparently = *mašîm* (Hif. part of *šâlam*), "to be adverse," "inimical"; the Heb. noun *mašîmâ* = "animosity," in Hos. ix. 7, 8. Thus the word = Satan ("adversary"). As a proper name it is practically confined to the Jubilees-literature. The evil spirits under the guidance of Mastêmâ tempt, accuse and destroy men.

³ Only one-tenth are permitted to act freely against mankind till the Day of Judgment; but in 1 Enoch xv.-xvi. all the demons are allowed to do this.

⁴ The angel Raphael is referred to, as is shown by the Hebrew Book of Noah. For Raphael in this connection cf. Tobit iii. 17, xii. 14, 15.

⁵ Thus Satan and Mastêmâ are identical.

spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah. 14. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he loved him exceedingly above all his sons. 15. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. 16. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen jubilees and two weeks and five years. 17. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world,¹ so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the day of judgment.

The Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues (x. 18-27; cf. Gen. xi. 1-9).

18. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômnâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu;² for he said: "Behold the children of men have become evil³ through the wicked purpose of building for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Shinar." 19. For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, "Go to, let us ascend thereby into heaven."⁴ 20. And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay⁵ with which they cemented them together was asphalt which cometh out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. 21. And they built it: forty and three years were they building it; its

¹ Cf. iv. 24.

² Cf. Gen. xi. 18.

³ There is a play on the name Reu in Hebrew here (*re'û* . . . *râ'û*).

⁴ Cf. Gen. xi. 4.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xi. 3.

breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick) was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). 22. And the Lord our God said unto us: "Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech;¹ and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with them till the day of judgment." 23. And the Lord descended, and we descended with Him to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built. 24. And He confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. 25. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed² into their cities, each according to his language and his nation.³ 26. And the Lord sent a mighty wind⁴ ~~against the tower~~ and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and they called its name "Overthrow."⁵ 27. In the fourth week in the first year in the beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar.

¹ Cf. Gen. xi. 6 f.² Cf. Gen. xi. 9.³ According to Jewish tradition seventy nations (under seventy patron angels) were thus created.⁴ An old tradition; cf. *Sibyll. Oracles* iii. 98-103; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4, 3.⁵ A play on the preceding verb ("overthrew"). But its real name was Babel.

**The Children of Noah enter their Districts ;
Canaan seizes Palestine wrongfully ; Ma-
dai receives Media (x. 28-36)**

28. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion in the land of the south.¹ 29. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea,² and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border of the sea.³ 30. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers, said unto him : " Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot : do not do so ; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition ; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. 31. Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem ; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. 32. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse⁴ by which we bound ourselves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge,⁵ and in the presence of Noah our father." 33. But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath⁶ to the entering of Egypt,⁷ he and his sons until this day. 34. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. 35. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad,

¹ " South " should be " north " here : N. Africa is meant.

² i. e. N.-W. Africa (his true inheritance).

³ Canaan wrongfully seized Palestine, which belonged by right to Arpachshad.

⁴ Cf. ix. 14, 15.

⁵ i. e. the angel who was present at the lot (viii. 10).

⁶ Hamath marked the northern boundary of Israel.

⁷ The extreme south.

his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until this day. 36. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

The History of the Patriarchs from Reu to Abraham (cf. Gen. xi, 20-30); **the Corruption of the Human Race** (xi. 1-15).

1681 A.M. XI. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ōrâ, the daughter of 'Ūr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and he
1687 A.M. called his name Sêrôh,¹ in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. 2.² And the sons of Noah began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation,³ and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And 'Ūr, the son of Kêsêd,⁴ built the city of 'Arâ⁵ of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father. 4. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits assisted

¹ Cf. Gen. xi. 20 f. (MT. has *Serug* for *Sêrôh*).

² In 2-6 the corruption of mankind is ascribed to the period of Serug.

³ A note of hostility to monarchy.

⁴ The place name *Ur Kasdim* ("Ur of the Chaldees") is here transformed into the names of two persons, after whom the city is named.

⁵ i. e. Ur.

and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. 5. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy, and to shed blood upon the earth.¹ 6. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. 7. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ,² the daughter of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. 8. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. 9. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'lâskâ,³ the daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. 10. And she bare him Terah⁴ in the seventh year of this week. 11. And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. 12. And for this reason he called his name Terah, because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their seed.⁵ 13. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the

¹ Cf. 1 Enoch xvi.

² In Gen. xi. 29 Milcah is the name of the wife of Nahor, Abram's brother.

³ = Iscah (cf. Gen. xi. 29; but there she is daughter of Haran).

⁴ Cf. Gen. xi. 24.

⁵ Apparently some play on the name Terah is involved in the original Hebrew; but the explanation is uncertain.

1870 A.M. trees from the trees : it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the earth in their days. 14. And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ēdnâ,¹ the daughter of 'Abrâm,² the daughter of his father's sister. 1876 A.M. 15. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, and he called his name Abram, by the name of the father of his mother ; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son.³

Abram's Knowledge of God and wonderful Deeds (xi. 16-24).

1890 A.M. 16. And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he separated himself from his father,⁴ that he might not worship idols with him. 17. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. 18. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. 19. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, "Descend not : return to the place

¹ According to the Talmud (*Baba bathra* 91a) her name was Amthelai, daughter of Karnebo.

² i. e. the grandfather of the Biblical Abram.

³ It was customary to name a child after a grandfather. Here the child's name apparently perpetuates the memory of a grandfather who had died before the child was conceived.

⁴ This is the theme of much later Jewish legend. See especially the first part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, an edition of which appears in this series. Cf. xii. 1-14 below.

whence ye came," and they proceeded to turn back. 20. And he caused the clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. 21. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the land of the Chaldees. 22. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and ate and were satisfied. 23. And in the first year of the fifth week Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough,¹ in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens. 24. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

**Abram seeks to convert Terah from Idolatry ;
the Family of Terah (cf. Gen. xi. 27-30).
Abram burns the Idols. Death of Haran**
(cf. Gen. xi. 28) (xii. 1-14).

XII. And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here am I, my son." 2. And he said,

¹ An improved method of sowing by means of a seed-scatterer attached to the plough (Arab. *būk*) is here described. This marked an advance on the primitive method of scattering the seed by hand, and its invention is ascribed to Abraham. In Rabbinical tradition Noah is the inventor of the plough and kindred instruments. Cf. Krauss, *Talmudische Archæologie*, ii. 553 (note 151).

- "What help and profit have we from those idols
which thou dost worship,
And before which thou dost bow thyself? ¹
3. For there is no spirit in them,²
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the
heart.
Worship them not :
4. Worship the God of heaven,
Who causeth the rain and the dew to descend on the
earth,³
And doeth everything upon the earth,
And hath created everything by His word,⁴
And all life is from before His face.
5. Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in
them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,⁵
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,⁶
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who
make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship
them :
Worship them not."
6. And his father said unto him, "I also know it,
my son, but what shall I do with a people who have
made me to serve before them? 7. And if I tell them
the truth, they will slay me; for their soul cleaveth

¹ In 1-14 we have an early form of the legend of Abram's protest against idolatry. This section has remarkable parallels, both in thought and expression, with chaps. i.-viii. of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. In the later (Rabbinic) forms of the legend Abram's birth excites the alarm of Nimrod, who endeavours to destroy him in a furnace of fire.

² Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 17.

³ Cf. xx. 9; Jer. xiv. 22.

⁴ Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb. xi. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 5; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

⁵ Cf. Jer. x. 3, 9.

⁶ Cf. Isa. xlvi. 7; Jer. x. 5; *Assumpt. Moses*, viii. 4.

to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent,¹ my son, lest they slay thee." 8. And these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent. 9. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife.² 10. And Haran, his brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the seventh year of this week and he called his name Lot. 11. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself a wife.³ 12. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house, and no man knew it. 13. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the midst of the fire. 14. And Haran hastened to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father, and they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees.⁴

The Family of Terah in Haran ; Abram's Experiences there ; his Journey to Canaan (xii. 15-31 ; cf. Gen. xi, 31-xii. 3).

15. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram, dwelt with Terah his father in

¹ In *Ap. Abraham* Terah is indignant with Abraham for deriding the idols.

² Cf. Gen. xx. 12, according to which Sarah was Abraham's half-sister. According to Rabbinic tradition marriage with half-sisters on the father's side was permitted to the descendants of Noah. In Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17, marriage with a sister or half-sister is strictly forbidden.

³ According to Gen. xi. 29, Milcah.

⁴ In *Ap. Abraham*, viii. the fire descends from heaven and burns the house and all in it (including Terah). Only Abraham escapes.

- 1951 A.M. Haran two weeks of years.¹ 16. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. 17. And a word came into his heart and he said: "All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?" 18. If He desireth, He causeth it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desireth, He withholdeth it,
And all things are in His hand."
19. And he prayed that night and said
"My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of Thy hands.
20. Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have sway over the thoughts of men's hearts,
And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore."
21. And he said, "Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them, or am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God." 22. And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: "Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land which I shall show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.

¹ Cf. Gen. xi. 31.

23. And I shall bless thee
 And I shall make thy name great,
 And thou wilt be blessed in the earth,
 And in thee will all families of the earth be blessed,
 And I shall bless them that bless thee,
 And curse them that curse thee.¹

24. And I shall be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God." 25. And the Lord God said: "Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which hath been revealed";² for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). 26. And I³ opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. 27. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six rainy months.⁴ 28. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his father, and informed him that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. 29. And Terah his father said unto him; "Go in peace:

May the eternal God make thy path straight,
 And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee
 from all evil,
 And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour
 before those who see thee,
 And may none of the children of men have power
 over thee to harm thee;
 Go in peace.

¹ Cf. Gen. xii. 1-3 (cf. Acts vii. 3).

² *i. e.* the sacred language, Hebrew, knowledge of which had been lost since the overthrow of Babel. According to another tradition Heber alone retained knowledge of Hebrew because he had taken no part in the building of the Tower.

³ The angel is the speaker.

⁴ *i. e.* the winter.

30. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother, as thine own son: the Lord be with thee. 31. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together."

Abram with Lot in Canaan and Egypt (cf. Gen. xii. 4-20). **Abram separates from Lot** (cf. Gen. xiii. 11-18) (xiii. 1-21).

XIII. And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†¹ and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near a lofty oak.² 2. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to the lofty oak. 3. And the Lord said to him: "To thee and to thy seed will I give this land." 4. And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him. 5. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . .³ Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there.⁴ 6. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains. 7. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought him to this land. 8. And it came
1954 A.M. to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: "Thou, the eternal God, art my God."⁵ 9. And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord

¹ Corrupt. Read probably *Canaan*.

² For 1 cf. Gen. xii. 5-6. For "lofty oak" (so LXX) MT has "oak of Moreh."

³ Supply (?) "to the east of Bethel with" (Charles).

⁴ For 3-5 cf. Gen. xii. 7, 8.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xii. 8.

that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. 10. And he removed from thence and went towards the south,¹ and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth,² and there was a famine in the land. 11. And Abram went into Egypt³ in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 12. Now Tanais⁴ in Egypt was at that time built—seven years after Hebron.⁵ 13. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. 14. And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also, his brother's son, was wealthy. 15. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt,⁶ and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace.⁷ 16. And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever."⁸ 17. And in the fourth year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly.⁹ 18. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no

¹ Cf. Gen. xii. 9.² A town in S. Judah (Josh. xv. 24).³ Cf. Gen. xii. 10.⁴ *i. e.* Zoan.⁵ Cf. Num. xiii. 22.⁶ For 13-15a cf. Gen. xii. 15-20 (note that Gen. xii. 18 is omitted).⁷ Cf. Gen. xiii. 3-4.⁸ Cf. 8 above.⁹ Cf. Gen. xiii. 11, 13.

children. 19.¹ In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: "Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward. 20. For all the land which thou seest I shall give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I shall make thy seed as the sand of the sea:² though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet thy seed shall not be numbered.³ 21. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all; for to thy seed shall I give it." And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there.

**The Campaign of Chedorlaomer (xiii. 22-29;
cf. Gen. xiv.).**

22. And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar,⁴ and Têrgâl,⁵ king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea. 23. And they took captive Sodom and Adam⁶ and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions, and they went to Dan.⁷ 24. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed⁸ his household servants. 25. for Abram, and for his seed, a

¹ For 19-21 cf. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

² Cf. Gen. xxii. 17 (Gen. xiii. 16 has "as the dust of the earth").

³ "So that if a man can number . . . then shall thy seed also be numbered" (Gen. xiii. 16).

⁴ MT *Ellasar*.

⁵ MT *Tidal* (for form here cf. LXX θαρυδλ).

⁶ i. e. Admah.

⁷ Cf. Gen. xiv. 14.

⁸ R.V. "led forth"; the rendering "armed" has the support of the Targum Onkelos.

tenth of the first-fruits to the Lord,¹ and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever.² 26. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep. 27. And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. 28. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: "Our Lord Abram, give unto us the souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine." 29. And Abram said unto him: "I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine, lest thou shouldst say I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These will take their portion."³

God's Covenant with Abram (xiv. 1-20;
cf. Gen. xv.).

XIV.⁴ After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and thy reward will be exceeding great." 2. And he said: "Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go

¹ Charles suspects a lacuna at the beginning of 25. It no doubt contained an account of the pursuit of the kings and told of Melchizedek (cf. Gen. xiv. 15-20). That Abraham should have given tithes to Melchizedek (who was uncircumcised) was a difficulty to later Jews (cf. Justin, *Trypho* xix.). One way of overcoming it was to identify Melchizedek with Shem.

² The law about tithes is made to apply for the Levitical priesthood; cf. xxxii. 15.

³ For 28-29 cf. Gen. xiv. 21-24.

⁴ For 1-6 cf. Gen. xv. 1-6.

hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq,¹ the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed." 3. And He said unto him: "This (man) will not be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir." 4. And He brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: "Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them." 5. And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: "So shall thy seed be." 6. And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 7. And He said unto him: "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I shall be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee."² 8. And he said: "Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?" 9. And he said unto him: "Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon."³ 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month; and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron.⁴ 11. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. 12. And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them.⁵ 13. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they will bring them into bondage, and afflict them ~~four~~

¹ Wrongly taken as a proper name (cf. R.V.). So LXX.

² Cf. Gen. xv. 7.

³ For 8-9 cf. Gen. xv. 8-9.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xiv. 13.

⁵ For 11-12 cf. Gen. xv. 10-11.

hundred years.¹ 14. And the nation also to whom they will be in bondage shall I judge, and after that they will come forth thence with much substance. 15. And thou wilt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age. 16. But in the fourth generation² they will return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full."³ 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites,⁴ and the Hivites,⁵ and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Gergashites, and the Jebusites."⁶ 19. And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit-offerings, and their drink-offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day⁷ we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month;⁸ and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever.

¹ Cf. Gen. xv. 13, but Exod. xii. 40 gives the number 430. Tradition assumes that the number includes the sojourn of the Patriarchs in Canaan. Our text reckons the period from the birth of Isaac (when Abraham was 100 years old). St. Paul (Gal. iii. 16-17) reckons 430 years from the announcement. According to Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40 f., the odd 30 years cover the period between the announcement and Isaac's birth.

² A generation = 100 years. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5).

³ For 13-16 cf. Gen. xv. 12-16.

⁴ Absent from MT (which inserts "Hittite" before "Perizzite").

⁵ So LXX and Sam. here (Gen. xv. 20); but MT, Syr. and Vulg. omit.

⁶ For 17-18 cf. Gen. xv. 17-21.

⁷ i. e. the 15th of Sivan.

⁸ Probably, according to our author, on the same day of the month.

The Birth of Ishmael (xiv. 21-24; cf. Gen. xvi. 1-4. 11).

21. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear. 22. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him: "Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her." 23. And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, "Do (so)." And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. 24. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth year in the life of Abram.

The Feast of First-fruits. Circumcision instituted. The Promise of Isaac's Birth. Circumcision ordained for all Israel (xv. 1-34; cf. Gen. xvii.).

XV. And in the fifth year of the †fourth†¹ week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the month,² Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits³ of the grain harvest. 2. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense.⁴ 3. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: "I am God Almighty; approve thyself before Me and be thou perfect. 4. And I will make My covenant between

¹ Read "third."

² i. e. the 15th of Sivan.

³ i. e. the Feast of Weeks. The Pharisees celebrated this feast not on Sivan 15th, but on Sivan 6th. See further Introduction.

⁴ Cf. xiv. 9. The offerings prescribed for this festival in Lev. xxiii. 18-20 are different.

Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly." ¹
 5.² And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said :

6. " Behold My ordinance is with thee,
 And thou wilt be the father of many nations.
 7. Neither will thy name any more be called Abram,
 But thy name from henceforth, even for ever,
 shall be Abraham.
 For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8. And I shall make thee very great,
 And I shall make thee into nations,
 And kings will come forth from thee.

9. And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. 10. (And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee) ³ the land where thou hast been a sojourner, the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I shall be their God." 11.⁴ And the Lord said unto Abraham : " And as for thee, do thou keep My Covenant, thou and thy seed after thee ; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it will be a token of an eternal covenant between Me and you. 12. And the child on the eighth day ⁵ ye will circumcise, every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. 13. He that is born in thy house will surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money will be circumcised, and My covenant will be in your

¹ For 3-4 cf. Gen. xvii. 1 f.

² For 5-10 cf. Gen. xvii. 3-8.

³ The bracketed words (lost through homoioteleuton) are restored from Gen. xvii. 8.

⁴ For 11-13 cf. Gen. xvii. 9-13.

⁵ MT has " and the child of eight days." Our text here may be a deliberate alteration.

flesh for an eternal ordinance. 14.¹ And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day,² that soul will be cut off from his people, for he hath broken My covenant." 15.³ And God said unto Abraham: "As for Sarai thy wife, her name will no more be called Sarai, but Sarah will be her name. 16. And I shall bless her, and give thee a son by her, and I shall bless him,⁴ and he will become a nation, and kings of nations will proceed from him." 17. And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: "Shall a son be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?" 18. And Abraham said unto God: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 19. And God said: "Yea, and Sarah also will bear thee a son, and thou wilt call his name Isaac, and I shall establish My covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after him. 20. And as for Ishmael also have I heard thee, and behold I shall bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly, and he will beget twelve princes, and I shall make him a great nation. 21. But My covenant shall I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee, in these days, in the next year." 22. And He left off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. 23.⁵ And Abraham did according as God had said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their fore-

¹ For 14 cf. Gen. xvii. 14.

² The words *on the eighth day* are absent from the text of Gen. xvii. 14, in MT, Syr. and Vulg., but are attested by the LXX and Sam. The strict rule about the eighth day was later relaxed among the Jews, but is still practised by the Samaritans.

³ For 15-22 cf. Gen. xvii. 15-22.

⁴ So LXX, Sam., Syr. and Vulg. of Gen. xvii. 22. But MT makes the text refer to Sarah ("yea, I will bless her, [and she shall be a mother of nations: kings of peoples shall be of her]," R.V.).

⁵ For 23-24 cf. Gen. xvii. 23-27.

skin. 24. And on the selfsame day¹ was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were circumcised with him. 25. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the days,² and no omission of one day out of the eight days;³ for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tables. 26. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on⁴ the eighth day, belongeth not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he hath broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 27. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification⁵ have been so created⁶ from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. 28. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. 29. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. 30. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. 31. And He

¹ i. e. the 15th of Sivan.

² i. e. ? of the days preceding the eighth day.

³ Only on the eighth day is the rite to be performed.

⁴ Ethiop. MSS. and Lat. have "till."

⁵ The two highest orders of angels, who share with Israel the privilege of observing the Sabbath (cf. ii. 18-21), and of being circumcised.

⁶ i. e. have been created circumcised.

sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men¹; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray² from Him. 32. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. 33. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them, sons of Beliar,³ will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born.⁴ 34. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

¹ Israel is God's portion; cf. Deut. xxxii. 8-9 in the LXX form of which "angels" is read instead of "children of Israel"; cf. also Ecclus. xvii. 17. The "seventy nations of the earth were placed under the dominion of seventy angels"; but in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1, Michael is referred to as Israel's angel-prince.

² This describes the result, not the original purpose of their appointment.

³ In i. 20 (see note). Beliar is clearly a Satanic being. This meaning may possibly be present in the use of the expression here. "Sons of Belial" is common in the O.T. (cf. e. g. 1 Sam. ii. 12).

⁴ Apparently such apostasy was widely spread when our author wrote.

**Angelic Visitation of Abraham in Hebron;
 Promise of Isaac's Birth repeated. The
 Destruction of Sodom and Lot's Deliver-
 ance (xvi. 1-9; cf. Gen. xviii.-xix.).**

XVI. And on the new moon of the fourth month we ¹ appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife.² 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words.³ 3. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tables (*i.e.*) Isaac. 4. And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. 5. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim,⁴ and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth.⁵ 6. And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters.⁶ 9. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tables, to remove them and root them out, and to

¹ *i.e.* the angels.

² For 1 cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10 (vers. 2-9 omitted).

³ Cf. Gen. xviii. 10, 12, 15.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xiv. 2, 8.

⁵ For 5 cf. Gen. xix. 24. ⁶ For 7-8 cf. Gen. xix. 29, 31 ff.

execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation.

Abraham at Beersheba. Birth and Circumcision of Isaac (cf. Gen. xxi. 1-4). **Institution of the Feast of Tabernacles** (xvi. 10-31).

10. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains¹ of Gerar. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath.² 12.³ And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken, and she conceived. 980 A.M. 13. And she bare a son in the third month and in the middle of the month.⁴ at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest,⁵ Isaac was born. 14. And Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained for ever. 15. And in the sixth year of the † fourth †⁶ week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath, and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have conceived a son. 16. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us]⁷ and we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him, that he should not die till he should beget six sons more,⁸ and should see (them) before he died; but (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called:⁹ 17. And (that) all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should

¹ Or "territories." ² i. e. Beersheba; cf. Gen. xxi. 31.

³ For 12-14 cf. Gen. xxi. 1-4. ⁴ i. e. the 15th of Sivan.

⁵ i. e. Pentecost. ⁶ Read "third" as in xv. T (Charles).

⁷ The bracketed words are an incorrect gloss, according to Charles, and should be omitted.

⁸ Six sons by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2). ⁹ Cf. Gen. xxi. 12.

become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles.¹ 18. For he should become the portion of the Most High,² and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord a people for (His) possession³ above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation.⁴ 19. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 20. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated a festival of joy in this month seven days,⁵ near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath. 21. And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate the feast of tabernacles on the earth. 22. And during these seven days he brought each day to the altar a burnt-offering to the Lord, two oxen,⁶ two rams, seven sheep,⁷ one he-goat, for a sin-offering, that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. 23. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings;⁸ and he burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour. 24. And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances,⁹ frankincense

¹ All Abraham's descendants, except Jacob and his seed, were to be reckoned among the Gentiles.

² Cf. xv. 31 f.

³ Cf. Deut. vii. 6; Exod. xix. 5.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xix. 6 (MT has "a kingdom of priests"); cf. Rev. v. 10, i. 6, which agree with our text substantially, and this may be the original sense. See Introduction, p. xxxii.

⁵ In 20-31 we have an account of the Feast of Tabernacles which is marked by peculiar features.

⁶ According to Num. xxix. 13-33 thirteen bullocks were sacrificed the first day, and this number was diminished by one each day following.

⁷ In Num. xxix. 13 fourteen he-lambs.

⁸ Cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 21.

⁹ Cf. Exod. xxx. 34; Ecclus. xxiv. 15.

and galbanum, and stacte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in equal parts (and) pure.

25. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house; and there was no stranger with him, nor any that was uncircumcised.

26. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him would arise the plant of righteousness¹

for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it should become like Him who had made all things. 27. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he

called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 28.

And we blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tables. 29. For this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for ever throughout their generations every year.² 30.

And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon their heads,³ and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook.⁴ 31. And Abraham took branches of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times⁵

¹ Cf. xxi. 24; 1 Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5, 10.

² Cf. Lev. xxiii. 41.

³ This custom in connection with Tabernacles seems to be unknown to tradition; cf., however, Wisdom ii. 7 f.; Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 9, 1. Bridegrooms wore wreaths, but the custom was later abolished. See further Introduction, p. xx f.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

⁵ According to later Jewish tradition it was only on the seventh day that the worshippers went round the altar seven times.

[a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

The Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (xvii. 1-14;
cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21).

XVII. And in the first year of the †fifth†¹ week 1982
Isaac was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made
a great banquet in the third month, on the day his
son Isaac was weaned.² 2. And Ishmael, the son
of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abra-
ham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced
and blessed God because he had seen his sons³ and
had not died childless. 3. And he remembered
the words which He had spoken to him on the day on
which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced be-
cause the Lord had given him seed upon the earth
to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his mouth
the Creator of all things.⁴ 4. ⁵ And Sarah saw Ish-
mael playing and dancing,⁶ and Abraham rejoicing
with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael
and said to Abraham, "Cast out this bondwoman and
her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be
heir with my son, Isaac." 5. And the thing was
grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maid-
servant and because of his son, that he should drive
them from him. 6. And God said to Abraham "Let
it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child
and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah
hath said unto thee, hearken to her words and do
(them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be
called. 7. But as for the son of this bondwoman I
will make him a great⁷ nation, because he is of thy
seed." 8. And Abraham rose up early in the morning

¹ Read "fourth" (Charles).

² Cf. Gen. xxi. 8.

³ Cf. xvi. 16.

⁴ Cf. xiii. 19 ff.

⁵ For 4-13 cf. Gen. xxi. 9-21.

⁶ Possibly *and dancing* is corrupt for *with Isaac*, which is read in LXX and Vulg.; cf. Gen. xxi. 9.

⁷ LXX, Sam., Syr. and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 13, have *great*; but MT omits.

and took bread and a bottle of water, and placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. 9. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on, and fell down. 10. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree,¹ and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, "Let me not see the death of my child," and as she sat she wept. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, "Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise, take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy voice, and hath seen the child." 12. And she² opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards the wilderness of Paran. 13. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him; and his mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. 14. And she bare him a son, and he called his name Nebaioth;³ for she said, "The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him."

Mastêmâ proposes to God that Abraham shall be put to the Proof (xvi. 15-18).

2003 A.M. 15. And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee,⁴ on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. 16. And the

¹ LXX (Gen. xxi. 15) "under a fir tree"; MT "under one of the shrubs."

² Read (?) "He" (God).

³ Cf. Gen. xxv. 13.

⁴ According to the chronology of our Book (cf. xvi. 12 with this passage) Isaac was twenty-three years old when he was offered up; according to the Seder Olam he was thirty-seven.

prince Mastêmâ ¹ came and said before God, " Behold, Abraham loveth Isaac his son, and he delighteth in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him. 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision, and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away.² 18. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

The Sacrifice of Isaac : Abraham returns to Beersheba (xviii. 1-19; Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19).

XVIII. And God said to him, " Abraham, Abraham "; and he said, " Behold, (here) am I." 2. And He said, " Take thy beloved³ son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country,⁴ and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee." 3. And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt-offering, and he went to the place on

¹ In Gen. xxii. 1 it is God Himself who directly proves Abraham.

² Seven of the traditional ten trials of Abraham are here mentioned: (1) Departure from his country; (2) famine; (3) the wealth of kings; (4) seizure of his wife; (5) circumcision; (6) and (7) expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael [(8) is the unfruitfulness of Sarah; (9) the sacrifice of Isaac, and (10) the burial of Sarah; cf. xiv. 21 and xix. 3, 8]. Slightly different enumerations occur elsewhere (e.g. *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, xxvi.-xxx.).

³ So LXX (Gen. xxii. 2): MT *only* (son).

⁴ So LXX; but MT " the land of Moriah."

the third day, and he saw the place afar off. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, "Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you." 5. And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father, "Father"; and he said, "Here am I, my son." And he said unto him, "Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?" 7. And he said, "God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son." And he drew near to the place of the mount of God.¹ 8. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac his son. 9. And I stood before him, and before the prince of the Mastêmâ,² and the Lord said, "Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he feareth the Lord." 10. And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: "Abraham, Abraham"; and he was terrified and said: "Behold, (here) am I." 11. And I said unto him: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me." 12. And the prince of the Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, a single ram caught³ . . . by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. 13. And Abraham called

¹ Instead of the words *of the mount of God*, MT (Gen. xxii. 9) reads, *which God hath told him of*.

² Here (cf., also, xviii. 12, xiviii. 9, 12, 15), Mastêmâ is the name given to the whole class of evil spirits, or Satans; elsewhere of the prince of these himself.

³ ? add *in a thicket*.

that place "The Lord hath seen," so that it is said " (in the mount) the Lord hath seen " :¹ that is Mount Sion. 14. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord.

15. And He said : " By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord,

Because thou hast done this thing,
And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved²
son, from Me,

That in blessing I shall bless thee,
And in multiplying I shall multiply thy seed
As the stars of heaven,
And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed will inherit the cities³ of its enemies,
16. And in thy seed will all nations of the earth be
blessed ;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
And I have shown to all that thou art faithful
unto Me in all that I have said unto thee :
Go in peace."⁴

17. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt by the Well of the Oath. 18. And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and returned in peace. 19. And accordingly hath it been ordained and written on the heavenly tables regarding Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

¹ Syr. and Vulg. render (Gen. xxii. 14) "will see," "seeth."
MT "it shall be seen" (provided).

² MT "thine only" (Gen. xxii. 16).

³ So Sam., version, LXX : MT "gate" (Gen. xxii. 17).

⁴ Cf. 1 Sam. i. 17.

The Death and Burial of Sarah (xix. 1-9;
cf. Gen. xxiii.).

XIX. And in the first year of the first week in the
2010 A.M. forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt
opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of
years. 2. And in the first year of the † third †¹
week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were
accomplished, and she died in Hebron. 3. And
Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and
we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he
were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and
he was found patient in this, and was not disturbed.²
4. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the
children of Heth, to the intent that they should give
him a place in which to bury his dead. 5. And the
Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he
besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave
him the land of the double cave³ over against Mamre,
that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver.
6. And they besought him, saying, "We shall give
it to thee for nothing"; but he would not take it
from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price
of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down
before them twice; and after this he buried his dead
in the double cave. 7. And all the days of the life
of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years,
that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year:
these are the days of the years of the life of Sarah.
8. This is the tenth² trial wherewith Abraham was
tried, and he was found faithful, patient in spirit.
9. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour
in the land how that God had said that He would
give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged
a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faith-

¹ Read "second" (Charles).

² This is the tenth trial of Abraham; cf. xvii. 17 note.

³ i. e. the cave of Machpelah (LXX, τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν),

ful, and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God.¹

Marriage of Isaac and second Marriage of Abraham (cf. Gen. xxiv. 15, xxv. 1-4); **the Birth of Esau and Jacob** (cf. Gen. xxv. 19 ff.) (xix. 10-14).

10. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham]² the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mēlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 11. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah.³ 12. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. 13. And in the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and Jacob was a smooth and upright⁴ man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write;⁵ but Esau did not learn, for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce.

¹ A traditional title of Abraham. It goes back to Isa. xli. 8; cf. Jas. ii. 23, *T.B. Men.* 53b.

² The bracketed words a dittograph.

³ This explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. The later tradition (cf. e. g. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxx.) identifies Hagar with Keturah.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxv. 27 (where "plain" = lit. "upright"), and Gen. xxvii. 11 (combined here).

⁵ According to the Targums the "tents" were academies. Jacob is represented as a lifelong student of the Torah (cf. *Ber. rabba* lxiii; *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxxii.).

Abraham loves Jacob and blesses him

(xix. 15-31).

15. And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 16. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob ¹ should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. 17. And he said unto her: "My daughter, watch over my son Jacob, For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.
18. For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.² 19. And behold, Isaac my son loveth Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.
20. Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he will be a blessing unto us on the earth from
henceforth unto all generations of the earth.
21. Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.
He will be blessed for ever,
And his seed will fill the whole earth.
22. If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also will be numbered.³
23. And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and his seed alway. 24. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and

¹ Jacob was to be the founder of the chosen nation; cf. ii. 20.

² Cf. Deut. vii. 6.

³ Cf. Gen. xiii. 16 (cf. also xiii. 20 of our Book).

Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam.¹ 25. And these shall serve

To lay the foundations of the heaven,

And to strengthen the earth,

And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament."

26. And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and said: 27. "Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may He cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the earth.² 28. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed³ to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. 29. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son." 30. And they both went forth together from Abraham. 31. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

Abraham's Last Words to his Children and Grandchildren (xx. I-II).

XX. And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh†⁴ week, Abraham called Ishmael, and his twelve sons,⁵ and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteousness, and love each his neighbour, and act

¹ Notice that Methuselah is omitted, and Adam is reckoned among the saints (with Noah and Enoch).

² Cf. xxii. 13.

³ As over the Gentiles. " "

⁴ Probably corrupt for "sixth" (Charles).

⁵ Cf. Gen. xxv. 13-15.

on this manner amongst all men; that they should each so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. 3. That they should circumcise their sons,¹ according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and uncleanness].² 4. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire,³ and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the land. 5. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.⁴

6. "And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,
 And from all pollution of sin,
 Lest ye make our name a curse,
 And your whole life a hissing,⁵
 And all your sons be destroyed by the sword,
 And ye become accursed like Sodom,
 And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.
7. I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
 And cleave ye to all His commandments.

¹ Circumcision, according to our author, is binding upon Ishmael's and Keturah's descendants (cf. Gen. xvj. 9f.). Notice the omission of Esau's descendants. According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxix., Esau, though he had been circumcised, "despised circumcision" (his birthright).

² Bracketed as a dittograph.

³ According to the Law only the adulterous priest's daughter was to be burned with fire; others were to be stoned (cf. Lev. xxi. 9, xx. 10).

⁴ Cf. vii. 21 (note).

⁵ Cf. Isa. lxx. 15; Jer. xxix. 18.

And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,

8.¹ And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods; ²

For they are vanity,

And there is no spirit in them;

For they are work of (men's) hands,

And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

Serve them not, nor worship them,³

9. But serve ye the Most High God, and worship Him continually:

And hope for His countenance always,

And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,

That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy,

And send rain ⁴ upon you morning and evening,

And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth,

And bless thy bread and thy water,⁵

And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,

And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.⁶

10. And ye will be for a blessing ⁷ on the earth,

And all nations of the earth will desire you,

And bless your sons in my name,

That they may be blessed as I am."

11. And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son.⁸

¹ For 8 cf. xii. 5, xxii. 18.

² Cf. Exod. xx. 5.

³ Cf. Exod. xxiii. 25.

⁷ Cf. Gen. xii. 2.

² Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15.

⁴ Cf. xii. 4, 18.

⁵ Cf. Deut. vii. 13.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.

The Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the Sons of Keturah (xx. 12-13).

12. And Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in all the land which is towards the East facing the desert.
13. And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's Last Words to Isaac (xxi. 1-25).

2057
(?2050)
A.M. XXI. And in the sixth year of the †seventh†¹ week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son,² and commanded him, saying: "I am become old, and know not the day of my death,³ and am full of my days.⁴ 2. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old,⁵ and throughout all the days of my life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly in all His ways. 3. My soul hath hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have given my heart and spirit)⁶ that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. 4. For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; ⁷ for God is righteous, and execut-

¹ Read "sixth" (Charles).

² The rest of this chapter purports to give Abraham's directions to Isaac regarding certain kinds of sacrifice. It has a remarkable parallel in *Test. XII Patriarchs*, Levi ix., where Isaac instructs Levi in the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices, etc. The latter is much shorter than our chapter, but hardly more original. The two books may have used a common source.

³ In Gen. xxvii. 2 these words are uttered by Isaac.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxv. 8, where LXX, Sam., Vulg. read "full of days," but MT omits "days."

⁵ Cf. Gen. xxv. 7.

⁶ The bracketed words are supplied from the Latin.

⁷ Cf. Deut. x. 17.

eth judgment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. 5. And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. 6. And eat no blood at all of animals or cattle, or of any bird which flieth in the heaven.¹ 7.² And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace-offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour (and the meat-offering) mingled with oil,³ with its drink-offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt-offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord.⁴ 8. And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the loins and liver thou shalt remove, together with the kidneys.⁵ 9. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread ⁶ of the offering unto the Lord, 10. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved]⁷ and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.⁸ 11. And on all

¹ Cf. vii. 28 (note).

² For 7-9 cf. the summary in *Test. XII Patr.* Levi ix. 7.

³ Cf. Lev. ii. 4.

⁴ For 7 cf. Lev. iii. 7-10.

⁵ Cf. Lev. iii. 9-10.

⁶ "Or food"; cf. Lev. iii. 11.

⁷ Bracketed words a dittograph.

⁸ No trace of such halakic rules exists in the Books of Enoch or the fragments of the Noah apocalypse that are extant. The statement in the text seems to be original to the author of *Jubilees*.

thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the salt of the covenant be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord.¹ 12. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these:² cypress, dêfrân,³ sagâd, pine, fir, cedar, savin, palm, olive, myrrh, laurel, and citron, juniper, and balsam. 13. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before.⁴ 14. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goeth not up to heaven. 15. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds. 16. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet.⁵ 17. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust.⁶ 18. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever.⁷ 19. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that

¹ Cf. Lev. ii. 13; *Test. Levi* ix. 14.

² In *Test. Levi* ix. 12 "twelve" evergreen trees are mentioned; here fourteen, and this number is probably correct.

³ Probably a kind of fir.

⁴ This may be the old halaka; the Mishna has no trace of it. The Mishna (*Tamid* ii. 3) allows all kinds of wood except that of the olive and vine; cf., also, *Sifra* on Lev. i. 8.

⁵ Cf. Exod. xxx. 19-21; cf. *Test. Levi* ix. 11.

⁶ Cf. Lev. xvii. 13.

⁷ Cf. Lev. xvii. 14; Deut. xii. 23.

is shed that causeth the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it.¹ 20. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that thou mayest be accepted before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21. I see, my son,

That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,
And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution;
And there is no righteousness with them.

22. Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death ² before the Most High God.

Else He will [hide His face from thee,
And] ³ give thee back into the hands ⁴ of thy transgression,
And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,
And thy name and thy seed will perish from the whole earth.

23. Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,
And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,
And do His will and be upright in all things.

24. And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,
And will raise up from thee the plant of righteousness ⁵ through all the earth, throughout all generations of the earth,
And my name and thy name will not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

¹ Cf. vii. 33; Num. xxxv. 33.

² Cf. xxxiii. 18.

³ Bracketed by Charles as an interpolation.

⁴ i. e. into the power of.

⁵ Cf. xvi. 26.

25. Go, my son, in peace.

May the Most High God, my God and thy God,
strengthen thee to do His will,

And may He bless all thy seed and the residue
of thy seed for the generations for ever, with
all righteous blessings,

That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth." ¹

26. And he went out from him rejoicing.

**Isaac, Ishmael and Jacob join in Festival with
Abraham for the Last Time. Abraham's
Prayer (xxii. 1-9).**

XXII. And it came to pass in the †first† ² week
in the †forty-fourth† ³ jubilee, in the †second† year,
that is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac
and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to
celebrate the feast of weeks—that is, the feast of the
first-fruits of the harvest—to Abraham, their father,
and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had
come. 2. For Isaac had many possessions in Beer-
sheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his posses-
sions and to return to his father. 3. And in those
days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both
came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice for a
burnt-offering, and presented it on the altar of his
father which he had made in Hebron. 4. And he
offered a thank-offering and made a feast of joy
before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made new
cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob,
her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from
the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and
bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5. And
Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham
a best thank-offering, that he might eat and drink.
6. And he ate and drank, and blessed the Most High
God,

¹ Cf. xx. 10.

² Read " sixth " (Charles).

³ Read " forty-second " (Charles):

Who hath created heaven and earth,
 Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,
 And given them to the children of men
 That they might eat and drink and bless their
 Creator.

7 "And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because Thou hast caused me to see this day: behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days,¹ and all my days have been unto me peace. 8. The sword of the adversary² hath not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day. 9. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance³ from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth, unto all the ages."

Abraham's Last Words to and Blessings of Jacob (xxii. 10-30).

10. And he called Jacob and said: "My son Jacob, may the God of all⁴ bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me." 11. And he drew near and kissed him, and he said:

"Blessed be my son Jacob
 And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the
 ages:

May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;
 And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the
 midst of the whole earth;

May nations serve thee,

¹ Cf. xxi. 1.

² Cf. Jer. vi. 25.

³ Israel is God's inheritance; cf. Deut. iv. 20.

⁴ *i. e.* of the universe; this idea often recurs in our author.

And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.¹

12. Be strong in the presence of men,
And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth;²
Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,
So that they shall become a holy nation.
13. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings
Wherewith he hath blessed me
And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam;³
May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed
from generation to generation for ever.
14. And may He cleanse thee from all unrighteousness and impurity,
That thou mayest be forgiven all (thy) transgressions; (and) thy sins of ignorance.
And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.
And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,
15. And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance⁴ for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the days of the earth.
16. And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father :
Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them;⁵
And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate;
For their works are unclean,

¹ Verbally from Gen. xxvii. 29 (Isaac's blessing of Jacob).

² i. e. all mankind (Charles).

³ Cf. xix. 27.

⁴ Cf. xxii. 9.

⁵ A strict observance of the dietary laws would make this practically impossible; cf. Dan. i. 8; Matt. ix. 11. The question was one of crucial importance in the early Maccabean period; cf. e. g. 1 Macc. i. 62.

And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.

17. They offer their sacrifices to the dead ¹
And they worship evil spirits,²
And they eat over the graves,³
And all their works are vanity and nothingness.
18. They have no heart to understand
And their eyes do not see what their works are,
And how they err in saying to a piece of wood :
‘Thou art my God,’
And to a stone : ‘Thou art my Lord and thou
art my deliverer.’⁴
[And they have no heart.]⁵
19. And as for thee, my son Jacob,
May the Most High God help thee
And the God of heaven bless thee
And remove thee from their uncleanness and from
all their error.
20. Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife
from any seed of the daughters of Canaan ;
For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.⁶
21. For, owing to the transgression of Ham,⁷ Canaan
erred,⁸
And all his seed will be destroyed from off the
earth and all the residue thereof,
And none springing from him will be saved on
the day of judgment.
22. And as for all the worshippers of idols and the
profane
- 9(b) There will be no hope for them in the land of
the living ;

¹ Cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 ; Ecclus. xxx. 18, 19, etc.

² Cf. 1 Cor. x. 20 (1 Enoch xix. 1).

³ *i. e.* Partake of the sacrifices offered to the dead ; cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 (according to one interpretation).

⁴ Cf. Jer. ii. 27.

⁵ Bracketed words a dittograph.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1 ; *Test. Levi* ix. 10.

⁷ Cf. vii. 8.

⁸ Canaan wrongfully seized Palestine ; cf. x. 29-34.

⁹ The four following lines have been transposed by Charles for the sake of parallelism.

(e). And there will be no remembrance of them on the earth;

(c) For they will descend into Sheol,

(d) And into the place of condemnation will they go,¹
As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth

So *'will'* all those who worship idols be taken away.

23. Fear not, my son Jacob,

And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham :

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,

And from all the paths of error may He deliver thee.

24. This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth : [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever],² and it will be named the house of Abraham ; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever ; for thou wilt build my house³ and establish *my* name before God for ever : thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth."

25. And he ceased commanding⁴ him and blessing him. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his heart rejoiced over him. 27.⁵ And he blessed him with all his heart and said : " The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that He might give me this land to inherit⁶ it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said : " My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy

¹ Cf. vii. 29.

² Bracketed words a dittograph.

³ " House " throughout this passage = " family."

⁴ i. e. giving the last commands ; cf. Gen. xlix. 33 and often.

⁵ Charles suspects 27 may be an interpolation.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xv. 7 ; Neh. ix. 7.

be lift up¹ upon him and upon his seed alway. 29. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed,² that Thou mayest preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; 30. And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth."

The Death and Burial of Abraham (xxiii. 1-8;
cf. Gen. xxv. 7-10).

XXIII. And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes,³ and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet⁴ and slept the sleep of eternity,⁵ and was gathered to his fathers. 2. And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: "Father, father!"; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. 5. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him.⁶ 6. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over

¹ Cf. Num. vi. 26.

² Cf. 1 Kings viii. 29, 52; Dan. ix. 18.

³ Cf. Gen. xlv. 4. The closing of the eyes (by the eldest son) should strictly only be done after death, according to Jewish tradition.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xlix. 33 (of the death of Jacob).

⁵ Cf. Jer. li. 39, 57.

⁶ Cf. Gen. l. 1.

Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. 7. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave,¹ near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were ended. 8. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days.

The decreasing Years and increasing Corruption of Mankind (xxiii. 9-17).

9. For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham.² 10. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, when he had grown old by reason of the wickedness,³ and was full of his days. 11. And all the generations which will arise from this time until the day of the great judgment will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge will vanish away].⁴ 12. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a half of years, they will say regarding him: "He hath lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and

¹ *i. e.* Machpelah; cf. Gen. xxv. 9.

² Man's years grow less as mankind grows more corrupt; cf. for a similar idea 4 Ezra v. 50-55.

³ Even Abraham grew prematurely old owing to the universal wickedness.

⁴ Bracketed words a dittograph.

tribulation,¹ and there is no peace : 13. For calamity followeth on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains." ²

14. And all these will come on an evil generation, which transgresseth on the earth : their works are uncleanness and fornication, and pollution and abominations.³ 15. Then they will say : " The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good ; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man hath lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years, and those evil,⁴ and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation." 16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness,⁵ and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant ⁶ which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or to the left.⁷ 17. For all have done evil,⁸ and every mouth speaketh iniquity⁹ and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction.

¹ Cf. Ps. xc. 10.

² ? a picture of contemporary misfortunes (200 B.C. and following years).

³ Cf. vii. 21, xx. 5, xxii. 16.

⁴ Cf. Ps. xc. 10.

⁵ ? the protest of the Hasidim (" the pious ") against the Hellenizers ; cf. 1 Macc. ii. 42 ff.

⁶ Cf. 1 Macc. i. 15.

⁷ Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 21 f. (Deut. v. 31-32, xxviii. 14).

⁸ Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52-53.

⁹ Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 6.

The Messianic Woes (xxiii. 18-25).
[Eschatological partly.]

18. Behold the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works, and there will be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they will all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and all the fish of the sea,¹ on account of the children of men. 19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince,² on account of the law and the covenant;³ for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments. 20. And they will stand (with bows and) swords and war to turn them back into the way;⁴ but they will not return until much blood hath been shed on the earth, one by another.⁵ 21. And those who have escaped will not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they will all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they will name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they will defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution.⁶ 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation

¹ Cf. 4 Ezra v. 7 (Ezek. xxxviii. 20).

² Internecine strife is a standing feature in such eschatological passages; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 24; Matt. xxiv. 10; *Ap. Bar.*, lxx. 3-4.

³ Here the writer passes to a description of what is happening in his own time.

⁴ "Way" here = the true path of religion; cf. Isa. xxx. 21; Acts ix. 2, etc.

⁵ The conflicts between the early Maccabeans (at the head of the national party in Judah) and the Hellenizers seem to be referred to.

⁶ Probably the machinations of the Hellenizing party under the High Priest Alcimus are referred to; cf. 1 Macc. ix. 54.

from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. 23. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who will respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,

And much blood will be shed upon the earth,

And there will be none to gather and none to bury.¹

24. In those days they will cry aloud,
And call and pray that they may be saved from
the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles;²

But none will be saved.

25. And the heads of the children will be white with
grey hair,³

And a child of three weeks will appear old like a
man of one hundred years,

And their stature will be destroyed by tribulation
and oppression.

**Renewed Study of the Law followed by a Re-
newal of Mankind. The Messianic King-
dom and the Blessedness of the Righteous**
(xxiii. 26-32; cf. Isa. lxv. 17ff). [Eschatological.]

26. And in those days the children will begin to
study the laws,

And to seek the commandments,

And to return to the path of righteousness.

27. And the days will begin to grow many and
increase amongst those children of men,

¹ The sufferings of the nation up to (but not including) Simon's High Priesthood (142-135 B.C.) may be referred to. For the last line cf. Jer. viii. 2.

² Cf. Gal. ii. 15.

³ Cf. *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 155 ("children with grey hair on their temples born")—one of the signs of the coming in of the Messianic age.

- Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,¹
 And to a greater number of years than (before)
 was the number of the days.
28. And there will be no old man
 Nor one who is not satisfied with his days,
 For all will be (as) children and youths.²
29. And all their days they will complete and live
 in peace and in joy,³
 And there will be no Satan⁴ nor any evil
 destroyer;
 For all their days will be days of blessing and
 healing.⁵
30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
 And they will rise up⁶ and see⁷ great peace,
 And drive out their adversaries.
 And the righteous will see and be thankful,
 And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
 And will see all their judgments and all their
 curses on their enemies:
31. And their bones will rest in the earth,
 And their spirits will have much joy,⁸
 And they will know that it is the Lord who
 executeth judgment,
 And showeth mercy to hundreds and thousands
 and to all that love Him.⁹
32. And do thou, Moses, write down these words;
 for thus are they written, and they record (them) on
 the heavenly tables for a testimony for the generations
 for ever.

¹ The span of life originally designed for mankind. . Adam fell short of this because of his sin.

² Cf. Isa. lxx. 20.

³ Cf. Isa. lxx. 14.

⁴ Cf. *Assumpt. Moses* x. 1.

⁵ Cf. i. 29.

⁶ Probably there is no reference here to a resurrection. Apparently the Messianic kingdom depicted is a temporary one. The eschatology harmonizes with that of 1 Enoch xci.-civ.

⁷ i. e. enjoy.

⁸ i. e. they will enjoy a blessed immortality (with no bodily resurrection); cf. 1 Enoch ciii. 3-4.

⁹ Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 132 ff.

Isaac at the Well of Vision: Esau sells his Birthright (xxiv. 1-7; cf. Gen. xxv. 11, 29-34).

XXIV. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision¹ in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham.² 3. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: "Give me of this red pottage."³ And Jacob said to him: "Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage." 4. And Esau said in his heart: "I shall die; of what profit to me is this birthright?" And he said to Jacob: "I give it to thee." 5. And Jacob said: "Swear to me, this day," and he sware unto him. 6. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he ate till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name called Edom,⁴ on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. 7. And Jacob became the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity.

Isaac's Sojourn in Gerar and Dealings with Abimelech (xxiv. 8-27; cf. Gen. xxvi.).

8. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. 9.⁵ And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: "Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I shall be

¹ i. e. *Beer-lahai-roi* ("the well of the Living One that seeth me"); Gen. xxv. 11.

² Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1.

³ *Edom* = "red."

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxv. 30.

⁵ For 9-12 cf. Gen. xxvi. 2-6.

with thee and bless thee. 10. For to thee and to thy seed shall I give all this land, and I shall establish My oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father, and I shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and shall give unto thy seed all this land.

11. And in thy seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land."

2080-2101 12. And he dwelt in Gerar three weeks of years.

A.M.

13. And Abimelech charged concerning him, and concerning all that was his, saying: "Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die."¹

14. And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household.

15. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him.

16. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth.

17. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: "Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we"; and Isaac departed thence in

2101 A.M. the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the valleys of Gerar.

18. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them.

19. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: "The water is ours"; and Isaac called the name of the well "Perversity,"² because

¹ Cf. Gen. xxvi. 11. Notice that no reference is made in our text to Isaac's deception about Rebecca.

² — Esau; cf. Gen. xxvi. 20.

they had been perverse with us. 20. And they dug a second well, and they strove for that also, and he called its name "Enmity."¹ And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it "Room,"² and Isaac said: "Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land." 21. And he went up from thence to the Well of the Oath,³ in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. 22. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: "I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant." 23. And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. 24. And they digged a well and they found living water. 25. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not⁴ find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing hath been announced to us." 26. And he called the name of that place the "Well of the Oath"; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host.⁵ 27. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them.

¹ = Sitnah; cf. Gen. xxvi. 21.

² = Rehoboth; cf. Gen. xxvi. 22.

³ i. e. Beersheba.

⁴ In Gen. xxvi. 32 the MT does not read *not*; but LXX agrees with our text in so reading. It is implied here that their failure to find water was due to the covenant made with Abimelech.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xxvi. 31, 33.

Isaac curses the Philistines (xxiv. 28-33).

28. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines¹ and said: "Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision² and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim³ 29. And whoever escapeth the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation³ root out in judgment from under heaven; for they will be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30. And no remnant will be left to them,
Nor one that will be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;

For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),

And there will no longer be left for these Caph-torim⁴ a name or a seed on the earth.

31.⁵ For though he ascend unto heaven,
Thence will he be brought down,
And though he make himself strong on earth,
Thence will he be dragged forth,
And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
Even from thence will he be rooted out;
And though he descend into Sheol,
There also will his condemnation be great,
And there also he will have no peace.

32. And if he go into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life will they slay him on the way,

¹ The text reflects the bitter feeling towards the Philistines existing among the Jews in Maccabean times. The Philistine cities were either destroyed or captured by the Maccabees.

² *i. e.* the Macedonians; cf. 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5.

³ *i. e.* Judah under the Maccabees.

⁴ The Philistines came originally from Caphtor according to Amos ix. 7 (Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4).

⁵ The basis of 31-32 seems to be Amos ix. 2-4.

And neither name nor seed will be left to him
on all the earth;

For into eternal malediction will he depart."

33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tables, to do unto him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish Woman. Rebecca's Blessing
(xxv. 1-23; cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4).¹

XXV. And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto him, saying: "My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan,² and they have embittered my soul³ with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. 3. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou wilt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a righteous generation and a holy seed." 4. And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: "Behold, mother, I am nine weeks⁴ of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. 5. For I remember,

¹ With this section also compare xxvii. of our Book.

² Cf. Gen. xxvi. 34.

³ Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46, xxvi. 35.

⁴ i. e. 63.

mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. 6. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them to take a wife from amongst them. 7. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands.¹ 8. And, despite all that he hath commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother hath striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he hath done. 9. I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother hath done. 10. Fear not, mother; be assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever." 11. And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him thanks and praise. 12. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who hath given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for He is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. 13. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him." 14. And at that hour, when the spirit of righteousness² descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

¹ Cf. xx. 4, xxxix. 6.

² Cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13 (τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας); a variant reading here is "Holy Spirit."

15. "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and
God of the ages;
And may He bless thee beyond all the generations
of men.
May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.
16. And may He make thy sons many during thy
life,
And may they arise according to the number of
the months of the year.
And may their sons become many and great
beyond the stars of heaven,
And their numbers be more than the sand of
the sea.
17. And may He give them this goodly land—as He
said He would give it to Abraham and to his
seed after him alway ¹—
And may they hold it as a possession for ever.
18. And, may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed
children during my life,
And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.
19. And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit
during †my† ² life,
The womb of her that bare thee blesseth thee,
[My affection] and my breasts bless thee
And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.
20. Increase and spread over the earth,
And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven
and earth for ever;
And may thy seed rejoice,
And on the great day of peace may it have
peace.
21. And may thy name and thy seed endure to all
the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,
And may the God of righteousness dwell with
them,

¹ Cf. Luke i. 55.

² Read "thy" (Charles).

And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.¹

22. Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely may it be
cursed." ^a
23. And she kissed him, and said to him :
" May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection
rejoice in thee and bless thee."
And she ceased from blessing.

Jacob obtains the Blessing of the Firstborn
(xxvi. 1-35 ; cf. Gen. xxvii.).

XXVI. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him :
" I am old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die."
3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau.
4. And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him :
" Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying : ' Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die.'
6. And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee : Go to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed." 7. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother : " Mother, I shall not withhold

¹ Cf. i. 29.

^a Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. 8. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing." 9. And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: "Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice." 10. And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. 11. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. 12. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 13. And Jacob went in to his father and said: "I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me." 14. And Isaac said to his son: "How hast thou found so quickly, my son?" 15. And Jacob said: "Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find." 16. And Isaac said unto him: "Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not." 17. And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 18. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven¹ to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. 19. And he said: "Art thou my son, Esau?" and he said: "I am thy son": and he said, "Bring

¹ Cf. 1 Kings xii. 15.

near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 20. And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. 21. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Come near and kiss me, my son." And he came near and kissed him. 22. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full)¹ field which the Lord hath blessed.

23. And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven
And of the dew² of the earth, and plenty of corn
and oil:³

Let nations serve thee,
And peoples bow down to thee.

24. Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;
And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord
hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my
father,⁴

Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:
Cursed be he that curseth thee,
And blessed be he that blesseth thee."

25. And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and†⁵ Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. 26. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: "Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me." 27. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Who art thou?" And he said unto him: "I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me." 28. And Isaac was very

¹ So Latin here, and Sam. LXX and Vulg. in Gen. xxvii. 27: MT omits.

² Text of Gen. xxvii. 28 has "fatness."

³ Text of Genesis has "wine."

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxviii. 4.

⁵ Charles suspects this to be an addition to the text: read "that."

greatly astonished, and said : " Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him : (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever." 29. And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father : " Bless me, (even) me also, father." 30. And he said unto him : " Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing." And he said : " Now I know why his name is named Jacob : behold, he hath supplanted me these two times : he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away my blessing." 31. And he said : " Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me, father ? " and Isaac answered and said unto Esau :

" Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,

And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him :

And what now shall I do for thee, my son ? "

32. And Esau said to Isaac, his father :

" Hast thou but one blessing, O father ?

Bless me, (even) me also, father " :

And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. 33. And Isaac answered and said unto him :

" Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,

And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34. And by thy sword wilt thou live,

And thou wilt serve thy brother.

And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,¹

And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,

Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death,²

¹ So Sam. of Gen. xxvii. 40 : MT " when Thou shalt break loose."

² This line is a complete departure from the original text, which has : " thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck." The interpretation here given in the text has no support elsewhere.

And thy seed will be rooted out from under heaven."

35. And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his heart: "May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob."

Rebecca induces Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia. Jacob's Dream and View at Bethel (xxvii. 1-27; cf. Gen. xxviii.).

XXVII. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 2. "Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on thee so as to kill thee. 3. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turneth away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from thence." 4. And Jacob said: "I am not afraid; if he wisheth to kill me, I will kill him." 5. But she said unto him: "Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day." 6. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Behold, thou knowest that my father hath become old, and doth not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go; ¹ when he sendeth me, then only will I go." 7. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away." 8. And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: "I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau hath taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such as these, for what purpose

¹ The author desires to relieve Jacob of the reproach of leaving his father in his old age.

do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil." ¹ 9. And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 10. "Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. 11. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace." 12. And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. 13. And it came to pass after Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. 14. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister,² weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and in peace will he return. 15. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil, and will be with him; for He will not forsake him all his days; 16. For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things wherever he goeth, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. 17. Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish. Weep not." 18. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. 19. And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first month of this 2115 A.M.

¹ Cf. Gen. xxvii. 40.

² The use of "sister" as a term of endearment (to a wife) may be illustrated from Tobit v. 20, vii. 16; Canticles iv. 9, etc., but appears to be unknown to Rabbinic literature. Its use here may be designed to justify Isaac's having called Rebecca his sister at Abimelech's court.

week, and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the road that night : and he slept there ; for the sun had set. 20. And he took one of the stones of that place and laid it (at his head) under the tree,¹ and he was journeying alone, and he slept. 21. And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it : and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 22. And He spake to Jacob and said : " I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac ; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed after thee. 23. And thy seed will be as the dust of the earth, and thou wilt increase to the west and to the east, to the north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed will all the families of the nations be blessed. 24. And behold, I shall be with thee, and shall keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I shall bring thee again into this land in peace ; for I shall not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of." 25. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, " Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not." And he was afraid and said : " Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." 26. And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel ; but the name of the place was Luz at the first. 27. And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying : " If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God."

¹ ? which marked a shrine.

Jacob's Marriage to Leah and Rachel; his Children and Riches (xxviii. 1-30; cf. Gen. xxix., xxx., xxxi. 1-2).

XXVIII. And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one week.¹ 2.² And in the first year of the third week he said unto him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years;" and Laban said unto Jacob. "I will give thee thy wife." 3. And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an handmaid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. 4. And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: "Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me? Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form.³ 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder."⁴ And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tables,⁵ that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—but the elder one giveth first and after her the younger—and the man who doeth so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that doeth this thing, for this deed is evil before the Lord.

¹ i. e. seven years. For 1 cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 20.

² For 2-4 cf. Gen. xxix. 21-25.

³ Cf. Gen. xxix. 17-18a.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxix. 26.

⁵ The comment of the angels. This rule seems to be unknown to tradition.

7. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. 8.¹ And Laban said to Jacob: "Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel,² that thou mayest serve me another seven years, that thou mayest pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former week." 9. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of Zilpah,³ as a handmaid. 10. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him for nothing. 11. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob a son, and he ⁴ called his name
2122 A.M. Reuben,⁵ on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of the third week. 12. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and Rachel loved. 13. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second son, and he called his name
2124 A.M. Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. 14. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the new
2127 A.M. moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week.

¹ For 8-10 cf. Gen. xxix. 27-29.

² The marriage of two living sisters to the same man is expressly forbidden in the Mosaic Law; cf. Lev. xviii. 18.

³ According to *Test. Naphtali* i. also, Bilhah and Zilpah were sisters. In later Jewish tradition they are represented as daughters of Laban; cf. e. g. *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, xxxvi.

⁴ Gen. xxix. 32 has "she called."

⁵ The twelve sons of Jacob appear in our text in the same order as in Gen. xxix. 32-34, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18, viz. (1) Reuben; (2) Simeon; (3) Levi; (4) Judah; (5) Dan; (6) Naphtali; (7) Gad; (8) Asher; (9) Issachar; (10) Zebulon; (11) Joseph; (12) Benjamin. A different order is given in Gen. xlix. and in the *Test. XII Patriarchs*. The order of birth, as given in *Jubilees*, is complicated by textual difficulties; see Charles *ad loc.*

15. And again Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah, on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. 16. And on account of all this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: "Give me children"; and Jacob said: "Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?" 17. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto him: "Go in unto Billhah my handmaid, and she will conceive, and bear a son unto me." 18. (And she gave (him) Billhah her handmaid to wife.) And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a son, and he called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the †third† week. 19. And Jacob went in again unto Billhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth week. 20. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she envied (Rachel) and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the fourth week. 21. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the †fifth† year of the fourth week. 22. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 23. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zebulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. 24. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she

2134 A.M. conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. 25. And in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: "Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father." 26. And Laban said to Jacob: "†Tarry with me for thy wages†¹, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages." 27. And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids which were born black and spotted and white,² (these) were to be his wages. 28. And all the sheep brought forth spotted and speckled and black, variously marked,³ and they brought forth again lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were Laban's. 29. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep⁴ and asses and camels, and menservants and maidservants. 30. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

Jacob's Flight with his Family : his Covenant with Laban (xxix. 1-12; cf. Gen. xxxi.).

XXIX. And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they were distant from him a three days' journey. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his

¹ Gen. xxx. 28 has "appoint me thy wages."

² A wrong rendering of the Hebrew (Gen. xxx. 32), which means "speckled" (*nāḱōd*).

³ *Speckled and black, variously marked* = LXX ποικίλα καὶ σποδοειδῆ παντῶ: MT does not represent σποδοειδῆ.

⁴ *And sheep*: so LXX (Gen. xxx. 43); but MT and other versions omit.

sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with him to the land of Canaan. 3. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: "To every place whither thou goest we will go with thee." 4. And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid¹ his intention from Laban and told him not. 5. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. 6. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for He appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban spake to Jacob. 7. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. 8. And he made there a heap for a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: "The Heap of Witness," after this heap.² 9. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim;³ for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits. 10.⁴ And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and

¹ So LXX (Gen. xxxi. 20) and Targ. Onkelos; but MT Sam., Vulg., "stole" (the heart of Laban).

² Cf. Gen. xxxi. 47 ("Galced" = "Heap of Witness").

³ Cf. Gen. xiv. 5.

⁴ The places here mentioned were, perhaps, associated with Maccabean victories in the mind of our author (Charles).

Ashtaroth,¹ and Edrei, and Misûr,² and Beon.³ 11. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which hath wrought to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth.⁴ 12. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead.

Jacob, reconciled with Esau, dwells in Canaan and supports his Parents (xxix. 13-20; cf. Gen. xxxii., xxxiii.).

2136 A.M

13. And he passed over the Jabbok⁵ in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the heap†⁶ unto Bethshan,⁷ and unto Dothan and unto the †forest†⁸ of Akrabbim. 15. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley, 16. And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months, between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) and between winter

¹ In MT of Gen. xiv. 5, Asheroth-karnaim is one place; but Syr. and some MSS. of LXX support our text. Karnaim was captured by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. v. 43 f.).

² In Deut. iii. 10 "plain" = *mishôr*.

³ = probably the *Bæan* of 1 Macc. v. 4 f., which was destroyed by Judas.

⁴ Judas "must have nearly annihilated" the Amorites (Charles).

⁵ Cf. Gen. xxxii. 22.

⁶ Text corrupt. Latin has "from the Salt Sea."

⁷ Cf. 1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40.

⁸ ? read "ascent" (cf. Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3). Judas fought in this district (of Idumea); cf. 1 Macc. v. 3.

and spring, to the tower of Abraham. 17. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 18. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone.¹ 19. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains of Hebron, 20. And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

Dinah ravished. Slaughter of the Shechemites. Laws against Intermarriage between Israel and the Heathen. The Choice of Levi (xxx. 1-26; cf. Gen. xxxiv.).

XXX. And in the first year of the sixth week he ²¹⁴³ went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace,² in the fourth month. 2. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivité, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. 3. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem;³

¹ Cf. Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 6, 8. In contrast with Jacob's conduct to his parents, Esau's is unfilial.

² Based upon xxxiii. 18 (cf. R.V. marg.). Our text combines two readings ("Shalem," the name of a city, and *shālôm*, "peace").

³ Our author omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, because he approves of the conduct of Simeon and Levi, and extols it. On the other hand, their conduct in the matter is severely reprobated in Gen. xlix. 5-7. Our author's view seems to reflect a bitter feeling against the people of Shechem which prevailed in his time.

for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them. 4. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah. 5. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. 6. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob, that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled. 7. And if there is any man who wisheth in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she hath dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel.¹ 8. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who hath defiled (it) shall surely die: they shall stone him with stones. 9. For thus hath it been ordained and written in the heavenly tables regarding all the seed of Israel: he who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with stones. 10. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who hath defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he hath

¹ Notice the passionate denunciation of mixed marriages. The burning of the woman with fire, according to the Mosaic Law (Lev. xxi. 9), was reserved for the priest's daughter who played the harlot.

given of his seed to Moloch,¹ and wrought impiously so as to defile it. 11. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. 12. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: "We shall not give our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us." 13. And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those who take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and abominable to Israel. 14.² And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it hath a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or hath given any of its daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles. 15. For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from³ those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name,⁴ (then) will the whole nation⁵ together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this (man). 16. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons],⁶ and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and so fare every man or woman in Israel who defileth the sanctuary. 17. For

¹ Cf. Lev. xviii. 21: here the prohibition in Lev. against making "any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech" is interpreted as = to give one's child in marriage to a Gentile; so, also, Targ. Ps.-Jonathan on this verse. In later times the rule has not always been strictly enjoined.

² 14-15 are based upon Lev. xx. 2-4.

³ i. e. "ignore"; cf. Lev. xx. 4.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xx. 3.

⁵ In Lev. xx. 5, only the guilty man's family is involved.

⁶ Bracketed as a dittograph.

this reason I have commanded thee, saying : " Testify this testimony to Israel : see how the Shechemites fared and their sons : how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. 18. And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever ; for he was zealous to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel.¹ 19. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tables blessing and righteousness before the God of all : 20. And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year ; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he hath been recorded on the heavenly tables as a friend² and a righteous man. 21. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which hath been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends.³ 22. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life,³ and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. 23. And on the

¹ A different reason for Levi's choice for the priesthood is given in xxxii. 3 ; cf. also *Test. Levi* iv. 2.

² *sc.* of God.

³ This expression, derived from the O.T. (cf. Ps. lxix. 28 ; Exod. xxxii. 32) had reference originally to the temporal blessings of the theocracy, and this may be its meaning here ; but later the meaning was extended to eternal life. It occurs frequently in the N.T. (cf. Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, etc.) ; cf. also 1 Enoch xlvii. 3.

day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing. 24. And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. 25. And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword;¹ for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 26. And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.²

Jacob's Journey to Bethel and Hebron. Isaac blesses Levi and Judah (xxx. 1-25; cf. Gen. xxxv.).

XXXI. And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because He hath been with me and brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among you." 2. And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was on their necks,³ and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her brother she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of Shechem. 3. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an altár at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca.

¹ Cf. *Test. Levi* vi.

² Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

³ Corrupt.

4. And Isaac said : " Let my son Jacob come, and let me see him before I die." ¹ 5. And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, ² and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca. ³ 6. And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace him ; for her spirit had revived when she heard : " Behold Jacob thy son hath come " ; and she kissed him. 7. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him : " Are these thy sons, my son ? " and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying : " In you shall the seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye will prove a blessing on the earth." 8. And Jacob went in to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son, and wept upon his neck. 9. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said : " Are these thy sons, my son ? for they are like thee." 10. And he said unto him that they were truly his sons : " And thou hast truly seen that they are truly my sons." 11. And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together. 12. And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left. 13. And he turned to Levi first, ⁴ and began to bless him first, and said unto him : " May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages. 14. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great

¹ Isaac refused to go to Bethel; cf. *Test. Levi* ix. 2.

² *i. e.* to Hebron.

³ This last meeting of Jacob with Isaac is not referred to in the Rabbinical Haggada.

⁴ Cf. *Test. Levi* ix. 1 f. The primacy of Levi is here marked.

glory†, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones.¹ (Even) as they, will the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness and holiness, and may He make them great unto all the ages. 15. And they will be princes and judges, and chiefs² of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They will speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,

And they will judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they will declare My ways to Jacob

And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths³

To bless all the seed of the beloved.⁴

16. Thy mother hath called thy name Levi,

And justly hath she called thy name;

Thou wilt be joined⁵ to the Lord

And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;

Let His table be thine,⁶

And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;

And may thy table be full unto all generations,

And thy food fail not unto all the ages.

17. And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,

And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;

And blessed be he that blesseth thee,

And cursed be every nation that curseth thee.

¹ Levi is to serve in the sanctuary as the two highest orders of angels serve in the highest heaven.

² Levi's descendants are not only to be priests but also rulers of the nation. This double function was exercised by the Maccabean priest-princes: cf. *Test. Levi* viii. 11 ff.

³ *i. e.* the priestly blessing; cf. *Ecclus.* i. 20.

⁴ *i. e.* of Abraham.

⁵ A play on the name "Levi" (= *attaché*); cf. *Gen.* xxix. 34 (*R.V. marg.*); also *Num.* xviii. 2, 4.

⁶ Cf. *Test. Levi* viii. 16 ("and the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion").

18. And to Judah he said :
 May the Lord give thee strength and power
 To tread down all that hate thee ;
 A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons,¹
 over the sons of Jacob ;
 May thy name and the name of thy sons² go
 forth and traverse every land and region.
 Then will the Gentiles fear before thy face,
 And all the nations will quake
 [And all the peoples will quake].³
19. In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
 And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.
20. And when thou sittest on the throne of the
 honour of thy righteousness,
 There will be great peace for all the seed of the
 sons of the beloved,⁴
 And blessed will he be that blesseth thee ;
 And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
 Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth
 and accursed."

21. And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly ; for he had seen the sons of Jacob his son in very truth. 22. And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and worshipped him. And he blessed them. And (Jacob) rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they ate and drank with joy. 23. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 24. And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how He had prospered (him in) all his ways, and protected him from all evil. 25. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had not withdrawn His mercy and His righteousness from the sons of His servant Isaac.

¹ *i. e.* ? the Messiah who is to spring from Judah : but if so the expression of the hope is somewhat vague. More probably the reference is to the historical David.

² *i. e.* the name of the Jewish people.

³ Bracketed as a dittograph.

⁴ *i. e.* of Abraham.

Rebecca journeys with Jacob to Bethel

(xxxi. 26-32).

26. And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar,¹ and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. 27. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son : " I am not able to go with thee ; for I am old, and not able to bear the way : go, my son, in peace ; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day ; I am no longer able to journey ; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. 28. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have seen thee, my son. 29. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed ; and put not off thy vow ; for thou wilt be called to account as touching the vow ;² now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who hath made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow." 30. And he said to Rebecca : " Go with Jacob thy son " ; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 31. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. 32. And he said : " Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all ; " and thus is it ordained concerning the two ; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tables how Isaac blessed them.

¹ At Bethel ; cf. Gen. xxviii. 18-22.

² Note the emphasis on the obligation to keep a vow.

Levi's Dream at Bethel ; he is appointed to the Priesthood. Jacob celebrates the Feast of Tabernacles and offers Tithes. The Institution of Tithes (xxxii. 1-15 ; cf. Gen. xxxv.).

XXXII. And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed ¹ that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God,² him and his sons for ever ; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, yea, he gave tithes of all. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him ³ upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord,⁴ and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands.⁵ 4. And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God.⁶ 5. This was his offering,

¹ Cf. *Test. Levi* viii. (which describes Levi's dream-vision of seven men in white as having taken place at Bethel); also v. of the same work (in ix. 3 Jacob has this dream also).

² Cf. Gen. xiv. 18-20 (Melchizedek). The title, " Priest of the Most High God," was appropriated by the Maccabean priest-kings. Apparently it was expected in certain quarters that the Messiah would spring from this priestly ruling house; cf. Ps. cx., especially ver. 4.

³ *i.e.* from Benjamin.

⁴ Levi, as the tenth son (counting backwards from Benjamin), fell, under the law of tithe, to the Lord, and was consecrated to the priesthood; cf. also *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxxvii., where Levi is counted (by a different method) as tenth " and was reckoned as the tithe, holy to God " (cf. Lev. xxvii. 32).

⁵ A technical expression meaning appointment to the priesthood; cf. Exod. xxviii. 41 (R.V. marg.); xxix. 9.

⁶ The number of victims does not agree with the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law regarding the Feast of Tabernacles; cf. Num. xxix. 12-40; Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-44.

in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth,¹ with their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. 7. And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had given him his vow. 8. And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he gave him all the souls of the men.² 9. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus he tithed again the tithe³ to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. 10. And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year,⁴ in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law there is no limit of days for ever. 11. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it hath been chosen, and nothing shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. 12. For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, and the oil till the days of its season. 13. And all that is left thereof and becometh old, let it be regarded as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. 14. And thus let them eat it together in the

¹ Cf. Gen. xxviii. 22.

² Cf. *Test. Levi* ix. 3 ("And he [Jacob] paid tithes of all to the Lord through me").

³ *i. e.* the second tithe; cf. Num. xviii. 26.

⁴ Cf. Deut. xiv. 23 (*Tobit* i. 7).

sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. 15. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord,¹ and shall belong to His priests, which they will eat before Him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tables.

Jacob's Visions. He celebrates the eighth day of Tabernacles. The Birth of Benjamin and Death of Rachel (xxxii. 16-34; cf. Gen. xxxv.).

16. And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him. 17. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: "Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name." 18. And He said unto him again: "I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I shall increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men hath trodden. 19. And I shall give to thy seed all the earth² which is under heaven, and they will judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever." 20. And He finished speaking with him, and He went up from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven.³ 21. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets⁴ in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons through-

¹ Cf. Lev. xxvii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. These tithes are not otherwise attested in the O.T.

² For 17-18 cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-12. Notice that the whole inhabited earth (not merely Palestine, as in Gen. xxxv. 12) is here promised to Israel.

³ Cf. Gen. xxxv. 13.

⁴ Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

out all the ages.¹ 22. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: "Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary,² and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou wilt die in peace, and in this land thou wilt be buried with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus will it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read." 25. And Jacob said: "Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?" And he said unto him: "I will bring all things to thy remembrance."³ 26. And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the words which he had read and seen. 27. And he celebrated there yet another day,⁴ and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †"Addition,"†⁵ for †this day was added,†⁵ and the former days he called "The Feast."⁶ 28. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tables: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it, and add it to the seven days of the feast. 29.⁷ And its name

¹ Cf. xlv. 4.

² The sanctuary at Bethel was not to be the one central shrine, where alone acceptable worship was to be offered.

³ In 4 Ezra xiv. 40, Ezra's memory is said to have been miraculously strengthened after he had received the cup of inspiration; cf. also John xiv. 26.

⁴ i. e. the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles.

⁵ The Hebrew name is *'āsereth* (*'āṣarta*), from a root meaning "detain" (*'āsar*). Hence, perhaps, we may emend here "keeping back," for on that day he was kept back (Charles).

⁶ So in Rabbinic the Feast of Tabernacles was called, *par excellence*, "the Feast."

⁷ 29 is very corrupt. Charles suggests that it should be read: "And its name was called 'a keeping back' (i. e. *'āsereth*) when it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days in the number of the days of the year."

was called †“Addition,”† †because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of the days of the year. 30. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this place, “The river of Deborah,” and the oak, “The oak of the mourning of Deborah.”¹ 31. And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. 32. And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân,² and he dwelt there. 33. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name “Son of my sorrow”; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this jubilee. 34. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land³ of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

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Reuben's Sin with Bilhah. Laws regarding Incest. Jacob's Children (xxxiii. 1–23; cf. Gen. xxxv. 21–27).

XXXIII. And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf.⁴ And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 2. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a

¹ Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8 (R.V. marg.).

² Due to a misunderstanding of the words rendered “some distance” (*kibrath hā'areš*) in Gen. xxxv. 16. The LXX also took *kibrath* to be a proper name (Νιβθαλο).

³ “On the way to” in the text of Gen. xxxv. 19.

⁴ A compound of *migdal 'eder 'ephrāth* (“the tower of Eder of Ephrath”); cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, also *Test. Reuben* iii. 9–15, where the same incident is narrated. In later Jewish tradition an explanation is given which exculpates Reuben (cf. Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22).

secret place, and he loved her. 3. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Billiah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in her house. 4. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben. 5. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to anyone. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto him: "I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben hath defiled me, and hath lain with me in the night, and I was asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me." 8. And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Billiah, because he had uncovered his father's skirt.¹ 9. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovereth his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before the Lord. 10. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tables that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together,² the man who lieth with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have wrought uncleanness on the earth. 11. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation which He hath chosen for Himself as a possession. 12. And again, it is written a second time: "Cursed he be who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame"; and all the holy ones of the Lord said "So be it; so be it."³ 13. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entaileth) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement

¹ Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.² Cf. Lev. xx. 11.³ Cf. Deut. xxvii. 20.

for ever to atone for the man who hath committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God. 14. For to no man who doeth so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean. 15. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband Jacob, his father, was still alive. 16. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it hath been revealed) as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations.¹ 17. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. 18. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death;² for the Lord our God is judge, who respecteth not persons and accepteth not gifts.³ 19. And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before our God. 20. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession;⁴ and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy nation.

2145 A.M. 21. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abra-

¹ "Where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. iv. 15).

² Cf. xxi. 22.

³ Cf. v. 16, xl. 8.

⁴ Cf. xvi. 18 (note).

ham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. 22.¹ And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 23. And they came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

War of the Amorite Kings against Jacob and his Sons. Joseph sold into Egypt (cf. Gen. xxxvii.). **The Death of Bilhah and Dinah** (xxxiv. 1-19).

XXXIV. And in the sixth year of this week of this 2148 A.M.
 forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture
 their sheep, and his servants with them, to the pas-
 tures of Shechem. 2.² And the seven kings of the
 Amorites assembled themselves together against
 them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees,
 and to take their cattle as a prey. 3. And Jacob and
 Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with
 Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and
 they could not leave him: and Benjamin was the
 youngest, and for this reason remained with his
 father. 4. And there came the king[s]³ of Tâphû,⁴

¹ For 22 cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-27.

² The account given in 2-8 of the conquest of Shechem is given in a fuller form in the *Test. Judah* iii.-vii., and in the Midrash Wajjissau (cf. Gaster, *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, pp. 80-87). The legend evidently has an old basis, for it harmonizes with the statement given in Gen. xlviii. 22, which refers to Jacob's conquest of Shechem (cf. R.V. margin). This form of the story is obviously independent of, and possibly older than, that given in Gen. xxxiv.

³ Read "king."

⁴ = Tappuah (Josh. xv. 53, xvi. 8). It is the Tephon mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 50. This and the following places mentioned may have been specially interesting to our author because of events connected with them in Maccabean times.

and the king[s]¹ of †'Arêsa,†² and the king[s]¹ of Sêrâgân,³ and the king[s]¹ of Sêlô,⁴ and the king[s]¹ of Gâ'as,⁵ and the king of Bêthô.ôn,⁶ and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr,†⁷ and all those who dwell in these mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob saying: "Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of his father, and his own servants, and he went against them with six thousand⁸ men, who carried swords. 7. And he slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew⁹ †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânîsâkîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. 8. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute; five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl¹⁰ and Tamnâtârês:¹¹ 9. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. 10.¹² And in the seventh year of this week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem, and he found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds,

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¹ Read "king."² Read "Asor," *i. e.* Hazor, the scene of a great victory by Jonathan, 1 Macc. xi. 67 ff.³ Unknown. ⁴ *i. e.* Shiloh.⁵ = ? Gaash (Josh. xxiv. 30).⁶ The scene of more than one Maccabean victory; cf. 1 Macc. iii. 13 ff., vii. 39 ff.⁷ Corrupt for "Shakir-Maani."⁸ Another reading is "800."⁹ Six out of the seven kings are slain; so *Test. Judah* iv. [For the names see notes on 4 above.]¹⁰ Perhaps corrupt for "Arbael" = Arbela (1 Macc. ix. 2).¹¹ = *Timnath-heres* (Jud. ii. 9); cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50.¹² For 10-11 cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12 ff.

they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch¹ of Pharaoh, the chief of the cooks,² priest of the city of 'Êlêw.³ 12. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month. 13. And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: "An evil beast hath devoured Joseph"; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they]⁴ were grieving and mourning with him all that day. 14. And his sons and his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son. 15. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,†⁵ and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. 16. And they buried Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. 17. And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said "Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son."⁶ 18. For this reason⁷ it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves⁸ on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month,

¹ Or "court official."

² So LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36 (ἀρχιμαγειρος), misunderstanding the Hebrew (= "captain of the guard").

³ *i. e.* Heliopolis (LXX Ἡλίου πόλεως, Gen. xli. 45, 50), *i. e.* "On."

⁴ Bracketed as a dittograph.

⁵ ? = "Kabrâtân," xxxii. 32. ⁶ Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

⁷ The reason here given for the institution of the Day of Atonement (cf. Lev. xvi.) seems to be peculiar to our Book.

⁸ = "fast," cf. Lev. xvi. 31, etc.

once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. 19. And this day hath been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year.

The Wives of Jacob's Sons (xxxiv. 20-21).

20. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite;¹ and the name of Levi's wife is Mêlkâ,² of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl,³ a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zebulon's wife, †Nî'imân†;⁴ and the name of Dan's wife, 'Êglâ; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath,⁵ the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. 21. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

Rebecca's Last Admonitions and Death

(xxxv. 1-27).

2157 A.M. XXXV. And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the days of his life. 2. And Jacob said: "I will do

¹ Cf. Gen. xlvi. 10. According to xxx. 7 ff. such a marriage (with a Canaanitish woman) was punishable with death.

² Cf. *Test. Levi* xi. 1.

³ Cf. xli. 7. The name goes back to "Bath-shua" (*i. e.* "daughter of Shua"); cf. *Test. Judah* viii. 2, etc.; cf. Gen. xxxviii. 2.

⁴ The name is doubtful. Some Ethiopic MSS. omit it.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xli. 45.

everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them.

3. And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in my heart, that I always think good concerning all.

4. And how should I not do this thing which thou hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother!

5. Tell me, mother, what perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me."

6. And she said unto him: "My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I shall tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to live."

7. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment had touched her all the days of her life.

8. And Jacob said unto her: "Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death."

9. And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: "One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth, and there is no goodness in him; for he desireth after thy death to kill him."

10. And thou knowest all that he hath done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he hath forsaken us with his whole heart, and hath done evil to us; thy flocks he hath taken to himself, and carried off all thy

possessions from before thy face. 11. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. 12. And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he hath not robbed us of aught, for he bringeth us everything in its season always, and rejoiceth with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesseth us, and hath not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remaineth with us continually at home honouring us." 13. And Isaac said unto her: "I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honoureth us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the first-born; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he hath done manifold evil deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and there is no righteousness around him].¹ 14. And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he hath forsaken the God of Abraham and gone after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. 15. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. 16. But if he desireth to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his hands.]² 17. And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian³ of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau." 18. And Rebecca sent

¹ ? a dittograph.

² ? bracketed words a gloss; cf. xxxvi. 9.

³ ? the guardian-angel; cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Heb. i. 14.

and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: "I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do thou promise to do it, my son."

19. And he said: "I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition."

20. And she said unto him: "I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you." 21. And he said: "I will do

all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. 22. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 23. And I, myself, beg thee to

exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me the lower. 24. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only."

And he sware unto her regarding all this matter.

25. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau. 26. And he said:

"I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only." 27.

And they ate and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and

Jacob, buried her in the double cave ¹ near Sarah, their father's mother.

Isaac's Last Words and Admonitions : his Death. The Death of Leah (xxxvi. 1-24).

2162 A.M. XXXVI. And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said unto them : " My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house ² where my fathers are. 2. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in ; in the sepulchre which I digged for myself, there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And love one another, my sons, your brothers ³ as a man who loveth his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on the earth ; and let them love each other as their own souls. 5. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not ; for they are full of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. 6. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness ⁴ which will not be rooted out unto all the generations for ever. 7. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater than it by the name glorious and honoured

¹ *i. e.* Machpelah.

² Cf. Eccles. xii. 5 (" man goeth to his long home," lit. " to his eternal house ").

³ " Your brothers " probably a gloss.

⁴ Cf. i. 16, xvi. 26, xxi. 24.

and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will fear Him and worship Him. 8. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. 9. And if either of you deviseth evil against his brother, know that from henceforth every one that deviseth evil against his brother will fall into his hand, and will be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed will be destroyed from under heaven. 10. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life,¹ but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. 11. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which will come upon the man who wisheth to injure his brother.” 12. And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. 13. And he said, “This larger portion I shall give to the first-born.” 14. And Esau said, “I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be given, and I have not a single word to say regarding it, for it is his.” 15. And Isaac said, “May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not pained concerning the birth-right, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account

¹ Cf. xxx. 22.

of it. 16. May the Most High God ¹ bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever." 17. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they ate and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and slept. 18. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him.² 19. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and dwelt there. 20. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible commands according as He had divided the days of his generations.³ 21. And Leah his wife died

2167 A.M. in the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother. 22. And all her sons and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him regarding her, for he was lamenting her. 23. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob, and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable. 24. And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

¹ This divine title occurs frequently in our Book, and in *Ecclus.* (48 times), and *Daniel* (13 times). In the *Pentateuch*, outside *Gen. xiv.* (where it occurs four times), it is only found twice. Its use was revived in *Ap. Bar.* (23 times), and in 4 *Ezra*.

² Cf. *Gen. xxxv. 29.*

³ These commands had been made visible to Jacob on the seven tables which the angel had shown him in a vision; cf. *xxxii. 21.*

Esau and his Sons wage War with Jacob

(xxxvii. 1-25).

XXXVII.¹ And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. 2. And they strove with their father, saying: "Why hath thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?" 3. And he said unto them "Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 4. And now our father hath caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways corrupt." 2 5. And they said unto him, "We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt to thee also. 6. And now hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram³ and Philistia⁴ and Moab

2162 A.M.

¹ The legend of the wars between the sons of Jacob and Esau contained in chaps. xxxvii.-xxxviii. here seems to be ancient. It is also found in *Test. Judah* ix. and in the Jewish Midrashic literature. Our text contains the oldest form.

² This representation gives a favourable view of Esau's own attitude. In the later form of the legend (in the *Yalkut*) this is altered to Esau's disadvantage.

³ The peoples mentioned here and in the context nearly all played a prominent part in the campaigns of the Maccabees. "Aram," i. e. Syria, was, of course, the suzerain power in their day, who sought to oppress the Jews, and whose yoke was ultimately entirely thrown off.

⁴ Cf. xxiv. 28 (note).

and Ammon,¹ and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he groweth strong." 7. And their father said unto them, "Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him." 8. And they said unto him, "This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words." 9. And they sent to Aram, and to 'Adurâm² to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand fighting men, chosen men of war. 10. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom³ and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the Kittim⁴ mighty men of war. 11. And they said unto their father: "Go forth with them and lead them, else we shall slay thee." 12. And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. 13. But afterward he remembered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother. 14. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. 15. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, "Behold thy brother hath come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons"; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man

¹ Cf. 1 Macc. v. 6-8.² An Aramaean; cf. xxxviii. 3.³ Cf. 1 Macc. v. 3, 65 (also iv. 29, 61).⁴ Cf. xxiv. 28.

than Esau. 16. But Jacob would not believe until they came very near to the tower. 17. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, "Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who hath died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy father wast thou condemned." 18. And then Esau answered and said unto him, "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe. 19. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. 20. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

If the boar can change its skin and make its
bristles as soft as wool,

Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head
like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,

Then shall I observe the tie of brotherhood with
thee.¹

[And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.]²

21. And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so
as not to devour or do them violence,

And if their hearts are towards them for good,

Then there will be peace in my heart towards
thee.

22. And if the lion becometh the friend of the ox and
maketh peace with him,

¹ For the construction of such sayings cf. the rebuke administered to Akiba (when the latter recognized Bar-Kokba as the Messiah) by Jochanan ben Torta: "Sooner shall grass grow from thy beard, Akiba, than that Messiah should appear." The "boar" may symbolize Esau.

² Charles thinks the bracketed words may be out of place or corrupt.

- And if he is bound under one yoke with him and
plougheth with him,
Then shall I make peace with thee.
23. And when the raven becometh white as the râzâ,¹
Then know that I have loved thee
And shall make peace with thee.
Thou shalt be rooted out,
And thy sons shall be rooted out,
And there shall be no peace for thee."
24. And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which cometh upon the spear that pierceth and killeth it, and recoileth not from it; 25. Then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

The War between Jacob and Esau at the Tower of Hebron. The Death of Esau and Overthrow of his Forces (xxxviii. 1-14).

XXXVIII. And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayest thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: let us give him (this) honour." 2. Then Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother, (on his right breast) and slew him.² 3. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean,³ on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. 4. And then went forth the sons of Jacob, they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. 5. And

¹ "A large white bird which eats grasshoppers" (Isenberg, quoted by Charles).

² According to later Jewish tradition Esau was killed by Chushim, son of Dan, at the cave of Machpelah when Jacob's corpse had arrived there for burial; cf. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxxix. (towards end).

³ Cf. xxxvii. 9.

Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped. 6. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. 7. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the Philistines. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm.¹ 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and he returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. 11. And they sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. 12. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. 13. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt.² 14. And the sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on them until this day.³

¹ A city in Idumaea (Edom) identical with the "Adora" mentioned in 1 Macc. xiii. 20. It was captured by John Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision. In *Test. Judah* ix. 3 the name appears as *Anoniram*.

² For 11-13 cf. *Test. Judah* ix. 7-8.

³ i. e. the author's day. Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by John Hyrcanus.

The Kings of Edom (xxxviii. 15-24; cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39).

15. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. 16. And Bâlâq,¹ the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ.² 17. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of Bôsêr,³ reigned in his stead. 18. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm,⁴ of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead. 19. And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth,⁵ the son of Barad,⁶ who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead, and the name of his city was Avith. 20. And 'Adâth died, and Salman,⁷ from 'Amâsêqâ,⁸ reigned in his stead. 21. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth⁹ (by the) river, reigned in his stead. 22. And Saul died, and Ba'êlûnân,¹⁰ the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 23. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, died, and 'Adâth¹¹ reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maiṭabîth,¹² the daughter of Mâṭarat,¹³ the daughter of Mêtâbêdzâ'ab.¹⁴ 24. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph's Service with Potiphar; his Purity and Imprisonment (xxxix. 1-13; cf. Gen. xxxix.).

XXXIX. And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old¹⁵ when they took him down into the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh,

¹ LXX (Gen. xxxvi. 22) Βάλακ = Heb. *Belû*.

² MT *Dinhabah*.

³ MT *Bozrah*.

⁴ LXX 'Ασόμ, MT *Husham*.

⁵ MT *Hadad*.

⁶ LXX Βαράθ, MT *Bedad*.

⁷ LXX Σαλαμδ, MT *Samlah*.

⁸ MT *Masrekah*.

⁹ LXX 'Ρωβώθ, MT *Rehoboth*.

¹⁰ LXX Βαλαεννάν, MT *Baal-hanan*.

¹¹ MT *Hadar*.

¹² MT *Mehetabel*.

¹³ MT *Matred* (LXX Ματρεῖθ).

¹⁴ MT *Me-zahab*.

¹⁵ Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.

the chief cook ¹ bought him. 3. And he set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 4. And the Egyptian committed everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 5. And Joseph's appearance was comely and very beautiful was his appearance, and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him, and besought him to lie with her. 6. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham,² that no man should commit fornication with a woman who hath a husband; that for him the punishment of death hath been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. 7. And Joseph remembered these words and refused to lie with her. 8. And she besought him for a year, but he refused and would not listen. 9. But she embraced him and held him fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. 10. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door." 11. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. 12. And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief

¹ Cf. xxxiv. 11 (note).² Cf. xx. 4, xxv. 7.

of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper. 13. And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him,¹ for Joseph did everything, and the Lord perfected it.

Joseph interprets the Dreams of the Chief Butler and the Chief Baker (xxxix. 14-18; cf. Gen. xl.).

14. And he remained there two years.² And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler and against the chief baker, and he put them in ward in the house of the chief cook,³ in the prison where Joseph was kept. 15. And the chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them;—and he served before them. 16. And they both dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. 17. And as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. 18. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him for he forgot.

Pharaoh's Dreams and their Interpretation. Joseph's Elevation and Marriage (xl. 1-13; cf. Gen. xli.).

XL. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams,

¹ Cf. Gen. xxxix. 8.

² Cf. Gen. xli. 1.

³ Cf. xxxiv. 11 (note).

and they were not able to declare (them). 2. And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. 3. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him : " Seven years will come (in which there will be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as hath not been in all the land. 4. And now let Pharaoh appoint overseers¹ in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe." 5. And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants : " We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him." 6. And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. 7. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him " 'Ēl 'Ēl wa' Abîrēr,"² and he placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him : " Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou." 8. And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land. 9. And the

¹ Cf. Gen. xli. 34.

² 'Ēl 'Ēl wa' Abîrēr = Heb. 'el 'el wa'ābîr 'el, " God, God, the mighty one of God." This is a peculiar amplification of the Hebrew 'abrēk (R.V. " bow the knee ") of Gen. xli. 43. " Mighty one of God " may be a technical term for a great magician; cf. Acts viii. 10.

land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan¹ and no evil person (therein). 10. And the king called Joseph's name Sēphântî-phâns,² and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook.³ 11. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. 12. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt produced abundantly, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's Incest with Tamar ; his Repentance and Forgiveness (xli, 1-28 ; Cf. Gen. xxxviii.).

2165 A.M. XLI. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram,⁴ named Tamar. 2. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. 3. And this Er, the first-born of

¹ A sign of great felicity ; cf. xxiii. 29.

² i. e. Zaphenath-paneah (Gen. xli. 45).

³ The author identifies Potiphar of Gen. xxxvii. 36 with Potiphra of Gen. xli. 45. In later Jewish legend Asenath (Joseph's wife) is represented as a Jewess, a daughter of Dinah, who was brought up in the family of Potiphra (cf. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxxviii.). The difficulty of Joseph's heathen marriage is thus removed.

⁴ Cf. *Test. Judah* x. ("from Mesopotamia").

Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: "Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her,¹ and raise up seed unto thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him. 6. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: "Remain in thy father's house as a widow till Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl,² the wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 8. And in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. And they told Tamar: "Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep." 9. And she put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the way to Timnah. 10. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot, and he said unto her: "Let me come in unto thee"; and she said unto him: "Come in," and he went in. 11. And she said unto him: "Give me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I have nothing in my hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand." 12. And she said unto him: "Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I will send unto thee a kid of the goats"; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her,) and she conceived by him. 13. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. 14. And Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not; and he asked the people of the place, saying: "Where is the harlot who was here?" And they said unto him: "There

2168 A.M.

2169 A.M.

¹ Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 8; Deut. xxv. 5.

² *i. e.* Bathshua; cf. xxxiv. 20.

is no harlot here with us." 15. And he returned and informed him; and said unto him that he had not found her; "I asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: 'There is no harlot here.' " And he said: "Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision." 16. And when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah, saying: "Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom." 17. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: "Bring her forth, and let them burn her,¹ for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel." 18. And it came to pass when they brought her forth to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying: "Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child." 19. And Judah acknowledged, and said: "Tamar is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not." 20. And for that reason she was not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. 21. And after that she bare
2170 A.M. two sons, Perez and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. 22. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh.² 23. And Judah acknowledged that the deed which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray; for he had uncovered the skirt of his son, and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression. 24. And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented, and did not again commit it. 25. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his

¹ The punishment appointed for such an offence on the part of a priest's daughter (Lev. xxi. 9); cf. xxx. 7 above. According to the Targum (Ps.-Jon.), on Gen. xxxviii. 6, 24, Tamar was the daughter of a priest.

² Cf. Gen. xli. 53.

sin and from his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acteth thus, every one who lieth with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein,¹ for there is uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. 26. And do thou command the children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lieth with his daughter-in-law² or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the man who hath lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment from Israel. 27. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. 28. For in singleness of eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham,³ which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

The Two Journeys of the Sons of Jacob to Egypt (xlii. 1-25; cf. Gen. xlii., xliii.).

XLII. And in the first year of the third week of 2171 A.M. the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. 2. And the earth grew barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the seven years of plenty and had preserved it.⁴ 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give them food, and he opened the storehouses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold.⁵ 4. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob heard that there

¹ Cf. Lev. xx. 14.

² Cf. Lev. xviii. 15, xx. 12 (mode of death not specified; but Gen. xxxviii. 24 presupposes burning by fire).

³ Cf. xx. 4 (note).

⁴ Cf. Gen. xli. 54.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those that went (there.) 5. And Joseph recognized them, but they did not recognize him, and he spake unto them and questioned them, and he said unto them: "Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to explore the approaches of the land?" And he put them in ward. 6. And after that he set them free again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. 7. And he filled their sacks with corn, and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. 8. And he commanded them to bring their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. 9. And they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. 10. And Jacob said: "Me have ye bereaved of my children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me hath your wickedness come."¹ 11. And he said: "My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick; for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one hath perished, and this one also ye will take from me. If perchance he took a fever on the road,² ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death." 12. For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he feared to send him. 13. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together

¹ ? An interpretation of Gen. xlii. 36 ("All these things are against me").

² "If mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go" (Gen. xlii. 38).

and putting it in storehouses and preserving it for the years of famine. 14. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during the first year of their famine. 15. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and there was no deliverance, he said unto his sons : " Go again, and procure food for us that we die not." 16. And they said : " We shall not go ; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go." 17. And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine. 18. And Reuben said : " Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two sons instead of his soul." And he said unto him : " He will not go with thee." 19. And Judah came near and said : " Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before thee all the days of my life." 20. And he sent him with them in the second year of this 2172 A.M. week on the first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had) presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. 21. And they went and stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them : " Is this your youngest brother ? " And they said unto him : " It is he." And he said : " The Lord be gracious to thee, my son ! " 22. And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their hands. 23. And they ate before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was seven times larger than that of any of theirs. 24. And they ate and drank and arose and remained with their asses. 25. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house : " Fill all their sacks with food, and return their money unto them into their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out of which I

drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away." ¹

Joseph finally tests his Brethren, and then makes himself known to them (xliii. 1-24; cf. Gen. xliv., xlv.).

XLIII. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. 2. And early in the morning they departed, and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his house: "Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, 'For good ye have requited me with evil; you have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment." 3. And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words. 4. And they said unto him: "God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan. 5. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord." 6. And he said unto them: "Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye will return in peace unto your house." 7. And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack. 8. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. 9. And Joseph said unto them: "Ye have done evil." And they

¹ Cf. Gen. xliv. 1, 2.

said : " What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also." 10. And Joseph said unto them : " I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delighteth in his cup as I with this cup?¹ And yet ye have stolen it from me." 11. And Judah said : " O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loveth him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad). 12. And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. 13. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever." 14. And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. 15. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue² and fell on their neck and wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. 16. And he said unto them : " Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see. 17. For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. 18. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine,

¹ Gen. xliv. 15 (" Know ye not that such a man as I can indeed divine? "). The change in our text may be deliberate.

² A Midrashic touch; so *Bereshith rabba* xciii.

and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. 19. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord hath made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. 20. And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me." 21. And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver. 22. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away. 23. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt. 24. And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: "It is enough for me if Joseph liveth; I will go down and see him before I die."

Jacob celebrates the Feast of First-fruits and journeys to Egypt. List of his Descendants.
(xliv. 1-34; cf. Gen. xlv. 1-28).

XLIV. And Israel took his journey from † Haran †¹ from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath,² and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month. 2. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel,³ and he feared to go down into Egypt. 3. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. 4. And

¹ Probably corrupt for "Hebron"; cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14.

² Beersheba.

³ Cf. xxvii. 22.

he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits ¹ with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed (in the land), for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man. 5. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, "Jacob, Jacob"; and he said, "Here am I." And He said unto him: "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation. 6. I shall go down with thee, and I shall bring thee up ² (again), and in this land wilt thou be buried, and Joseph will put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt." 7. And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons. 8. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt. 9. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine ³ the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him. 10. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father. 12.⁴ Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons: Enoch, and Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five.⁵ 13. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad,

¹ Cf. Gen. xlv. 1 (the feast was celebrated on the 15th of the third month).

² Cf. xxvii. 24, xxxii. 23.

³ "To show the way" (Gen. xlv. 28).

⁴ The number 70, according to our text, includes Jacob with his descendants. Another reckoning makes up the number by excluding Jacob himself: cf. Exod. i. 5 and Gen. xlv. 15, 18, 21, 25, 27. The number 75, in Acts vii. 14, is due to the LXX of Exod. i. 5 and Deut. x. 22. There are certain differences in detail between the list in our text and the details given in Genesis; see Charles *ad loc.*

⁵ The father is included in each case.

and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite¹ woman—seven. 14. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. 15. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. 16. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phûa,² and Jâsûb,³ and Shimron—five. 17. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. 18. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons, whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty. 19. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore unto Jacob, Gad and Asher. 20. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: the sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri) and Areli, and Arodi—eight. 21. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, their one sister—six. 22. All the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. 23. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. 24. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. 25. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven. 26. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 27. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she

¹ *i. e.* a native of the Canaanite city Zephath; cf. Judg. i. 17.

² So LXX; Sam. and other versions. MT *Puvah* (Gen. xlv. 13).

³ So Sam. (Gen. xlv. 13) and LXX = MT *Iob*.

bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 28. And these are the names of their sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî, and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. 29. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there was left to Dan Hushim alone.¹ 30. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali : Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv.² 31. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 33. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. 34. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob. The Land of Egypt is acquired for Pharaoh. Jacob's Death and Burial (xlv. 1-16; cf. Gen. xlv. 28 ff., xlvii. 11 ff.).

XLV. And Israel went into the country of Egypt, ^{2172 A M.} into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. 3. And Israel said unto Joseph : " Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from His servant Jacob. 4. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am†³ yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the

¹ In Gen. xlv. 23 " Hushim " (MT) is mentioned alone.

² Cf. Gen. xlv. 24 and 1 Chron. vii. 13 : 'Îv is omitted in both texts.

³ MT (Gen. xlv. 30) " that thou art."

Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be His name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers ate bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. ¹ And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt; and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 7. And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them ² for the seven years of the famine. 8. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. 9. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. 10. For in the seven years of the famine it had not overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. 11. And this was the first year of the fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 12. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the kirg and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for the land of Egypt until this day. 13. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died in the

¹ Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11.

² MT (Gen. xlvii. 12) "according to their families."

fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2188 A.M.

14. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything¹ that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions² in the land.

15. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron.³ 16. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.⁴

The Death of Joseph. The Bones of Jacob's Sons (except Joseph) interred at Hebron. The Oppression of Israel by Egypt (xlv. 1-16; cf. Gen. l.; Exod. i.).

XLVI. And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and multiplied exceedingly, ten weeks 2242 A.M. of years, all the days of the life of Joseph.⁵ 2. And there was no Satan⁶ nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. 3. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; ⁷ seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land

¹ Cf. Gen. xlix. 1 ff.

² Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22.

³ Cf. Gen. l. 13.

⁴ Note that the tribal traditions are represented by our author as in the keeping of the priests (Levi and his descendants).

⁵ Cf. Exod. i. 7.

⁶ Cf. xxiii. 29.

⁷ Cf. Gen. l. 22, 26; Exod. i. 6.

of Egypt. 4. And he died and all his brethren and all that generation. 5. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt.¹ 6. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan,² for Mâkamârôn,³ king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn.⁴ 7. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt,⁵ and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph died 2242 A.M. in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren died after him. 9. And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of 2263 A.M. Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain. 10. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and

¹ Cf. Gen. i. 25.

² Cf. *Test. Simeon* viii. 3 f. ("For the bones of Joseph the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them that on the departure of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom," etc.).

³ Identification unknown.

⁴ i. e. Heroôhpolis (close to the desert).

⁵ ? Rameses III (1202-1171), founder of the 20th dynasty, who repulsed an invasion of peoples from the north and twice marched through Canaan, and in North Canaan defeated the invaders. The war between Egypt and Canaan, mentioned in our text, is referred to in *Test. Simeon* viii. 2. A war between Cush and Egypt, in which Moses led the Egyptians, is referred to by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10). In *Chron. Jerahmeel* xlv. it is between Cush and Syria.

Amram thy father remained with them¹. 11. And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. 12. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them; and he said unto the people of Egypt: 13. "Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong² cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses, and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. 15. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. 16. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

The Birth and Early Years of Moses

(xlvi. 1-12; cf. Exod. ii.).

XLVII. And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father³ went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. 2. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they

¹ This interesting statement apparently implies that some of the Hebrew tribes were already in Canaan before the Exodus. Or is it a reminiscence of the fact that the tribe of Judah absorbed some South Canaanitish tribes which were never in Egypt? Cf. Burney in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1908, pp. 321-352.

² So LXX (Exod. i. 11); MT = ? "store cities."

³ i. e. Moses' father, Amram.

should cast all their male children which were born into the river. 3. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. 4. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. 5. And in those days Tharmuth,¹ the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. 6. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. 7. And thy sister said unto her: "Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?" And she said (unto her): "Go." 8. And she went and called thy mother Jochebed,² and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. 9. And afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing,³ and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. 10. And thou wast three weeks of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. 11. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: "Why dost thou smite thy brother?" 12. And he was angry and indignant, and said: "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

¹ Thermuthis (Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 9, 5, 7).

² Cf. Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59. ³ Contrast Acts vii. 22.

From the Flight of Moses to the Exodus
(xlvi. 1-19; cf. Exod. ii. 15 ff., iv. 19-24, vii.-xiv.).

XLVIII. And in the sixth year of the third week ^{2372 A.M.} of the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell in the land of Midian ¹ five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt ² in the second week in the second year in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. ^{2410 A.M.} And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ ³ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? ⁴ 4. And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people. 5. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. ⁵ 6. And everything was sent through thy hand,

¹ Cf. Exod. ii. 15.

² Cf. Exod. iv. 19.

³ Notice here the substitution of Satanic agency where the original text of Scripture ascribes the action directly to Jahveh (cf. Exod. iv. 24); another instance in our Book is xvii. 16. The same tendency can be illustrated from 1 Chron. xxi. 1 compared with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

⁴ This explanation of the incident described in Exod. iv. 24 ff. seems to be peculiar to our author, the real explanation being that Moses had failed to circumcise his son (so Targ. Ps.-Jon. *in loc.*).

⁵ An enumeration of the ten plagues.

that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. 8. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage.¹ 9. And the prince of the Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. 10. The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. 11. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand,² for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign. 12. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince of the Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt.³ 13. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. 14. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river.⁴ He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were

¹ Cf. Gen. xv. 13, 14. ² Cf. Exod. ix. 11. ³ Cf. Ex. xiv. 8, 9.

⁴ Another example of the *lex talionis* (cf. iv. 31), though a distinction may be drawn between 'eye for eye' (a principle of human justice) and 'measure for measure' (a theory of divine retribution); cf. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, p. 154 (series i).

destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river.¹ 15. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince of the Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. 16. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. 17. And he² hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. 18. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians³ in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. 19. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

Regulations regarding the Passover (xlix.

1-23; cf. Exod. xii.).

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening⁴ of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. 2. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ⁵ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive

¹ Cf. Wisdom xviii. 5.

² *i. e.* the prince of the Mastêmâ (substituted for Jahveh in Exod. xiv. 8).

³ Cf. Exod. xii. 35 f.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

⁵ In Exod. xii. 29 it is Jahveh Himself who smites all the first-born.

maidservant in the mill, and to the cattle. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them : Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog. 5. And the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. 6. And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine,¹ and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage. 7. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. 8. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tables regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations;² and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever. 9. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and doth not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand will be cut off; because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he will

¹ The use of wine at the Passover feast is attested here for the first time. For the later prescriptions about the four cups of wine drunk at the feast see Mishna, *Pesahim* x.

² For 7-8 cf. vi. 20, 22.

take the guilt upon himself.¹ 10. Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening.² 11. That is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. 12. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening,³ and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night,⁴ and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire. 13. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire :⁵ they shall eat it with diligence,⁶ its head with the inwards thereof⁷ and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof ;⁸ for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†.⁹ 14. For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof ; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and

¹ Cf. Num. ix. 13.

² The Jews divided the night into three parts, or watches (6-10 p.m., 10 p.m.-2 a.m., 2-6 a.m.). The corresponding parts of the day would be 6-10 a.m., 10 a.m.-2 p.m., and 2 p.m.-6 p.m. Our text says the last of these was " given " to the evening.

³ This is an interpretation of the Biblical phrase "between the two evenings" (Exod. xii. 6; cf. R.V. marg.). This was interpreted by the Sadducees and Samaritans to mean between sunset and complete darkness (and may possibly have that meaning here), but by the Pharisees it was understood to refer to the earlier afternoon (3-6).

⁴ *i. e.* any time between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. The Rabbis limited the eating to midnight.

⁵ Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

⁶ Cf. LXX (σπουδαίως) : Heb. (Exod. xii. 11), " in haste."

⁷ Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

⁸ Cf. Exod. xii. 46.

⁹ The Latin, which is to be preferred, reads : " There shall be no tribulation among the sons of Israel on this day."

there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed. 15. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it will come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague will come upon them to slay or to smite ¹ in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command. 16. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary ² of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. 17. And every man who hath come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old ³ and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 18. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord hath been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. 19. And in the days when the house hath been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. 20. And they will offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house ⁴ which hath been sanctified in

¹ Cf. Exod. xii. 13.

² Cf. 20 below.

³ *i. e.* the age when maturity is first attained; cf. Exod. xxx. 14; Num. i. 32.

⁴ Cf. Deut. xvi. 7. In later times the Passover lamb was slaughtered in the Temple, but eaten at home, *i. e.* in a house in Jerusalem. The vast numbers of pilgrims present necessitated this extension (cf. Josephus, *War*, vi. 9, 3. ii. 14, 3).

the name of the Lord. 21. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities,¹ nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they will not go astray from the Lord. 22. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and †² the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God. 23. For ye celebrated this festival with haste³ when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; ⁴ for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the Jubilees and the Sabbath (l. 1-13).

L. And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai.⁵ 2. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years⁶ in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. 3. And the land also will keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it,⁷ and they will know the jubilee year. 4. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks⁸ and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, and one week^{2410 A.M.} and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. "distant") for learning the commandments of^{2450 A.M.}

¹ Cf. Deut. xvi. 5.

² Read with the Latin "during its days and during."

³ Cf. Exod. xii. 11.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xv. 22.

⁵ Cf. Exod. xvi. 1 ("the wilderness of Sin . . . between Elim and Sinai").

⁶ Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.

⁷ Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34.

⁸ A "year-week" = seven years.

the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. 5. And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwelleth with confidence in all the land, and there will be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore.¹

6. And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—and all the judgments of its laws. 7. Six days wilt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God.² In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. 8. And the man that doeth any work on it shall die : ³ whoever desecrateth that day, whoever lieth with (his) wife,⁴ or whoever saith he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon ⁵ in regard to any buying or selling : ⁶ and whoever draweth water thereon ⁷ which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day, and whoever taketh up any burden to carry it out of his tent ⁸ or out of his house shall die. 9. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save that ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival, and a holy day : and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. 10. For great is the

¹ The Messianic Age is referred to; cf. i. 29, xxiii. 26 ff.

² Cf. Exod. xx. 9-10.

³ Cf. Exod. xxxv. 2.

⁴ This ascetic practice is still followed by the Samaritans, but not by the Jews. The exact opposite is enjoined in the Mishna; see Charles *ad loc.*

⁵ Cf. Exod. xvi. 29. It was allowed to go a distance of 2000 cubits by Rabbinical law; cf. the "Sabbath day's journey" of Acts i. 12.

⁶ Prohibited by Nehemiah (cf. Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17).

⁷ This is prohibited by the Karaite Jews.

⁸ Cf. ii. 29.

honour which the Lord hath given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour¹ which belongeth to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. 11. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days² in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. 12. And every man who doeth any work thereon, or goeth a journey, or tilleth (his) farm,³ whether in his house or any other place,⁴ and whoever lighteth a fire,⁵ or rideth on any beast,⁶ or travelleth by ship on the sea, and whoever striketh or killeth anything, or slaughtereth⁷ a beast or a bird, or whoever catcheth an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasteth or maketh war on the Sabbaths:⁸ 13. The man who doeth any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tables, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

¹ Cf. ii. 21.

² Cf. Matt. xii. 5 (Num. xxviii. 9, 10).

³ Forbidden; cf. Exod. xxxiv. 21 (Mishna, *Shabb.* vii. 2).

⁴ Perhaps this clause should follow "any work thereon" (Charles).

⁵ Forbidden; Exod. xxxv. 3; cf. Num. xv. 32 f.

⁶ Forbidden by the Jewish oral law.

⁷ "Slaughtering" on the Sabbath is forbidden in the Mishna (*Shabb.* vii. 2).

⁸ This rule was at first rigidly observed in the Maccabean wars (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 31-38), but afterwards relaxed (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 41).

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The Book of Daniel

¹ In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it.

² And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God: which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god; and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god.

³ ¶ And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring *certain* of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes;

⁴ Children in whom *was* no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as *had* ability in them to stand in the king's palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.

⁵ And the king appointed them a daily provision of the king's meat, and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.*

⁶ Now among these were of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah:

⁷ Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto Daniel *the name* of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to

* ^{1.5} the wine...: Heb. the wine of his drink

Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abednego.

⁸ ¶ But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself.

⁹ Now God had brought Daniel into favour and tender love with the prince of the eunuchs.

¹⁰ And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces worse liking than the children which *are* of your sort? then shall ye make *me* endanger my head to the king.†‡

¹¹ Then said Daniel to Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah,§

¹² Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days; and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink.**††

¹³ Then let our countenances be looked upon before thee, and the countenance of the children that eat of the portion of the king's meat: and as thou seest, deal with thy servants.

¹⁴ So he consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days.

¹⁵ And at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the

† **1.10** worse...: Heb. sadder ‡ **1.10** sort: or, term, or, continuance? § **1.11** Melzar: or, the steward ** **1.12** pulse: Heb. of pulse †† **1.12** to eat...: Heb. that we may eat, etc

children which did eat the portion of the king's meat.

¹⁶ Thus Melzar took away the portion of their meat, and the wine that they should drink; and gave them pulse.

¹⁷ ¶ As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.‡‡

¹⁸ Now at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.

¹⁹ And the king communed with them; and among them all was found none like Daniel, Haniah, Mishael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before the king.

²⁰ And in all matters of wisdom *and* understanding, that the king enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians *and* astrologers that *were* in all his realm. §§

²¹ And Daniel continued *even* unto the first year of king Cyrus.

2

¹ And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith his spirit was troubled, and his sleep brake from him.

² Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and

‡‡ 1.17 Daniel...: or, he made Daniel understand §§ 1.20 wisdom...: Heb. wisdom of understanding

the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his dreams. So they came and stood before the king.

³ And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit was troubled to know the dream.

⁴ Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriack, O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation.*

⁵ The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream, with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill.†

⁶ But if ye shew the dream, and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me gifts and rewards and great honour: therefore shew me the dream, and the interpretation thereof.‡

⁷ They answered again and said, Let the king tell his servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation of it.

⁸ The king answered and said, I know of certainty that ye would gain the time, because ye see the thing is gone from me.§

⁹ But if ye will not make known unto me the dream, *there is but* one decree for you: for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me the interpretation thereof.

¹⁰ ¶ The Chaldeans answered before the king,

* **2.4** O king...: (Chaldee, to the end of chapter seven) † **2.5** cut...: Chaldee, made pieces ‡ **2.6** rewards: or, fee § **2.8** gain: Chaldee, buy

and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can shew the king's matter: therefore *there* is no king, lord, nor ruler, *that* asked such things at any magician, or astrologer, or Chaldean.

¹¹ And *it* is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.

¹² For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise *men* of Babylon.

¹³ And the decree went forth that the wise *men* should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain.

¹⁴ ¶ Then Daniel answered with counsel and wisdom to Arioch the captain of the king's guard, which was gone forth to slay the wise *men* of Babylon: ** ††

¹⁵ He answered and said to Arioch the king's captain, Why is the decree so hasty from the king? Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.

¹⁶ Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would give him time, and that he would shew the king the interpretation.

¹⁷ Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions:

¹⁸ That they would desire mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret; that Daniel and his fellows should not perish with the rest of the wise

** **2.14** answered...: Chaldee, returned †† **2.14** captain...: or, chief marshal: Chaldee, chief of the executioners, or, slaughtermen

men of Babylon.##§§

¹⁹ ¶ Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven.

²⁰ Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his:

²¹ And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding:

²² He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.

²³ I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast *now* made known unto us the king's matter.

²⁴ ¶ Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise *men* of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him; Destroy not the wise *men* of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

²⁵ Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.***†††

2.18 of the God: Chaldee, from before God §§ 2.18 that Daniel...: or, that they should not destroy Daniel, etc *** 2.25 I have...: Chaldee, That I have found ††† 2.25 captives...: Chaldee, children of the captivity of Judah

²⁶ The king answered and said to Daniel, whose name *was* Belteshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have seen, and the interpretation thereof?

²⁷ Daniel answered in the presence of the king, and said, The secret which the king hath demanded cannot the wise *men*, the astrologers, the magicians, the soothsayers, shew unto the king;

²⁸ But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these;†††

²⁹ As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came *into thy mind* upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets maketh known to thee what shall come to pass. §§§

³⁰ But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for *any* wisdom that I have more than any living, but for *their* sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart.*

³¹ ¶ Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness *was* excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof *was* terrible.†

³² This image's head *was* of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass,‡

††† **2.28** maketh...: Chaldee, hath made known §§§ **2.29** came: Chaldee, came up * **2.30** but for...: or, but for the intent that the interpretation may be made known to the king † **2.31** sawest: Chaldee, wast seeing ‡ **2.32** thighs: or, sides

³³ His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.

³⁴ Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet *that were* of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. §

³⁵ Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

³⁶ ¶ This is the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.

³⁷ Thou, O king, *art* a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.

³⁸ And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou *art* this head of gold.

³⁹ And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.

⁴⁰ And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all *things*: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise.

⁴¹ And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the

§ 2.34 without...: or, which was not in hands

strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay.

⁴² And as the toes of the feet *were* part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken.**

⁴³ And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.††

⁴⁴ And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, *but* it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.‡‡§§

⁴⁵ Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream *is* certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.***†††

⁴⁶ ¶ Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him.

⁴⁷ The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth *it is*, that your God is a God of gods, and

** 2.42 broken: or, brittle †† 2.43 one...: Chaldee, this with this ‡‡ 2.44 the days: Chaldee, their days §§ 2.44 the kingdom: Chaldee, the kingdom thereof *** 2.45 without...: or, which was not in hands ††† 2.45 hereafter: Chaldee, after this

a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret.

⁴⁸ Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise *men* of Babylon.

⁴⁹ Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel *sat* in the gate of the king.

3

¹ Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height *was* threescore cubits, *and* the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.

² Then Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

³ Then the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

⁴ Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages,^{*†}

^{*} 3.4 aloud: Chaldee, with might
command

[†] 3.4 it...: Chaldee, they

⁵ *That* at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up:‡

⁶ And whoso falleth not down and worshipping shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

⁷ Therefore at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages, fell down *and* worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

⁸ ¶ Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews.

⁹ They spake and said to the king Nebuchadnezzar, O king, live for ever.

¹⁰ Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, shall fall down and worship the golden image:§

¹¹ And whoso falleth not down and worshipping, *that* he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

¹² There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king, have not regarded thee: they serve not thy

‡ 3.5 dulcimer: or, singing: Chaldee, symphony

§ 3.10 dul-

cimer: or, singing: Chaldee, symphony

gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.**

13 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar in *his* rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. Then they brought these men before the king.

14 Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, *Is it true*, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?††

15 Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made; *well*: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who *is* that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?‡‡

16 Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we *are* not careful to answer thee in this matter.

17 If it be *so*, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver *us* out of thine hand, O king.

18 But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

19 ¶ Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: *therefore* he

** 3.12 have...: Chaldee, have set no regard upon thee †† 3.14 true: or, of purpose ‡‡ 3.15 dulcimer: or, singing: Chaldee, symphony

spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated. §§

²⁰ And he commanded the most mighty men that *were* in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, *and* to cast *them* into the burning fiery furnace. ***

²¹ Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their *other* garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. †††††

²² Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. §§§*

²³ And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

²⁴ Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished, and rose up in haste, *and* spake, and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king. †

²⁵ He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God. ‡

²⁶ ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the

§§ 3.19 full: Chaldee, filled *** 3.20 most...: Chaldee, mighty of strength ††† 3.21 coats: or, mantles ‡‡‡ 3.21 hats: or, turbans §§§ 3.22 commandment: Chaldee, word * 3.22 flame: or, spark † 3.24 counsellors: or, governors ‡ 3.25 they...: Chaldee, there is no hurt in them

mouth of the burning fiery furnace, *and* spake, and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come *hither*. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire. §

²⁷ And the princes, governors, and captains, and the king's counsellors, being gathered together, saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.

²⁸ Then Nebuchadnezzar spake, and said, Blessed *be* the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God.

²⁹ Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort. **††‡‡

³⁰ Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the province of Babylon. §§

4

¹ Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all people,

§ 3.26 mouth: Chaldee, door ** 3.29 I make...: Chaldee, a decree is made by me †† 3.29 any...: Chaldee, error ‡‡ 3.29 cut...: Chaldee, made pieces §§ 3.30 promoted: Chaldee, made to prosper

nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

² I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me.*

³ How great *are* his signs! and how mighty *are* his wonders! his kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion *is* from generation to generation.

⁴ ¶ I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace:

⁵ I saw a dream which made me afraid, and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me.

⁶ Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise *men* of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream.

⁷ Then came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof.

⁸ ¶ But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name *was* Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and in whom *is* the spirit of the holy gods: and before him I told the dream, *saying*,

⁹ O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods *is* in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

* **4.2** I thought....: Chaldee, It was seemly before me

¹⁰ Thus *were* the visions of mine head in my bed; I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great.[†]

¹¹ The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth:

¹² The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.

¹³ I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven;

¹⁴ He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches:[‡]

¹⁵ Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass of the earth:

¹⁶ Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him.

¹⁷ This matter *is* by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

[†] **4.10** I saw: Chaldee, I was seeing [‡] **4.14** aloud: Chaldee, with might

18 This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen. Now thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof, forasmuch as all the wise *men* of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation: but thou *art* able; for the spirit of the holy gods *is* in thee.

19 ¶ Then Daniel, whose name *was* Belteshazzar, was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him. The king spake, and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream *be* to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies.

20 The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth;

21 Whose leaves *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation:

22 It is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.

23 And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down, and destroy it; yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him;

²⁴ This is the interpretation, O king, and this is the decree of the most High, which is come upon my lord the king:

²⁵ That they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

²⁶ And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule.

²⁷ Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity. §

²⁸ ¶ All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar.

²⁹ At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. **

³⁰ The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?

³¹ While the word *was* in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, *saying*, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee.

§ 4.27 a lengthening...: or, an healing of thine error ** 4.29 in: or, upon

³² And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling *shall be* with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

³³ The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' *feathers*, and his nails like birds' *claws*.

³⁴ And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion *is* an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom *is* from generation to generation:

³⁵ And all the inhabitants of the earth *are* reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and *among* the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?

³⁶ At the same time my reason returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me.

³⁷ Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven, all whose works *are* truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

5

¹ Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

² Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which *was* in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein.*†

³ Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which *was* at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them.

⁴ They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

⁵ ¶ In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

⁶ Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.‡§**

⁷ The king cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. *And* the king spake, and said to the wise *men*

* 5.2 father: or, grandfather † 5.2 taken: Chaldee, brought forth

‡ 5.6 countenance: Chaldee, brightnesses § 5.6 was changed: Chaldee, changed it ** 5.6 joints: or, girdles: Chaldee, bindings, or, knots

of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.††‡‡

⁸ Then came in all the king's wise *men*: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof.

⁹ Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were astonished.§§

¹⁰ ¶ Now the queen, by reason of the words of the king and his lords, came into the banquet house: *and* the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed:

¹¹ There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom *is* the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, *I* say, thy father, made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, *and* soothsayers;***

¹² Forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpreta-

†† 5.7 aloud: Chaldee, with might ‡‡ 5.7 scarlet: or, purple
 §§ 5.9 countenance: Chaldee, brightnesses *** 5.11 father: or, grandfather

tion.††††§§§

¹³ Then was Daniel brought in before the king. And the king spake and said unto Daniel, *Art* thou that Daniel, which *art* of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry?*

¹⁴ I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods *is* in thee, and *that* light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee.

¹⁵ And now the wise *men*, the astrologers, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing:

¹⁶ And I have heard of thee, that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.†

¹⁷ ¶ Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.‡

¹⁸ O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour:

††† 5.12 interpreting: or, of an interpreter ‡‡‡ 5.12 dissolving:
or, of a dissolver §§§ 5.12 doubts: Chaldee, knots * 5.13
father: or, grandfather † 5.16 make interpretations: Chaldee,
interpret, etc ‡ 5.17 rewards: or, fee

19 And for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down.

20 But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him:§**

21 And he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling *was* with the wild asses: they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and *that* he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.††

22 And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this;

23 But hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou, and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath *is*, and whose *are* all thy ways, hast thou not glorified:

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from him; and this writing was written.

25 ¶ And this *is* the writing that was written,

§ 5.20 in pride: or, to deal proudly ** 5.20 deposed: Chaldee, made to come down †† 5.21 his heart...: or, he made his heart equal, etc

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

²⁶ This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.

²⁷ TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

²⁸ PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

²⁹ Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and *put* a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

³⁰ ¶ In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain.

³¹ And Darius the Median took the kingdom, *being* about threescore and two years old.##§§

6

¹ It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom;

² And over these three presidents; of whom Daniel *was* first: that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage.

³ Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit *was* in him; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm.

5.31 *being...*: Chaldee, *he as the son of*, etc §§ 5.31 *about: or, now*

⁴ ¶ Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he *was* faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.

⁵ Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find *it* against him concerning the law of his God.

⁶ Then these presidents and princes assembled together to the king, and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever.*

⁷ All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellors, and the captains, have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.†

⁸ Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.‡

⁹ Wherefore king Darius signed the writing and the decree.

¹⁰ ¶ Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

* **6.6** assembled...: or, came tumultuously † **6.7** decree: or, interdict ‡ **6.8** altereth not: Chaldee, passeth not

¹¹ Then these men assembled, and found Daniel praying and making supplication before his God.

¹² Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the king's decree; Hast thou not signed a decree, that every man that shall ask *a petition* of any God or man within thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing is true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

¹³ Then answered they and said before the king, That Daniel, which *is* of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.

¹⁴ Then the king, when he heard *these* words, was sore displeased with himself, and set *his* heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun to deliver him.

¹⁵ Then these men assembled unto the king, and said unto the king, Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians *is*, That no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.

¹⁶ Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast *him* into the den of lions. *Now* the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.

¹⁷ And a stone was brought, and laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel.

¹⁸ ¶ Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of musick brought before him: and his sleep went from him. §

¹⁹ Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions.

²⁰ And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel: *and* the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?

²¹ Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever.

²² My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.

²³ Then was the king exceeding glad for him, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God.

²⁴ ¶ And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast *them* into the den of lions, *them*, their children, and their wives; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.

²⁵ ¶ Then king Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

§ 6.18 instruments...: or, table

²⁶ I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he *is* the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom *that* which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion *shall be even* unto the end.

²⁷ He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.**

²⁸ So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

7

¹ In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, *and* told the sum of the matters.*†

² Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea.

³ And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.

⁴ The first *was* like a lion, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.‡

⁵ And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and *it had* three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of

** 6.27 power: Chaldee, hand * 7.1 had: Chaldee, saw † 7.1 matters: or, words ‡ 7.4 and it: or, wherewith it

it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. §

⁶ After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.

⁷ After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it *was* diverse from all the beasts that *were* before it; and it had ten horns.

⁸ I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn *were* eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

⁹ ¶ I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment *was* white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne *was like* the fiery flame, and his wheels *as* burning fire.

¹⁰ A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

¹¹ I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld *even* till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given

§ 7.5 it raised...: or, it raised up one dominion

to the burning flame.

¹² As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. ^{**}

¹³ I saw in the night visions, and, behold, *one* like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

¹⁴ And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom *that* which shall not be destroyed.

¹⁵ ¶ I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of *my* body, and the visions of my head troubled me. ^{††}

¹⁶ I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things.

¹⁷ These great beasts, which are four, *are* four kings, *which* shall arise out of the earth.

¹⁸ But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. ^{‡‡}

¹⁹ Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth *were of* iron, and his nails *of* brass; *which* devoured, brake in pieces,

^{**} 7.12 their lives...: Chaldee, a prolonging in life was given them

^{††} 7.15 body: Chaldee, sheath ^{‡‡} 7.18 most...: Chaldee, high ones, that is, things, or, places

and stamped the residue with his feet;§§

²⁰ And of the ten horns that *were* in his head, and *of* the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even *of* that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look *was* more stout than his fellows.

²¹ I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;

²² Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

²³ Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

²⁴ And the ten horns out of this kingdom *are* ten kings *that* shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings.

²⁵ And he shall speak *great* words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

²⁶ But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy *it* unto the end.

²⁷ And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom *is* an everlasting

§§ 7.19 from...: Chaldee, from all those

kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.***

²⁸ Hitherto is the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart.

8

¹ In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a vision appeared unto me, *even unto* me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.

² And I saw in a vision; and it came to pass, when I saw, that I *was* at Shushan *in* the palace, which *is* in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai.

³ Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had *two* horns: and the *two* horns *were* high; but one *was* higher than the other, and the higher came up last.*

⁴ I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither *was there any* that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.

⁵ And as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat *had* a notable horn between his eyes.†‡

*** 7.27 dominions: or, rulers * 8.3 the other: Heb. the second

† 8.5 touched...: or, none touched him in the earth ‡ 8.5 a notable...: Heb. a horn of sight

⁶ And he came to the ram that had *two* horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.

⁷ And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.

⁸ Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.

⁹ And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant *land*.

¹⁰ And it waxed great, *even* to the host of heaven; and it cast down *some* of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. §

¹¹ Yea, he magnified *himself* even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. ** ††

¹² And an host was given *him* against the daily *sacrifice* by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised, and prospered. ‡‡

¹³ ¶ Then I heard one saint speaking, and an-

§ 8.10 to the host: or, against the host ** 8.11 to: or, against

†† 8.11 by him: or, from him ‡‡ 8.12 an host...: or, the host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice

other saint said unto that certain *saint* which spake, How long *shall be* the vision *concerning* the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?§§***

¹⁴ And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.†††††

¹⁵ ¶ And it came to pass, when I, *even* I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man.

¹⁶ And I heard a man's voice between *the banks of* Ulai, which called, and said, Gabriel, make this *man* to understand the vision.

¹⁷ So he came near where I stood: and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Understand, O son of man: for at the time of the end *shall be* the vision.

¹⁸ Now as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground: but he touched me, and set me upright. §§§

¹⁹ And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end *shall be*.

²⁰ The ram which thou sawest having *two* horns *are* the kings of Media and Persia.

²¹ And the rough goat *is* the king of Grecia: and the great horn that *is* between his eyes *is* the first

§§ **8.13** that...: or, the numberer of secrets, or, the wonderful numberer: Heb. Palmoni *** **8.13** of...: or, making desolate
 ††† **8.14** days: Heb. evening morning ††† **8.14** cleansed: Heb. justified §§§ **8.18** set...: Heb. made me stand upon my standing

king.

²² Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.

²³ And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.*

²⁴ And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.†

²⁵ And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify *himself* in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand.‡

²⁶ And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told *is* true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it *shall be* for many days.

²⁷ And I Daniel fainted, and was sick *certain* days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood *it*.

9

¹ In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans;*

* **8.23** are...: Heb. are accomplished † **8.24** holy...: Heb. people of the holy ones ‡ **8.25** peace: or, prosperity * **9.1** which: or, in which he

² In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

³ ¶ And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes:

⁴ And I prayed unto the LORD my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments;

⁵ We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judgments:

⁶ Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

⁷ O Lord, righteousness *belongeth* unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, *that are near*, and *that are far off*, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against thee.†

⁸ O Lord, to us *belongeth* confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee.

† 9.7 *belongeth...: or, thou hast*

⁹ To the Lord our God *belong* mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him;

¹⁰ Neither have we obeyed the voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants the prophets.

¹¹ Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.

¹² And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem.

¹³ As *it is* written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet made we not our prayer before the LORD our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth.‡

¹⁴ Therefore hath the LORD watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us: for the LORD our God is righteous in all his works which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice.

¹⁵ And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly.§

¹⁶ ¶ O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy

‡ 9.13 made...: Heb. intreated we not the face of the, etc § 9.15
gotten...: Heb. made thee a name

mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people *are become* a reproach to all *that are* about us.

¹⁷ Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake.

¹⁸ O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies. **††

¹⁹ O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name.

²⁰ ¶ And whiles I *was* speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the LORD my God for the holy mountain of my God;

²¹ Yea, whiles I *was* speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation. ‡‡

²² And he informed *me*, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding. §§

²³ At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth, and I am come to shew *thee*; for thou *art* greatly beloved: there-

** 9.18 which...: Heb. whereupon thy name is called †† 9.18 present: Heb. cause to fall ‡‡ 9.21 swiftly: Heb. with weariness, or, flight §§ 9.22 to...: Heb. to make thee skilful of

fore understand the matter, and consider the vision.***†††

²⁴ Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.†††§§§*

²⁵ Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.††§

²⁶ And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.**††

²⁷ And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make *it* desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the

*** **9.23** commandment: Heb. word ††† **9.23** greatly...: Heb. a man of desires ††† **9.24** finish: or, restrain §§§ **9.24** make an...: or, seal up * **9.24** prophecy: Heb. prophet † **9.25** be built...: Heb. return and be built ‡ **9.25** wall: or, breach, or, ditch § **9.25** troublous: Heb. strait of ** **9.26** but...: or, and shall have nothing †† **9.26** desolations...: or, it shall be cut off by desolations

desolate.‡§§***

10

¹ In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar; and the thing *was* true, but the time appointed *was* long: and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision.*

² In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks.†

³ I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled.‡

⁴ And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which *is* Hiddekel;

⁵ Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins *were* girded with fine gold of Uphaz:§

⁶ His body also *was* like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude.

⁷ And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves.

‡‡ 9.27 the covenant: or, a covenant §§ 9.27 for the...: or, with the abominable armies *** 9.27 the desolate: or, the desolator * 10.1 long: Heb. great † 10.2 full...: Heb. weeks of days ‡ 10.3 pleasant...: Heb. bread of desires § 10.5 a...: Heb. one man

⁸ Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my comeliness was turned in me into corruption, and I retained no strength.**

⁹ Yet heard I the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground.

¹⁰ ¶ And, behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and *upon* the palms of my hands.††

¹¹ And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling.‡‡§§

¹² Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words.

¹³ But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia.***

¹⁴ Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for yet the vision is for *many* days.

¹⁵ And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb.

** **10.8** comeliness: or, vigour †† **10.10** set: Heb. moved

‡‡ **10.11** greatly...: Heb. of desires §§ **10.11** upright: Heb. upon thy standing *** **10.13** chief: or, first

¹⁶ And, behold, *one* like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength.

¹⁷ For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.†††

¹⁸ Then there came again and touched me *one* like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me,

¹⁹ And said, O man greatly beloved, fear not: peace *be* unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.

²⁰ Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come.

²¹ But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and *there is* none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.‡‡‡

11

¹ Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, *even* I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him.

² And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and

††† 10.17 the...: or, this servant of my lord ‡‡‡ 10.21 holdeth: Heb. strengtheneth himself

the fourth shall be far richer than *they* all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.

³ And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.

⁴ And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those.

⁵ ¶ And the king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion *shall be* a great dominion.

⁶ And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in *these* times.*†‡

⁷ But out of a branch of her roots shall *one* stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail:§

⁸ And shall also carry captives into Egypt their

* 11.6 join...: Heb. associate themselves † 11.6 an...: Heb. rights

‡ 11.6 he that begat...: or, whom she brought forth § 11.7 in...: or, in his place, or, office

gods, with their princes, *and* with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue *more* years than the king of the north.**

⁹ So the king of the south shall come into *his* kingdom, and shall return into his own land.

¹⁰ But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and *one* shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, *even* to his fortress.††‡

¹¹ And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, *even* with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand.

¹² *And* when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down *many* ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened *by it*.

¹³ For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army and with much riches. §§

¹⁴ And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall.***

¹⁵ So the king of the north shall come, and cast

** 11.8 their precious...: Heb. vessels of their desire †† 11.10 shall be...: or, shall war ‡ 11.10 return...: or, be stirred up again §§ 11.13 after...: Heb. at the end of times, even years *** 11.14 the robbers: Heb. the children of robbers

up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither *shall there be any strength to withstand.*†††††

¹⁶ But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. §§§

¹⁷ He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: but she shall not stand *on his side*, neither be for him.*†

¹⁸ After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause *it* to turn upon him. ‡§

¹⁹ Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.

²⁰ Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes *in the glory of the kingdom*: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle.**†††

²¹ And in his estate shall stand up a vile person,

††† 11.15 the most...: Heb. the city of munitions ‡‡‡ 11.15 his...: Heb. the people of his choices §§§ 11.16 glorious...: or, goodly, etc.: Heb. land of ornament * 11.17 upright...: or, much uprightness: or, equal conditions † 11.17 corrupting: Heb. to corrupt ‡ 11.18 for...: Heb. for him § 11.18 the reproach...: Heb. his reproach ** 11.20 estate: or, place †† 11.20 a...: Heb. one that causeth an exacter to pass over ‡‡ 11.20 anger: Heb. angers

to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries. §§

²² And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant.

²³ And after the league *made* with him he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.

²⁴ He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do *that* which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: *yea*, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time. *** †††

²⁵ And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him.

²⁶ Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain.

²⁷ And both these kings' hearts *shall be* to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end *shall be* at the time appointed. †††

²⁸ Then shall he return into his land with great

§§ 11.21 estate: or, place *** 11.24 peaceably...: or, into the peaceable and fat, etc ††† 11.24 forecast...: Heb. think his thoughts ††† 11.27 hearts: Heb. their hearts

riches; and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant; and he shall do *exploits*, and return to his own land.

²⁹ At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

³⁰ ¶ For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.

³¹ And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily *sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate. §§§

³² And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do *exploits*.*

³³ And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, *many* days.

³⁴ Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

³⁵ And *some* of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make *them* white, *even* to the time of the end: because *it is* yet for a time appointed.†

§§§ 11.31 maketh...: or, astonisheth * 11.32 corrupt: or, cause to dissemble † 11.35 try them: or, try by them

³⁶ And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

³⁷ Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

³⁸ But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. ‡§**††

³⁹ Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge *and* increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain. ‡§§

⁴⁰ And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

⁴¹ He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, *even* Edom, and

‡ **11.38** in...: or, as for the Almighty God, in his seat he shall honour yea, he shall honour a god, whom, etc § **11.38** estate: or, stead ** **11.38** forces: or, munitions: Heb. Mauzzim, or, God's protectors †† **11.38** pleasant: Heb. things desired ‡‡ **11.39** most...: Heb. fortresses of munitions §§ **11.39** gain: Heb. a price

Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.***

⁴² He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape.†††

⁴³ But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians *shall be* at his steps.

⁴⁴ But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

⁴⁵ And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.‡‡‡

12

¹ And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation *even* to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.

² And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame *and* everlasting contempt.

*** **11.41** glorious...: or, goodly, etc.: Heb. land of delight, or, ornament ††† **11.42** stretch...: Heb. send forth ‡‡‡ **11.45** glorious...: or, goodly, etc.: Heb. mountain of delight of holiness

³ And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.*

⁴ But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, *even* to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

⁵ ¶ Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.†‡

⁶ And *one* said to the man clothed in linen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, How long *shall it be* to the end of these wonders?§

⁷ And I heard the man clothed in linen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that *it shall be* for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these *things* shall be finished.**

⁸ And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what *shall be* the end of these *things*?

⁹ And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words *are* closed up and sealed till the time of the end.

¹⁰ Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.

¹¹ And from the time *that* the daily *sacrifice* shall be taken away, and the abomination that

* **12.3** wise: or, teachers † **12.5** bank: Heb. lip ‡ **12.5** bank: Heb. lip § **12.6** upon...: or, from above ** **12.7** a time...: or, part

maketh desolate set up, *there shall be* a thousand two hundred and ninety days.††‡‡

¹² Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

¹³ But go thou thy way till the end *be*: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.§§

†† **12.11** the abomination: Heb. to set up the abomination
 ‡‡ **12.11** maketh...: or, astonisheth §§ **12.13** for thou: or, and
 thou, etc

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Ezekiel

A Vision of God's Glory

1:1 In the thirtieth year,¹ on the fifth day of the fourth month, while I was among the exiles² at the Kebar River,³ the heavens opened⁴ and I saw a divine vision.⁵ **1:2** (On the fifth day of the month – it was the fifth year of King Jehoiachin's exile – **1:3** the word of the LORD came to the priest Ezekiel⁶ the son of Buzi,⁷ at the Kebar River in the land of the Babylonians.⁸ The hand⁹ of the LORD came on him there).

1:4 As I watched, I noticed¹⁰ a windstorm¹¹ coming from the north – an enormous cloud, with lightning flashing,¹² such that bright light¹³ rimmed it and came from¹⁴ it like glowing amber¹⁵ from the middle of a fire. **1:5** In the fire¹⁶ were what looked like¹⁷ four living beings.¹⁸ In their appearance they had human form,¹⁹ **1:6** but each had four faces and four wings. **1:7** Their legs were straight, but the soles of their feet were like calves' feet. They gleamed²⁰ like polished bronze. **1:8** They had human hands²¹ under their wings on their four sides. As for the faces and wings of the four of them, **1:9** their

¹ **sn** The meaning of the *thirtieth* year is problematic. Some take it to mean the age of Ezekiel when he prophesied (e.g., Origen). The Aramaic Targum explains the thirtieth year as the thirtieth year dated from the recovery of the book of the Torah in the temple in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 22:3-9). The number seems somehow to be equated with the fifth year of Jehoiachin's exile in 1:2, i.e., 593 B.C.

² **sn** The Assyrians started the tactic of deportation, the large-scale forced displacement of conquered populations, in order to stifle rebellions. The task of uniting groups of deportees, gaining freedom from one's overlords and returning to retake one's own country would be considerably more complicated than living in one's homeland and waiting for an opportune moment to drive out the enemy's soldiers. The Babylonians adopted this practice also, after defeating the Assyrians. The Babylonians deported Judeans on three occasions. The practice of deportation was reversed by the Persian conquerors of Babylon, who gained favor from their subjects for allowing them to return to their homeland and, as polytheists, sought the favor of the gods of the various countries which had come under their control.

³ **sn** The *Kebar River* is mentioned in Babylonian texts from the city of Nippur in the fifth century B.C. It provided artificial irrigation from the Euphrates.

⁴ **sn** For the concept of the *heavens opened* in later literature, see 3 Macc 6:18; 2 Bar. 22:1; T. Levi 5:1; Matt 3:16; Acts 7:56; Rev 19:11.

⁵ **tn** Or "saw visions from God." References to divine visions occur also in Ezek 8:3; 40:2

⁶ **sn** The prophet's name, *Ezekiel*, means in Hebrew "May God strengthen."

⁷ **tn** Or "to Ezekiel son of Buzi the priest."

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "Chaldeans." The name of the tribal group ruling Babylon, "Chaldeans" is used as metonymy for the whole empire of Babylon. The Babylonians worked with the Medes to destroy the Assyrian Empire near the end of the 7th century B.C. Then, over the next century, the Babylonians dominated the West Semitic states (such as Phoenicia, Aram, Moab, Edom, and Judah in the modern countries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel) and made incursions into Egypt.

⁹ **tn** Or "power."

sn *Hand* in the OT can refer metaphorically to power, authority, or influence. In Ezekiel God's "hand" being on the prophet is regularly associated with communication or a vision from God (3:14; 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1).

¹⁰ **tn** The word *הִנֵּה* (*hinneh*, traditionally "behold") indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹¹ **sn** Storms are often associated with appearances of God (see Nah 1:3; Ps 18:12). In some passages, the "storm" (*סַעַר*, *s'arah*) may be a whirlwind (Job 38:1, 2 Kgs 2:1).

¹² **tn** *Heb* "fire taking hold of itself," perhaps repeatedly. The phrase occurs elsewhere only in Exod 9:24 in association with a hailstorm. The LXX interprets the phrase as fire flashing like lightning, but it is possibly a self-sustaining blaze of divine origin. The LXX also reverses the order of the descriptors, i.e., "light went around it and fire flashed like lightning within it."

¹³ **tn** Or "radiance." The term also occurs in 1:27b.

¹⁴ **tc** Or "was in it"; cf. LXX ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτοῦ (*en tō mesō autou*, "in its midst").

¹⁵ **tn** The LXX translates *הַשֹּׁהַבִּיל* (*khashmal*) with the word ἤλεκτρον (*ēlektron*, "electrum"; so NAB), an alloy of silver and gold, perhaps envisioning a comparison to the glow of molten metal.

¹⁶ **tc** *Heb* "from its midst" (*מִתּוֹכָהּ*, *mitokhah*). The LXX reads ἐν τῷ μέσῳ (*en tō mesō*, "in the midst of it"). The LXX also reads ἐν *מִתּוֹכָהּ* (*mitokhah*) in v. 4. The translator of the LXX of Ezekiel either read *מִתּוֹכָהּ* (*be'tokh*, "within") in his Hebrew exemplar or could not imagine how *מִתּוֹכָהּ* could make sense and so chose to use ἐν. The Hebrew would be understood by adding "from its midst emerged the forms of four living beings."

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "form, figure, appearance."

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew term is feminine plural yet thirty-three of the forty-five pronominal suffixes and verbal references which refer to the living beings in the chapter are masculine plural. The grammatical vacillation between masculine and feminine plurals suggests the difficulty Ezekiel had in penning these words as he was overcome by the vision of God. In ancient Near Eastern sculpture very similar images of part-human, part-animal creatures serve as throne and sky bearers. For a discussion of ancient Near Eastern parallels, see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:26-31. Ezekiel's vision is an example of contextualization, where God accommodates his self-revelation to cultural expectations and norms.

¹⁹ **sn** They had human form may mean they stood erect.

²⁰ **sn** The Hebrew verb translated *gleamed* occurs only here in the OT.

²¹ **tc** The MT reads "his hand" while many Hebrew MSS as well as the Qere read "hands of." Two similar Hebrew letters, *vav* and *yod*, have been confused.

wings touched each other; they did not turn as they moved, but went straight ahead.¹

1:10 Their faces had this appearance: Each of the four had the face of a man, with the face of a lion on the right, the face of an ox on the left and also the face of an eagle.² **1:11** Their wings were spread out above them; each had two wings touching the wings of one of the other beings on either side and two wings covering their bodies. **1:12** Each moved straight ahead³ – wherever the spirit⁴ would go, they would go, without turning as they went. **1:13** In the middle⁵ of the living beings was something like⁶ burning coals of fire⁷ or like torches. It moved back and forth among the living beings. It was bright, and lightning was flashing out of the fire. **1:14** The living beings moved backward and forward as quickly as flashes of lightning.⁸

1:15 Then I looked,⁹ and I saw one wheel¹⁰ on the ground¹¹ beside each of the four beings.

1:16 The appearance of the wheels and their construction¹² was like gleaming jasper,¹³ and

all four wheels looked alike. Their structure was like a wheel within a wheel.¹⁴ **1:17** When they moved they would go in any of the four directions they faced without turning as they moved. **1:18** Their rims were high and awesome,¹⁵ and the rims of all four wheels were full of eyes all around.

1:19 When the living beings moved, the wheels beside them moved; when the living beings rose up from the ground, the wheels rose up too. **1:20** Wherever the spirit¹⁶ would go, they would go,¹⁷ and the wheels would rise up beside them because the spirit¹⁸ of the living being was in the wheel. **1:21** When the living beings moved, the wheels moved, and when they stopped moving, the wheels stopped.¹⁹ When they rose up from the ground, the wheels rose up from the ground; the wheels rose up beside them because the spirit of the living being was in the wheel.

1:22 Over the heads of the living beings was something like a platform,²⁰ glittering awesomely like ice,²¹ stretched out over their heads. **1:23** Under the platform their wings were stretched out, each toward the other. Each of the beings also had two wings covering²² its

¹ **tn** Heb “They each went in the direction of one of his faces.”

² **tc** The MT has an additional word at the beginning of v. 11, וּפְנֵיהֶם (*uf'nehem*, “and their faces”), which is missing from the LXX. As the rest of the verse only applies to wings, “their faces” would have to somehow be understood in the previous clause. But this would be very awkward and is doubly problematic since “their faces” are already introduced as the topic at the beginning of v. 10. The Hebrew scribe appears to have copied the phrase “and their faces and their wings” from v. 8, where it introduces the content of 9-11. Only “and (as for) their wings” belongs here.

³ **tn** See the note on “straight ahead” in v. 9.

⁴ **tn** Or “wind.”

⁵ **tc** The MT reads “and the form of the creatures” (וְהַיּוֹצֵא, *ud'mut hakhayyot*). The LXX reads “and in the midst of the creatures,” suggesting an underlying Hebrew text of וּבְתוֹךְ הַחַיּוֹת (*umittokh hakhayyot*). The subsequent description of something moving among the creatures supports the LXX.

⁶ **tc** The MT reads “and the form of the creatures – their appearance was like burning coals of fire.” The LXX reads “in the midst of the creatures was a sight like burning coals of fire.” The MT may have adjusted “appearance” to “their appearance” to fit their reading of the beginning of the verse (see the **tc** note on “in the middle”). See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 1:46.

⁷ **sn** *Burning coals of fire* are also a part of David's poetic description of God's appearance (see 2 Sam 22:9, 13; Ps 18:8).

⁸ **tc** The LXX omits v. 14 and may well be correct. The verse may be a later explanatory gloss of the end of v. 13 which was copied into the main text. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 1:46.

⁹ **tn** Lit., “like the appearance of lightning.” The Hebrew term translated “lightning” occurs only here in the OT. In postbiblical Hebrew the term refers to a lightning flash.

¹⁰ **tc** The MT adds “at the living beings” which is absent from the LXX.

¹¹ **sn** Another vision which includes *wheels* on thrones occurs in Dan 7:9. Ezek 10 contains a vision similar to this one.

¹² **tn** The Hebrew word may be translated either “earth” or “ground” in this context.

¹³ **tc** This word is omitted from the LXX.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “Tarshish stone.” The meaning of this term is uncertain. The term has also been translated “topaz” (NEB); “beryl” (KJV, NASB, NRSV); or “chrysolite” (RSV, NIV).

¹⁴ **tn** Or “like a wheel at right angles to another wheel.” Some envision concentric wheels here, while others propose “a globe-like structure in which two wheels stand at right angles” (L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:33-34). The description given in v. 17 favors the latter idea.

¹⁵ **tc** The MT reads וְיִרְאָה לָהֶם (*yir'ah lahem*, “and fear belonged to them”). In a similar vision in 10:12 the wheels are described as having spokes (יָדֵיהֶם, *yideyhem*). That parallel would suggest יָדוֹת (*yadot*) here (written יָד, without the *mater*). By positing both a רֶשֶׁת (*dalet/resh*) confusion and a הֵת (*hey/khet*) confusion the form was read as יָרֵה (*yareh*) and was then misunderstood and subsequently written as וְיִרְאָה (*yir'ah*) in the MT. The reading וְיִרְאָה does not seem to fit the context well, though in English it can be made to sound as if it does. See W. H. Brownlee, *Ezekiel* 1-19 (WBC), 8-9. The LXX reads καὶ εἶδον αὐτὰ (*kai eidon auta*, “and I saw”), which assumes וַאֲרָא (*va'ere*). The existing consonants of the MT may also be read as “it was visible to them.”

¹⁶ **tn** Or “wind”; the same Hebrew word can be translated as either “wind” or “spirit” depending on the context.

¹⁷ **tc** The MT adds the additional phrase “the spirit would go,” which seems unduly redundant here and may be dittographic.

¹⁸ **tn** Or “wind.” The Hebrew is difficult since the text presents four creatures and then talks about “the spirit” (singular) of “the living being” (singular). According to M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel* [AB], 1:45) the Targum interprets this as “will.” Greenberg views this as the spirit of the one enthroned above the creatures, but one would not expect the article when the one enthroned has not yet been introduced.

¹⁹ **tc** The LXX reads “when it went, they went; when it stood, they stood.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “when they went, they went; when they stood, they stood.”

²¹ **tn** Or “like a dome” (NCV, NRSV, TEV).

²² **tn** Or “like crystal” (NRSV, NLT).

²² **tc** Heb “each had two wings covering and each had two wings covering,” a case of dittography. On the analogy of v. 11 and the support of the LXX, which reads the same for v. 11 and this verse, one should perhaps read “each had two wings touching another being and each had two wings covering.”

body. **1:24** When they moved, I heard the sound of their wings – it was like the sound of rushing waters, or the voice of the Almighty,¹ or the tumult² of an army. When they stood still, they lowered their wings.

1:25 Then there was a voice from above the platform over their heads when they stood still.³ **1:26** Above the platform over their heads was something like a sapphire shaped like a throne. High above on the throne was a form that appeared to be a man. **1:27** I saw an amber glow⁴ like a fire enclosed all around⁵ from his waist up. From his waist down I saw something that looked like fire. There was a brilliant light around it, **1:28** like the appearance of a rainbow in the clouds after the rain.⁶ This was the appearance of the surrounding brilliant light; it looked like the glory of the LORD. When I saw⁷ it, I threw myself face down, and I heard a voice speaking.

Ezekiel's Commission

2:1 He said to me, “Son of man,⁸ stand on your feet and I will speak with you.” **2:2** As he spoke to me,⁹ a wind¹⁰ came into me and stood

¹ **tn** Heb “Shaddai” (probably meaning “one of the mountain”), a title that depicts God as the sovereign ruler of the world who dispenses justice. The Old Greek translation omitted the phrase “voice of the Almighty.”

² **tn** The only other occurrence of the Hebrew word translated “tumult” is in Jer 11:16. It indicates a noise like that of the turmoil of a military camp or the sound of an army on the march.

³ **tc** The MT continues “when they stood still they lowered their wings,” an apparent dittography from the end of v. 24. The LXX commits haplography by homoteleuton, leaving out vv. 25b and 26a by skipping from רֹאשׁוֹ (rosham) in v. 25 to שֵׁנֵיהֶם (sheneihem) in v. 26.

⁴ **tn** See Ezek 1:4.

⁵ **tc** The LXX lacks this phrase. Its absence from the LXX may be explained as a case of haplography resulting from homoteleuton, skipping from מִרְאֵה (kamar'eh) to מִמְרָאֵה (mimmar'eh). On the other hand, the LXX presents a much more balanced verse structure when it is recognized that the final words of this verse belong in the next sentence.

⁶ **sn** Reference to the glowing substance and the brilliant light and storm phenomena in vv. 27-28a echoes in reverse order the occurrence of these phenomena in v. 4.

⁷ **tn** The vision closes with the repetition of the verb “I saw” from the beginning of the vision in 1:4.

⁸ **sn** The phrase *son of man* occurs ninety-three times in the book of Ezekiel. It simply means “human one,” and distinguishes the prophet from the nonhuman beings that are present in the world of his vision.

⁹ **tc** The phrase “as he spoke to me” is absent from the LXX.

¹⁰ **tn** Or “spirit.” NIV has “the Spirit,” but the absence of the article in the Hebrew text makes this unlikely. Elsewhere in Ezekiel the Lord’s Spirit is referred to as “the Spirit of the Lord” (11:5; 37:1), “the Spirit of God” (11:24), or “my (that is, the Lord’s) Spirit” (36:27; 37:14; 39:29). Some identify the “spirit” of 2:2 as the spirit that energized the living beings, however, that “spirit” is called “the spirit” (1:12, 20) or “the spirit of the living beings” (1:20-21; 10:17). Still others see the term as referring to an impersonal “spirit” of strength or courage, that is, the term may also be understood as a disposition or attitude. The Hebrew word often refers to a wind in Ezekiel (1:4; 5:10, 12; 12:4; 13:11, 13; 17:10, 21; 19:12; 27:26; 37:9). In 37:5-10 a “breath” originates in the “four winds” and is associated with the Lord’s life-giving breath (see v. 14). This breath enters into the dry bones and gives them

me on my feet, and I heard the one speaking to me.

2:3 He said to me, “Son of man, I am sending you to the house¹¹ of Israel, to rebellious nations¹² who have rebelled against me; both they and their fathers have revolted¹³ against me to this very day. **2:4** The people¹⁴ to whom I am sending you are obstinate and hard-hearted,¹⁵ and you must say to them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says.’¹⁶ **2:5** And as for them,¹⁷ whether they listen¹⁸ or not – for they are a rebellious¹⁹ house²⁰ – they will know that a prophet has been among them. **2:6** But you, son of man, do not fear them, and do not fear their words – even though briers²¹ and thorns²² surround you and you live among scorpions – do not fear their words and do not

life. In a similar fashion the breath of 2:2 (see also 3:24) energizes paralyzed Ezekiel. Breath and wind are related. On the one hand it is a more normal picture to think of breath rather than wind entering someone, but since wind represents an external force it seems more likely for wind rather than breath to stand someone up (unless we should understand it as a disposition). It may be that one should envision the breath of the speaker moving like a wind to revive Ezekiel, helping him to regain his breath and invigorating him to stand. A wind also transports the prophet from one place to another (3:12, 14; 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5).

¹¹ **tc** The Hebrew reads “sons of,” while the LXX reads “house,” implying the more common phrase in Ezekiel. Either could be abbreviated with the first letter ב (bet). In preparation for the characterization “house of rebellion,” in vv. 5, 6, and 8, “house” is preferred (L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:10 and W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* [Hermeneia], 2:564-65).

¹² **tc** Heb “to the rebellious nations.” The phrase “to the rebellious nations” is omitted in the LXX. Elsewhere in Ezekiel the singular word “nation” is used for Israel (36:13-15; 37:22). Here “nations” may have the meaning of “tribes” or refer to the two nations of Israel and Judah.

¹³ **tc** This word is omitted from the LXX.

tn The Hebrew term used here is the strongest word available for expressing a covenant violation. The word is used in the diplomatic arena to express a treaty violation (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:5, 7).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “sons.” The word choice may reflect treaty idiom, where the relationship between an overlord and his subjects can be described as that of father and son.

¹⁵ **tc** Heb “stern of face and hard of heart.” The phrases “stern of face” and “hard of heart” are lacking in the LXX.

¹⁶ **tn** The phrase “thus says [the LORD]” occurs 129 times in Ezekiel; the announcement is identical to the way messengers often introduced their messages (Gen 32:5; 45:9; Exod 5:10; Num 20:14; Judg 11:15).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “they”; the phrase “And as for them” has been used in the translation for clarity.

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew word implies obedience rather than mere hearing or paying attention.

¹⁹ **tn** This Hebrew adjective is also used to describe the Israelites in Num 17:25 HT (17:10 ET) and Isa 30:9.

²⁰ **sn** The book of Ezekiel frequently refers to the Israelites as a rebellious house (Ezek 2:5, 6, 8; 3:9, 26-27; 12:2-3, 9, 25; 17:12; 24:3).

²¹ **tn** The Hebrew term occurs only here in the OT.

²² **tn** The Hebrew term is found elsewhere in the OT only in Ezek 28:24.

sn Here thorns may be a figure for hostility (Ezek 28:24; Mic 7:4).

be terrified of the looks they give you,¹ for they are a rebellious house! **2:7** You must speak my words to them whether they listen or not, for they are rebellious. **2:8** As for you, son of man, listen to what I am saying to you: Do not rebel like that rebellious house! Open your mouth and eat what I am giving you.”

2:9 Then I looked and realized a hand was stretched out to me, and in it was a written scroll. **2:10** He unrolled it before me, and it had writing on the front² and back;³ written on it were laments, mourning, and woe.

3:1 He said to me, “Son of man, eat what you see in front of you⁴ – eat this scroll – and then go and speak to the house of Israel.” **3:2** So I opened my mouth and he fed me the scroll.

3:3 He said to me, “Son of man, feed your stomach and fill your belly with this scroll I am giving to you.” So I ate it,⁵ and it was sweet like honey in my mouth.

3:4 He said to me, “Son of man, go to the house of Israel and speak my words to them. **3:5** For you are not being sent to a people of unintelligible speech⁶ and difficult language,⁷ but⁸ to the house of Israel – **3:6** not to many peoples of unintelligible speech and difficult language, whose words you cannot understand⁹ – surely if¹⁰ I had sent you to them, they would listen to you! **3:7** But the house of Israel is unwilling to listen to you,¹¹ because they are not willing to listen to me,¹² for the whole house of Israel is hard-headed and hard-hearted.¹³

3:8 “I have made your face adamant¹⁴ to match their faces, and your forehead hard to match their foreheads. **3:9** I have made your forehead harder than flint – like diamond!¹⁵ Do not fear them or be terrified of the looks they give you,¹⁶ for they are a rebellious house.”

3:10 And he said to me, “Son of man, take all my words that I speak to you to heart and listen carefully. **3:11** Go to the exiles, to your fellow countrymen,¹⁷ and speak to them – say to them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says,’ whether they pay attention or not.”

Ezekiel Before the Exiles

3:12 Then a wind lifted me up¹⁸ and I heard a great rumbling sound behind me as the glory of the LORD rose from its place,¹⁹ **3:13** and the sound of the living beings’ wings brushing against each other, and the sound of the wheels alongside them, a great rumbling sound. **3:14** A wind lifted me up and carried me away. I went bitterly,²⁰ my spirit full of fury, and the hand of the LORD rested powerfully²¹ on me. **3:15** I came to the exiles at Tel Abib,²² who lived by the Kebar River.²³ I sat dumbfounded among them there, where they were living, for seven days.²⁴

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “strong, resolute.”

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “diamond” is parallel to “iron” in Jer 17:1. The Hebrew uses two terms which are both translated at times as “flint,” but here one is clearly harder than the other. The translation “diamond” attempts to reflect this distinction in English.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “of their faces.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “to the sons of your people.”

¹⁸ **sn** See note on “wind” in 2:2.

¹⁹ **tc** This translation accepts the emendation suggested in BHS of בָּרוּךְ (*b^urum*) for בָּרוּךְ (*barukh*). The letters *mem* (מ) and *kaph* (כ) were easily confused in the old script while בָּרוּךְ (“blessed be”) both implies a quotation which is out of place here and also does not fit the later phrase, “from its place,” which requires a verb of motion.

²⁰ **tn** The traditional interpretation is that Ezekiel embarked on his mission with bitterness and anger, either reflecting God’s attitude toward the sinful people or his own feelings about having to carry out such an unpleasant task. L. C. Allen (*Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:13) takes “bitterly” as a misplaced marginal note and understands the following word, normally translated “anger,” in the sense of fervor or passion. He translates, “I was passionately moved” (p. 4). Another option is to take the word translated “bitterly” as a verb meaning “strengthened” (attested in Ugaritic). See G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 152.

²¹ **tn** Heb “the hand of the LORD was on me heavily.” The “hand of the LORD” is a metaphor for his power or influence; the modifier conveys intensity.

²² **sn** In Ezekiel God’s “hand” being on the prophet is regularly associated with communication or a vision from God (1:3; 3:14, 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1).

²³ **sn** The name “Tel Abib” is a transliteration of an Akkadian term meaning “mound of the flood,” i.e., an ancient mound. It is not to be confused with the modern city of Tel Aviv in Israel.

²⁴ **tn** Or “canal.”

²⁴ **sn** A similar response to a divine encounter is found in Acts 9:8-9.

¹ **tn** Heb “of their faces.”

² **tn** Heb “on the face.”

³ **sn** Written on the front and back. While it was common for papyrus scrolls to have writing on both sides the same was not true for leather scrolls.

⁴ **tn** Heb “eat what you find.”

⁵ **tc** Heb “I ate,” a first common singular preterite plus paragogic *he* (ת). The ancient versions read “I ate it,” which is certainly the meaning in the context, and indicates they read the *he* as a third feminine singular pronominal suffix. The Masoretes typically wrote a *mappiq* in the *he* for the pronominal suffix but apparently missed this one.

sn I ate it. A similar idea of consuming God’s word is found in Jer 15:16 and Rev 10:10, where it is also compared to honey and may be specifically reminiscent of this text.

⁶ **tn** Heb “deep of lip” (in the sense of incomprehensible).

⁷ **tn** Heb “heavy of tongue.” Similar language occurs in Exod 4:10; Isa 33:19.

⁸ **tn** The conjunction “but” is not in the Hebrew text, but is implied from the context.

⁹ **tn** Heb “hear.”

¹⁰ **tc** The MT reads “if not” but most ancient versions translate only “if.” The expression occurs with this sense in Isa 5:9; 14:24. See also Ezek 34:8; 36:5; 38:19.

¹¹ **sn** Moses (Exod 3:19) and Isaiah (Isa 6:9-10) were also told that their messages would not be received.

¹² **sn** A similar description of Israel’s disobedience is given in 1 Sam 8:7.

¹³ **tn** Heb “hard of forehead and stiff of heart.”

3:16 At the end of seven days the word of the LORD came to me:¹ **3:17** “Son of man, I have appointed you a watchman² for the house of Israel. Whenever you hear a word from my mouth, you must give them a warning from me. **3:18** When I say to the wicked, “You will certainly die,”³ and you do not warn him – you do not speak out to warn the wicked to turn from his wicked deed and wicked lifestyle so that he may live – that wicked person will die for his iniquity,⁴ but I will hold you accountable for his death.⁵ **3:19** But as for you, if you warn the wicked and he does not turn from his wicked deed and from his wicked lifestyle, he will die for his iniquity but you will have saved your own life.⁶

3:20 “When a righteous person turns from his righteousness and commits iniquity, and I set an obstacle⁷ before him, he will die. If you have not warned him, he will die for his sin. The righteous deeds he performed will not be considered, but I will hold you accountable for his death. **3:21** However, if you warn the righteous person not to sin, and he⁸ does not sin, he will certainly live because he was warned, and you will have saved your own life.”

Isolated and Silenced

3:22 The hand⁹ of the LORD rested on me there, and he said to me, “Get up, go out to the valley,¹⁰ and I will speak with you there.” **3:23** So I got up and went out to the valley, and the glory of the LORD was standing there, just like the glory I had seen by the Kebar River,¹¹ and I threw myself face down.

3:24 Then a wind¹² came into me and stood me on my feet. The LORD¹³ spoke to me and

said, “Go shut yourself in your house. **3:25** As for you, son of man, they will put ropes on you and tie you up with them, so you cannot go out among them. **3:26** I will make your tongue stick to the roof of your mouth so that you will be silent and unable to reprove¹⁴ them, for they are a rebellious house. **3:27** But when I speak with you, I will loosen your tongue¹⁵ and you must say to them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says.’ Those who listen will listen, but the indifferent will refuse,¹⁶ for they are a rebellious house.

Ominous Object Lessons

4:1 “And you, son of man, take a brick¹⁷ and set it in front of you. Inscribe¹⁸ a city on it – Jerusalem. **4:2** Lay siege to it! Build siege works against it. Erect a siege ramp¹⁹ against it! Post soldiers outside it²⁰ and station battering rams around it. **4:3** Then for your part take an iron frying pan²¹ and set it up as an iron wall between you and the city. Set your face toward it. It is to be under siege; you are to besiege it. This is a sign²² for the house of Israel.

4:4 “Also for your part lie on your left side and place the iniquity²³ of the house of Israel on it. For the number of days you lie on your side you will bear their iniquity. **4:5** I have determined that the number of the years of their iniquity are to be the number of days²⁴ for you – 390 days.²⁵ So bear the iniquity of the house of Israel.²⁶

¹ **sn** This phrase occurs about fifty times in the book of Ezekiel.

² **tn** The literal role of a watchman is described in 2 Sam 18:24; 2 Kgs 9:17.

³ **sn** Even though the infinitive absolute is used to emphasize the warning, the warning is still implicitly conditional, as the following context makes clear.

⁴ **tn** Or “in his punishment.” The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here and v. 19; 4:17; 7:13, 16; 18: 17, 18, 19, 20; 24:23; 33:6, 8, 9; 39:23. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment for iniquity.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “his blood I will seek from your hand.” The expression “seek blood from the hand” is equivalent to requiring the death penalty (2 Sam 4:11-12).

⁶ **tn** Verses 17-19 are repeated in Ezek 33:7-9.

⁷ **tn** Or “stumbling block.” The Hebrew term refers to an obstacle in the road in Lev 19:14.

⁸ **tn** Heb “the righteous man.”

⁹ **tn** Or “power.”

sn *Hand* in the OT can refer metaphorically to power, authority, or influence. In Ezekiel God’s *hand* being on the prophet is regularly associated with communication or a vision from God (1:3; 3:14, 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1).

¹⁰ **sn** Ezekiel had another vision at this location, recounted in Ezek 37.

¹¹ **tn** Or “canal.”

¹² **tn** See the note on “wind” in 2:2.

¹³ **tn** Heb “he.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “you will not be to them a reprover.” In Isa 29:21 and Amos 5:10 “a reprover” issued rebuke at the city gate.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “open your mouth.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “the listener will listen, the refuser will refuse.” Because the word for listening can also mean obeying, the nuance may be that the obedient will listen, or that the one who listens will obey. Also, although the verbs are not jussive as pointed in the MT, some translate them with a volitive sense: “the one who listens – let that one listen, the one who refuses – let that one refuse.”

¹⁷ **sn** Ancient Near Eastern bricks were 10 to 24 inches long and 6 to 13 1/2 inches wide.

¹⁸ **tn** Or perhaps “draw.”

¹⁹ **tn** Or “a barricade.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “set camps against it.”

²¹ **tn** Or “a griddle,” that is, some sort of plate for cooking.

²² **tn** That is, a symbolic object lesson.

²³ **tn** Or “punishment” (also in v. 5, 6).

²⁴ **tn** Heb “I have assigned for you that the years of their iniquity be the number of days.” Num 14:33-34 is an example of the reverse, where the days were converted into years, the number of days spying out the land becoming the number of years of the wilderness wanderings.

²⁵ **tc** The LXX reads “190 days.”

sn The significance of the number 390 is not clear. The best explanation is that “days” are used figuratively for years and the number refers to the years of the sinfulness of Israel during the period of the First Temple. Some understand the number to refer to the length of the division of the northern and southern kingdoms down to the fall of Jerusalem (931-586 B.C.), but this adds up to only 345 years.

²⁶ **tn** Or “When you have carried the iniquity of the house of Israel,” and continuing on to the next verse.

4:6 “When you have completed these days, then lie down a second time, but on your right side, and bear the iniquity of the house of Judah 40 days¹ – I have assigned one day for each year. 4:7 You must turn your face toward the siege of Jerusalem with your arm bared and prophesy against it. 4:8 Look here, I will tie you up with ropes, so you cannot turn from one side to the other until you complete the days of your siege.²

4:9 “As for you, take wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt,³ put them in a single container, and make food⁴ from them for yourself. For the same number of days that you lie on your side – 390 days⁵ – you will eat it. 4:10 The food you eat will be eight ounces⁶ a day by weight; you must eat it at fixed⁷ times. 4:11 And you must drink water by measure, a pint and a half,⁸ you must drink it at fixed times. 4:12 And you must eat the food like you would a barley cake. You must bake it in front of them over a fire made with dried human excrement.”⁹ 4:13 And the LORD said, “This is how the people of Israel will eat their unclean food among the nations¹⁰ where I will banish them.”

4:14 And I said, “Ah, sovereign LORD, I have never been ceremonially defiled before. I have never eaten a carcass or an animal torn by wild beasts; from my youth up, unclean meat¹¹ has never entered my mouth.”

4:15 So he said to me, “All right then, I will substitute cow’s manure instead of human excrement. You will cook your food over it.”

4:16 Then he said to me, “Son of man, I am about to remove the bread supply¹² in Jerusalem.¹³ They will eat their bread ration anx-

iously, and they will drink their water ration in terror 4:17 because they will lack bread and water. Each one will be terrified, and they will rot for their iniquity.¹⁴

5:1 “As for you, son of man, take a sharp sword and use it as a barber’s razor.¹⁵ Shave off some of the hair from your head and your beard.¹⁶ Then take scales and divide up the hair you cut off. 5:2 Burn a third of it in the fire inside the city when the days of your siege are completed. Take a third and slash it with a sword all around the city. Scatter a third to the wind, and I will unleash a sword behind them. 5:3 But take a few strands of hair¹⁷ from those and tie them in the ends of your garment.¹⁸ 5:4 Again, take more of them and throw them into the fire,¹⁹ and burn them up. From there a fire will spread to all the house of Israel.

5:5 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: This is Jerusalem; I placed her in the center of the nations with countries all around her. 5:6 Then she defied my regulations and my statutes, becoming more wicked than the nations²⁰ and the countries around her.²¹ Indeed, they²² have rejected my regulations, and they do not follow my statutes.

5:7 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Because you are more arrogant²³ than the nations around you,²⁴ you have not followed my statutes and have not carried out

¹ **sn** The number 40 may refer in general to the period of Judah’s exile using the number of years Israel was punished in the wilderness. In this case, however, one would need to translate, “you will bear the punishment of the house of Judah.”

² **sn** The action surely refers to a series of daily acts rather than to a continuous period.

³ **sn** *Wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt*. All these foods were common in Mesopotamia where Ezekiel was exiled.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “bread.”

⁵ **tc** The LXX reads “190 days.”

⁶ **sn** *Eight ounces* (*Heb* “twenty shekels”). The standards for weighing money varied considerably in the ancient Near East, but the generally accepted weight for the shekel is 11.5 grams (0.4 ounce). This makes the weight of grain about 230 grams here (8 ounces).

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “from time to time.”

⁸ **sn** *A pint and a half* [*Heb* “one-sixth of a hin”]. One-sixth of a hin was a quantity of liquid equal to about 1.3 pints or 0.6 liters.

⁹ **sn** Human waste was to remain outside the camp of the Israelites according to Deut 23:15.

¹⁰ **sn** *Unclean food among the nations*. Lands outside of Israel were considered unclean (Josh 22:19; Amos 7:17).

¹¹ **tn** The Hebrew term refers to sacrificial meat not eaten by the appropriate time (Lev 7:18; 19:7).

¹² **tn** *Heb*, “break the staff of bread.” The bread supply is compared to a staff that one uses for support.

¹³ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁴ **tn** Or “in their punishment.” Ezek 4:16-17 alludes to Lev 26:26, 39. The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here, 3:18, 19; 7:13, 16; 18: 17, 18, 19, 20; 24:23; 33:6, 8, 9; 39:23. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment for iniquity.”

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb*, “pass (it) over your head and your beard.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “from there a few in number.” The word “strands” has been supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹⁸ **sn** Objects could be carried in the end of a garment (Hag 2:12).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “into the midst of” (so KJV, ASV). This phrase has been left untranslated for stylistic reasons.

²⁰ **sn** *The nations* are subject to a natural law according to Gen 9; see also Amos 1:3-2:3; Jonah 1:2.

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “she defied my laws, becoming wicked more than the nations, and [she defied] my statutes [becoming wicked] more than the countries around her.”

²² **sn** One might conclude that the subject of the plural verbs is the nations/countries, but the context (vv. 5-6a) indicates that the people of Jerusalem are in view. The text shifts from using the feminine singular (referring to personified Jerusalem) to the plural (referring to Jerusalem’s residents). See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:73.

²³ **tn** Traditionally this difficult form has been derived from a hypothetical root *חמון* (*hamon*), supposedly meaning “be in tumult/uproar,” but such a verb occurs nowhere else. It is more likely that it is to be derived from a root *מנן* (*manon*), meaning “disdain” (see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:52). A derivative from this root is used in Prov 29:21 of a rebellious servant. See HALOT 600 s.v. *מָנָן*.

²⁴ **sn** *You are more arrogant than the nations around you*. Israel is accused of being worse than the nations in Ezek 16:27; 2 Kgs 21:11; Jer 2:11.

my regulations. You have not even¹ carried out the regulations of the nations around you!

5:8 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: I – even I – am against you,² and I will execute judgment³ among you while the nations watch.⁴ **5:9** I will do to you what I have never done before and will never do again because of all your abominable practices.⁵ **5:10** Therefore fathers will eat their sons within you, Jerusalem,⁶ and sons will eat their fathers. I will execute judgments on you, and I will scatter any survivors⁷ to the winds.⁸

5:11 “Therefore, as surely as I live, says the sovereign LORD, because you defiled my sanctuary with all your detestable idols and with all your abominable practices, I will withdraw; my eye will not pity you, nor will I spare⁹ you. **5:12** A third of your people will die of plague or be overcome by the famine within you.¹⁰ A third

of your people will fall by the sword surrounding you,¹¹ and a third I will scatter to the winds. I will unleash a sword behind them. **5:13** Then my anger will be fully vented; I will exhaust my rage on them, and I will be appeased.¹² Then they will know that I, the LORD, have spoken in my jealousy¹³ when I have fully vented my rage against them.

5:14 “I will make you desolate and an object of scorn among the nations around you, in the sight of everyone who passes by. **5:15** You will be¹⁴ an object of scorn and taunting,¹⁵ a prime example of destruction¹⁶ among the nations around you when I execute judgments against you in anger and raging fury.¹⁷ I, the LORD, have spoken! **5:16** I will shoot against them deadly,¹⁸ destructive¹⁹ arrows of famine,²⁰ which I will shoot to destroy you.²¹ I will prolong a famine on you and will remove the bread supply.²² **5:17** I will send famine and wild beasts against you and they will take your children from you.²³ Plague and bloodshed will overwhelm you,²⁴ and I will bring a sword against you. I, the LORD, have spoken!”

Judgment on the Mountains of Israel

6:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **6:2** “Son of man, turn toward²⁵ the mountains of

¹ **tc** Some Hebrew MSS and the Syriac omit the words “not even.” In this case they are being accused of following the practices of the surrounding nations. See Ezek 11:12.

² **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ *‘ēlēhā*,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8. The Hebrew text switches to a second feminine singular form here, indicating that personified Jerusalem is addressed (see vv. 5-6a). The address to Jerusalem continues through v. 15. In vv. 16-17 the second masculine plural is used, as the people are addressed.

³ **tn** The Hebrew text uses wordplay here to bring out the appropriate nature of God’s judgment. “Execute” translates the same Hebrew verb translated “carried out” (literally meaning “do”) in v. 7, while “judgment” in v. 8 and “regulations” in v. 7 translate the same Hebrew noun (meaning “regulations” or in some cases “judgments” executed on those who break laws). The point seems to be this: God would “carry out judgments” against those who refused to “carry out” his “laws.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “in the sight of the nations.”

sn This is one of the ironies of the passage. The Lord set Israel among the nations for honor and praise as they would be holy and obey God’s law as told in Ezek 5:5 and Deut 26:16-19. The practice of these laws and statutes would make the peoples consider Israel wise. (See Deut 4:5-8, where the words for laws and statutes are the same as those used here). Since Israel did not obey, they are made a different kind of object lesson to the nations, not by their obedience but in their punishment as told in Ezek 5:8 and Deut 29:24-29. Yet Deut 30 goes on to say that when they remember the cursings and blessings of the covenant and repent, God will restore them from the nations to which they have been scattered.

⁵ **tn** Or “abominable idols.”

⁶ **tn** In context “you” refers to the city of Jerusalem. To make this clear for the modern reader, “Jerusalem” has been supplied in the translation in apposition to “you.”

sn This cannibalism would occur as a result of starvation due to the city being besieged. It is one of the judgments threatened for a covenant law violation (Lev 26:29; see also Deut 28:53; Jer 19:9; Lam 2:20; Zech 11:9).

⁷ **tn** Heb “all of your survivors.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “to every wind.”

⁹ **tn** The meaning of the Hebrew term is primarily emotional: “to pity,” which in context implies an action, as in being moved by pity in order to spare them from the horror of their punishment.

¹⁰ **sn** The judgment of *plague* and *famine* comes from the covenant curse (Lev 26:25-26). As in v. 10, the city of Jerusalem is figuratively addressed here.

¹¹ **sn** Judgment by *plague*, *famine*, and *sword* occurs in Jer 21:9; 27:13; Ezek 6:11, 12; 7:15.

¹² **tn** Or “calm myself.”

¹³ **tn** The Hebrew noun translated “jealousy” is used in the human realm to describe suspicion of adultery (Num 5:14ff.; Prov 6:34). Since Israel’s relationship with God was often compared to a marriage this term is appropriate here. The term occurs elsewhere in Ezekiel in 8:3, 5; 16:38, 42; 23:25.

¹⁴ **tc** This reading is supported by the versions and by the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QEzek). Most Masoretic Hebrew MSS read “it will be,” but if the final *he* (ה) is read as a *mater lectionis*, as it can be with the second masculine singular perfect, then they are in agreement. In either case the subject refers to Jerusalem.

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT. A related verb means “revile, taunt” (see Ps 44:16).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “discipline and devastation.” These words are omitted in the Old Greek. The first term pictures Jerusalem as a recipient or example of divine discipline; the second depicts her as a desolate ruin (see Ezek 6:14).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “in anger and in fury and in rebukes of fury.” The heaping up of synonyms emphasizes the degree of God’s anger.

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew word carries the basic idea of “bad, displeasing, injurious,” but when used of weapons has the nuance “deadly” (see Ps 144:10).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “which are/were to destroy.”

²⁰ **tn** The language of this verse may have been influenced by Deut 32:23.

²¹ **tn** Or “which were to destroy those whom I will send to destroy you” (cf. NASB).

²² **tn** Heb, “break the staff of bread.” The bread supply is compared to a staff that one uses for support. See 4:16, as well as the covenant curse in Lev 26:26.

²³ **tn** Heb “will bereave you.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “will pass through you.” This threat recalls the warning of Lev 26:22, 25 and Deut 32:24-25.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “set your face against.” The expression occurs at the beginning of Ezekiel’s prophetic oracles in Ezek 13:17; 20:46; 21:2; 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 35:2; 38:2.

sn Based on comparison to a similar expression in Ugaritic, the phrase may imply that Ezekiel was to actually go to these locations to deliver his message.

Israel and prophesy against them: **6:3** Say, 'Mountains of Israel,¹ Hear the word of the sovereign LORD!² This is what the sovereign LORD says to the mountains and the hills, to the ravines and the valleys: I am bringing³ a sword against you, and I will destroy your high places.⁴ **6:4** Your altars will be ruined and your incense altars will be broken. I will throw down your slain in front of your idols.⁵ **6:5** I will place the corpses of the people of Israel in front of their idols,⁶ and I will scatter your bones around your altars. **6:6** In all your dwellings, the cities will be laid waste and the high places ruined so that your altars will be laid waste and ruined, your idols will be shattered and demolished, your incense altars will be broken down, and your works wiped out.⁷ **6:7** The slain will fall among you and then you will know that I am the LORD.⁸

6:8 "But I will spare some of you. Some will escape the sword when you are scattered in foreign lands.⁹ **6:9** Then your survivors will remember me among the nations where they are exiled. They will realize¹⁰ how I was

crushed by their unfaithful¹¹ heart which turned from me and by their eyes which lusted after their idols. They will loathe themselves¹² because of the evil they have done and because of all their abominable practices. **6:10** They will know that I am the LORD; my threats to bring this catastrophe on them were not empty.¹³

6:11 "This is what the sovereign LORD says: Clap your hands, stamp your feet, and say, "Ah!" because of all the evil, abominable practices of the house of Israel, for they will fall by the sword, famine, and pestilence.¹⁴ **6:12** The one far away will die by pestilence, the one close by will fall by the sword, and whoever is left and has escaped these¹⁵ will die by famine. I will fully vent my rage against them. **6:13** Then you will know that I am the LORD – when their dead lie among their idols around their altars, on every high hill and all the mountaintops, under every green tree and every leafy oak,¹⁶ the places where they have offered fragrant incense to all their idols. **6:14** I will stretch out my hand against them¹⁷ and make the land a desolate waste from the wilderness to Riblah,¹⁸ in all the places where they live. Then they will know that I am the LORD!"

The End Arrives

7:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **7:2** "You, son of man – this is what the sovereign LORD says to the land of Israel: An end! The end is coming on the four corners of the land!¹⁹ **7:3** The end is now upon you, and I will

¹ **tn** The phrase "mountains of Israel" occurs only in the book of Ezekiel (6:2, 3; 19:9; 33:28; 34:13, 14; 35:12; 36:1, 4, 8; 37:22; 38:8; 39:2, 4, 17). The expression refers to the whole land of Israel.

sn The mountainous terrain of *Israel* would contrast with the exiles' habitat in the river valley of Babylonia.

² **tn** The introductory formula "Hear the word of the sovereign LORD" parallels a pronouncement delivered by the herald of a king (2 Kgs 18:28).

³ **tn** *Heb* "Look I, I am bringing." The repetition of the pronoun draws attention to the speaker. The construction also indicates that the action is soon to come; the Lord is "about to bring a sword against" them.

⁴ **tn** The Hebrew term refers to elevated platforms where pagan sacrifices were performed.

⁵ **tn** Thirty-nine of the forty-eight biblical occurrences of this Hebrew word are found in the book of Ezekiel.

sn This verse is probably based on Lev 26:30 in which God forecasts that he will destroy their high places, cut off their incense altars, and set their corpses by the corpses of their idols.

⁶ **tc** This first sentence, which explains the meaning of the last sentence of the previous verse, does not appear in the LXX and may be an instance of a marginal explanatory note making its way into the text.

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew verb translated "wiped out" is used to describe the judgment of the Flood (Gen 6:7; 7:4, 23).

⁸ **sn** The phrase *you will know that I am the LORD* concludes over sixty oracles in the book of Ezekiel and indicates the ultimate goal of God's action. The phrase is often used in the book of Exodus as well (Exod 7:5; 14:4, 18). By Ezekiel's day the people had forgotten that the Lord (Yahweh) was their covenant God and had turned to other gods. They had to be reminded that Yahweh alone deserved to be worshiped because only he possessed the power to meet their needs. Through judgment and eventually deliverance, Israel would be reminded that Yahweh alone held their destiny in his hands.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "when you have fugitives from the sword among the nations, when you are scattered among the lands."

¹⁰ **tn** The words "they will realize" are not in the Hebrew text; they are added here for stylistic reasons since this clause assumes the previous verb "to remember" or "to take into account."

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "how I was broken by their adulterous heart." The image of God being "broken" is startling, but perfectly natural within the metaphorical framework of God as offended husband. The idiom must refer to the intense grief that Israel's unfaithfulness caused God. For a discussion of the syntax and semantics of the Hebrew text, see M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 1:134.

¹² **tn** *Heb* adds "in their faces."

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "not in vain did I speak to do to them this catastrophe." The wording of the last half of v. 10 parallels God's declaration after the sin of the golden calf (Exod 32:14).

¹⁴ **sn** *By the sword and by famine and by pestilence.* A similar trilogy of punishments is mentioned in Lev 26:25-26. See also Jer 14:12; 21:9; 27:8, 13; 29:18).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "the one who is left, the one who is spared."

¹⁶ **sn** *By referring to every high hill...all the mountaintops...under every green tree and every leafy oak* Ezekiel may be expanding on the phraseology of Deut 12:2 (see 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 16:4; 17:10; Jer 2:20; 3:6, 13; 2 Chr 28:4).

¹⁷ **sn** *I will stretch out my hand against them* is a common expression in the book of Ezekiel (14:9, 13; 16:27; 25:7; 35:3).

¹⁸ **tc** The Vulgate reads the name as "Riblah," a city north of Damascus. The MT reads Diblah, a city otherwise unknown. The letters *resh* (ר) and *dalet* (ד) may have been confused in the Hebrew text. The town of Riblah was in the land of Hamath (2 Kgs 23:33) which represented the northern border of Israel (Ezek 47:14).

¹⁹ **tn** Or "earth." Elsewhere the expression "four corners of the earth" figuratively refers to the whole earth (Isa 11:12).

release my anger against you; I will judge⁴ you according to your behavior.² I will hold you accountable for³ all your abominable practices. 7:4 My eye will not pity you; I will not spare⁴ you.⁵ For I will hold you responsible for your behavior,⁶ and you will suffer the consequences of your abominable practices.⁷ Then you will know that I am the LORD!

7:5 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: A disaster⁸ – a one-of-a-kind⁹ disaster – is coming! 7:6 An end comes¹⁰ – the end comes!¹¹ It has awakened against you¹² – the end is upon you! Look, it is coming!¹³ 7:7 Doom is coming upon you who live in the land! The time is coming, the day¹⁴ is near. There are sounds of tumult, not shouts of joy, on the mountains.¹⁵ 7:8 Soon now I will pour out my rage¹⁶ on you; I will fully vent my anger against you. I will judge you according to your behavior. I will hold you accountable for all your abominable practices. 7:9 My eye will not pity you; I will

not spare¹⁷ you. For your behavior I will hold you accountable,¹⁸ and you will suffer the consequences of your abominable practices. Then you will know that it is I, the LORD, who is striking you.¹⁹

7:10 “Look, the day! Look, it is coming! Doom has gone out! The staff has budded, pride has blossomed! 7:11 Violence²⁰ has grown into a staff that supports wickedness. Not one of them will be left²¹ – not from their crowd, not from their wealth, not from their prominence.²² 7:12 The time has come; the day has struck! The customer should not rejoice, nor the seller mourn; for divine wrath²³ comes against their whole crowd. 7:13 The customer will no longer pay the seller²⁴ while both parties are alive, for the vision against their whole crowd²⁵ will not be revoked. Each person, for his iniquity,²⁶ will fail to preserve his life.

7:14 “They have blown the trumpet and everyone is ready, but no one goes to battle, because my anger is against their whole crowd.²⁷ 7:15 The sword is outside; pestilence and famine are inside the house. Whoever is in the open field will die by the sword, and famine and pestilence will consume everyone in the city. 7:16 Their survivors will escape to the mountains and become like doves of the valleys; all of them will moan – each one for his iniquity. 7:17 All of their hands will hang limp; their knees will be wet with urine.²⁸ 7:18 They

¹ **tn** Or “punish” (cf. BDB 1047 s.v. עָנַן 3.c).

² **tn** *Heb* “ways.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “I will place on you.”

⁴ **tn** The meaning of the Hebrew term is primarily emotional: “to pity,” which in context implies an action, as in being moved by pity in order to spare them from the horror of their punishment.

⁵ **tn** The pronoun “you” is not in the Hebrew text, but is implied.

⁶ **tn** “I will set your behavior on your head.”

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “and your abominable practices will be among you.”

⁸ **tn** The Hebrew term often refers to moral evil (see Ezek 6:10; 14:22), but in many contexts it refers to calamity or disaster, sometimes as punishment for evil behavior.

⁹ **tc** So most Hebrew MSS; many Hebrew MSS read “disaster after disaster” (cf. NAB, NCV, NRSV, NLT).

¹⁰ **tn** Or “has come.”

¹¹ **tn** Or “has come.”

¹² **tc** With different vowels the verb rendered “it has awakened” would be the noun “the end,” as in “the end is upon you.” The verb would represent a phonetic wordplay. The noun by virtue of repetition would continue to reinforce the idea of the end. Whether verb or noun, this is the only instance to occur with this preposition.

¹³ **tc** For this entire verse, the LXX has only “the end is come.”

tn In each of the three cases of the verb translated with forms of “to come,” the form may either be a participle (“comes/is coming”) or a perfect (“has come”). Either form would indicate that the end is soon to arrive. This last form appears also to be feminine, although “end” is masculine. This shift may be looking ahead to the next verse, whose first noun (“Doom”) is feminine.

¹⁴ **sn** *The day* refers to the day of the Lord, a concept which, beginning in Amos 5:18-20, became a common theme in the OT prophetic books. It refers to a time when the Lord intervenes in human affairs as warrior and judge.

¹⁵ **tc** The LXX reads “neither tumult nor birth pains.” The LXX varies at many points from the MT in this chapter. The context suggests that one or both of these would be present on a day of judgment, thus favoring the MT. Perhaps more significant is the absence of “the mountains” in the LXX. If the ר (*resh*) in הָרִים (*harim*, “the mountains”) not “on the mountains”) were a ד (*dalet*), which is a common letter confusion, then it could be from the same root as the previous word, הֵד (*hed*), meaning “the day is near – with destruction, not joyful shouting.”

¹⁶ **tn** The expression “to pour out rage” also occurs in Ezek 9:8; 14:19; 20:8, 13, 21; 22:31; 30:15; 36:18.

¹⁷ **tn** The meaning of the Hebrew term is primarily emotional: “to pity,” which in context implies an action, as in being moved by pity in order to spare them from the horror of their punishment.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “According to your behavior I will place on you.”

¹⁹ **tn** The MT lacks “you.” It has been added for clarification.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the violence.”

²¹ **tc** The LXX reads “he will crush the wicked rod without confusion or haste.”

tn The verb has been supplied for the Hebrew text to clarify the sense.

²² **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT.

²³ **tn** *Heb* “wrath.” Context clarifies that God’s wrath is in view.

²⁴ **tc** The translation follows the LXX for the first line of the verse, although the LXX has lost the second line due to homoioteleuton (similar endings of the clauses). The MT reads “The seller will not return to the sale.” This Hebrew reading has been construed as a reference to land redemption, the temporary sale of the use of property, with property rights returned to the seller in the year of Jubilee. But the context has no other indicator that land redemption is in view. If correct, the LXX evidence suggests that one of the cases of “the customer” has been replaced by “the seller” in the MT, perhaps due to homoioteleuton (similar beginnings of the words).

²⁵ **tn** The Hebrew word refers to the din or noise made by a crowd, and by extension may refer to the crowd itself.

²⁶ **tn** Or “in their punishment.” The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here and in v. 16; 3:18, 19; 4:17; 18:17, 18, 19, 20; 24:23; 33:6, 8, 9; 39:23. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment for iniquity.”

²⁷ **tn** The Hebrew word refers to the din or noise made by a crowd, and by extension may refer to the crowd itself.

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “their knees will run with water.” The expression probably refers to urination caused by fright, which is how the LXX renders the phrase. More colloquial English would simply be “they will wet their pants,” but as D. I. Block (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:261, n. 98) notes, the men likely wore skirts which were short enough to expose urine on the knees.

will wear sackcloth, terror will cover them; shame will be on all their faces, and all of their heads will be shaved bald.¹ **7:19** They will discard their silver in the streets, and their gold will be treated like filth.² Their silver and gold will not be able to deliver them on the day of the LORD's fury.³ They will not satisfy their hunger or fill their stomachs because their wealth⁴ was the obstacle leading to their iniquity.⁵ **7:20** They rendered the beauty of his ornaments into pride,⁶ and with it they made their abominable images – their detestable idols. Therefore I will render it filthy to them. **7:21** I will give it to foreigners as loot, to the world's wicked ones as plunder, and they will desecrate it. **7:22** I will turn my face away from them and they will desecrate my treasured place.⁷ Vandals will enter it and desecrate it.⁸ **7:23** (Make the chain,⁹ because the land is full of murder¹⁰ and the city is full of violence.) **7:24** I will bring the most wicked of the nations and they will take possession of their houses. I will put an end to the arrogance of the strong, and their

sanctuaries¹¹ will be desecrated. **7:25** Terror¹² is coming! They will seek peace, but find none. **7:26** Disaster after disaster will come, and one rumor after another. They will seek a vision from a prophet; priestly instruction will disappear, along with counsel from the elders. **7:27** The king will mourn and the prince will be clothed with shuddering; the hands of the people of the land will tremble. Based on their behavior I will deal with them, and by their standard of justice¹³ I will judge them. Then they will know that I am the LORD!”

A Desecrated Temple

8:1 In the sixth year, in the sixth month, on the fifth of the month,¹⁴ as I was sitting in my house with the elders of Judah sitting in front of me, the hand¹⁵ of the sovereign LORD seized me.¹⁶ **8:2** As I watched, I noticed¹⁷ a form that appeared to be a man.¹⁸ From his waist downward was something like fire,¹⁹ and from his waist upward something like a brightness,²⁰ like an amber glow.²¹ **8:3** He stretched out the form²² of a hand and grabbed me by a lock of hair on my head. Then a wind²³ lifted me up between the earth and sky and brought me to Jerusalem²⁴ by means of divine visions, to the door of the inner gate which faces north where the statue²⁵ which provokes to jealousy was

¹ **tn** Heb “baldness will be on their heads.”

² **tn** The Hebrew term can refer to menstrual impurity. The term also occurs at the end of v. 20.

³ **sn** Compare Zeph 1:18.

⁴ **tn** Heb “it.” Apparently the subject is the silver and gold mentioned earlier (see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:102).

⁵ **tn** The “stumbling block of their iniquity” is a unique phrase of the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek 14:3, 4, 7; 18:30; 44:12).

⁶ **tc** The MT reads “he set up the beauty of his ornament as pride.” The verb may be repointed as plural without changing the consonantal text. The Syriac reads “their ornaments” (plural), implying עֲדָיָם (*edyam*) rather than עֲדָיָה (*edyah*) and meaning “they were proud of their beautiful ornaments.” This understands “ornaments” in the common sense of women’s jewelry, which then were used to make idols. The singular suffix “his ornaments” would refer to using items from the temple treasury to make idols. D. I. Block points out the foreshadowing of Ezek 16:17 which, with Rashi and the Targum, supports the understanding that this is a reference to temple items. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:265.

⁷ **sn** My treasured place probably refers to the temple (however, cf. NLT “my treasured land”).

⁸ **sn** Since the pronouns “it” are both feminine, they do not refer to the masculine “my treasured place”; instead they probably refer to Jerusalem or the land, both of which are feminine in Hebrew.

⁹ **tc** The Hebrew word “the chain” occurs only here in the OT. The reading of the LXX (“and they will make carnage”) seems to imply a Hebrew text of הִבְתֹּק (*habbattoq*, “disorder, slaughter”) instead of הִרְתֹּק (*haratq*, “the chain”). The LXX is also translating the verb as a third person plural future and taking this as the end of the preceding verse. As M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel* [AB], 1:154) notes, this may refer to a chain for a train of exiles but “the context does not speak of exile but of the city’s fall. The versions guess desperately and we can do little better.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “judgment for blood,” i.e., indictment or accountability for bloodshed. The word for “judgment” does not appear in the similar phrase in 9:9.

¹¹ **sn** Or “their holy places” (KJV, ASV, NASB, NCV, NRSV).

¹² **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT. It is interpreted based on a Syriac cognate meaning “to bristle or stiffen (in terror).”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and by their judgments.”

¹⁴ **tc** The LXX reads “In the sixth year, in the fifth month, on the fifth of the month.”

sn In the sixth year, in the sixth month, on the fifth of the month would be September 17, 592 B.C., about fourteen months after the initial vision.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “power.”

sn Hand in the OT can refer metaphorically to power, authority, or influence. In Ezekiel God’s hand being on the prophet is regularly associated with communication or a vision from God (3:14, 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “fell upon me there,” that is, God’s influence came over him.

¹⁷ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb (so also throughout the chapter).

¹⁸ **tc** The MT reads “fire” rather than “man,” the reading of the LXX. The nouns are very similar in Hebrew.

¹⁹ **tc** The MT reads “what appeared to be his waist and downward was fire.” The LXX omits “what appeared to be,” reading “from his waist to below was fire.” Suggesting that “like what appeared to be” belongs before “fire,” D. I. Block (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:277) points out the resulting poetic symmetry of form with the next line as followed in the translation here.

²⁰ **tc** The LXX omits “like a brightness.”

²¹ **tn** See Ezek 1:4.

²² **tn** The Hebrew term is normally used as an architectural term in describing the pattern of the tabernacle or temple or a representation of it (see Exod 25:8; 1 Chr 28:11).

²³ **tn** Or “spirit.” See note on “wind” in 2:2.

²⁴ **map** For the location of Jerusalem see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

²⁵ **tn** Or “image.”

located. **8:4** Then I perceived that the glory of the God of Israel was there, as in the vision I had seen earlier in the valley.

8:5 He said to me, “Son of man, look up toward¹ the north.” So I looked up toward the north, and I noticed to the north of the altar gate was this statue of jealousy at the entrance.

8:6 He said to me, “Son of man, do you see what they are doing – the great abominations that the people² of Israel are practicing here, to drive me far from my sanctuary? But you will see greater abominations than these!”

8:7 He brought me to the entrance of the court, and as I watched, I noticed a hole in the wall. **8:8** He said to me, “Son of man, dig into the wall.” So I dug into the wall and discovered a doorway.

8:9 He said to me, “Go in and see the evil abominations they are practicing here.” **8:10** So I went in and looked. I noticed every figure³ of creeping thing and beast – detestable images⁴ – and every idol of the house of Israel, engraved on the wall all around.⁵ **8:11** Seventy men from the elders of the house of Israel⁶ (with Jaazaniah son of Shaphan standing among them) were standing in front of them, each with a censer in his hand, and fragrant⁷ vapors from a cloud of incense were swirling upward.

8:12 He said to me, “Do you see, son of man, what the elders of the house of Israel are doing in the dark, each in the chamber of his idolatrous images?⁸ For they think, ‘The LORD does not see us! The LORD has abandoned the land!’” **8:13** He said to me, “You will see them practicing even greater abominations!”

8:14 Then he brought me to the entrance of the north gate of the LORD’s house. I noticed⁹ women sitting there weeping for Tammuz.¹⁰ **8:15** He said to me, “Do you see this, son of man? You will see even greater abominations than these!”

8:16 Then he brought me to the inner court of the LORD’s house. Right there¹¹ at the entrance to the LORD’s temple, between the porch and the altar,¹² were about twenty-five¹³ men with their backs to the LORD’s temple,¹⁴ facing east – they were worshiping the sun¹⁵ toward the east!

8:17 He said to me, “Do you see, son of man? Is it a trivial thing that the house of Judah commits these abominations they are practicing here? For they have filled the land with violence and provoked me to anger still further. Look, they are putting the branch to their nose!¹⁶ **8:18** Therefore I will act with fury! My eye will not pity them nor will I spare¹⁷ them. When they have shouted in my ears, I will not listen to them.”

The Execution of Idolaters

9:1 Then he shouted in my ears, “Approach,¹⁸ you who are to visit destruction on the city, each with his destructive weapon in his hand!” **9:2** Next, I noticed¹⁹ six men²⁰ coming from the direction of the upper gate²¹ which faces north, each with his war club in his hand. Among them was a man dressed in linen with a writing kit²² at his side. They came and stood beside the bronze altar.

9:3 Then the glory of the God of Israel went up from the cherub where it had rested to the threshold of the temple.²³ He called to the man dressed in linen who had the writing kit at his

¹ **tn** *Heb* “lift your eyes (to) the way of.”

² **tn** *Heb* “house.”

³ **tn** Or “pattern.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “detestable.” The word is often used to describe the figures of foreign gods.

⁵ **sn** These engravings were prohibited in the Mosaic law (Deut 4:16-18).

⁶ **sn** Note the contrast between these seventy men who represented Israel and the seventy elders who ate the covenant meal before God, inaugurating the covenant relationship (Exod 24:1, 9).

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “the room of his images.” The adjective “idolatrous” has been supplied in the translation for clarity.

sn This type of image is explicitly prohibited in the Mosaic law (Lev 26:1).

⁹ **tn** Given the context this could be understood as a shock, e.g., idiomatically “Good grief! I saw....”

¹⁰ **sn** The worship of Tammuz included the observation of the annual death and descent into the netherworld of the god Dumuzi. The practice was observed by women in the ancient Near East over a period of centuries.

¹¹ **tn** The word *הִנֵּה* (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something.

¹² **sn** The priests prayed to God between the porch and the altar on fast days (Joel 2:17). This is the location where Zechariah was murdered (Matt 23:35).

¹³ **tc** The LXX reads “twenty” instead of twenty-five, perhaps because of the association of the number twenty with the Mesopotamian sun god Shamash.

tn Or “exactly twenty-five.”

¹⁴ **sn** The temple faced east.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “the sun god.”

sn The worship of astral entities may have begun during the reign of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:5).

¹⁶ **tn** It is not clear what the practice of “holding a branch to the nose” indicates. A possible parallel is the Syrian relief of a king holding a flower to his nose as he worships the stars (ANEP 281). See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:145-46. The LXX glosses the expression as “Behold, they are like mockers.”

¹⁷ **tn** The meaning of the Hebrew term is primarily emotional: “to pity,” which in context implies an action, as in being moved by pity in order to spare them from the horror of their punishment.

¹⁸ **tc** *Heb* “they approached.” Reading the imperative assumes the same consonantal text but different vowels.

¹⁹ **tn** The word *הִנֵּה* (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

²⁰ **sn** The six men plus the scribe would equal seven, which was believed by the Babylonians to be the number of planetary deities.

²¹ **sn** The upper gate was built by Jotham (2 Kgs 15:35).

²² **tn** Or “a scribe’s inkhorn.” The Hebrew term occurs in the OT only in Ezek 9 and is believed to be an Egyptian loanword.

²³ **tn** *Heb* “house.”

side. **9:4** The LORD said to him, “Go through the city of Jerusalem¹ and put a mark² on the foreheads of the people who moan and groan over all the abominations practiced in it.”

9:5 While I listened, he said to the others,³ “Go through the city after him and strike people down; do not let your eye pity nor spare⁴ anyone! **9:6** Old men, young men, young women, little children, and women – wipe them out! But do not touch anyone who has the mark. Begin at my sanctuary!” So they began with the elders who were at the front of the temple.

9:7 He said to them, “Defile the temple and fill the courtyards with corpses. Go!” So they went out and struck people down throughout the city. **9:8** While they were striking them down, I was left alone, and I threw myself face down and cried out, “Ah, sovereign LORD! Will you destroy the entire remnant of Israel when you pour out your fury on Jerusalem?”

9:9 He said to me, “The sin of the house of Israel and Judah is extremely great; the land is full of murder, and the city is full of corruption,⁵ for they say, ‘The LORD has abandoned the land, and the LORD does not see!’⁶ **9:10** But as for me, my eye will not pity them nor will I spare⁷ them; I hereby repay them for what they have done.”⁸

9:11 Next I noticed the man dressed in linen with the writing kit at his side bringing back word: “I have done just as you commanded me.”

God's Glory Leaves the Temple

10:1 As I watched, I saw⁹ on the platform¹⁰ above the top of the cherubim something like a sapphire, resembling the shape of a throne, appearing above them. **10:2** The LORD¹¹ said to the man dressed in linen, “Go between the wheel-work¹² underneath the cherubim.¹³ Fill your hands with burning coals from among the cherubim and scatter them over the city.” He went as I watched.

10:3 (The cherubim were standing on the south side¹⁴ of the temple when the man went in, and a cloud filled the inner court.) **10:4** Then the glory of the LORD arose from the cherub and moved to the threshold of the temple. The temple was filled with the cloud while the court was filled with the brightness of the LORD's glory. **10:5** The sound of the wings of the cherubim could be heard from the outer court, like the sound of the sovereign God¹⁵ when he speaks.

10:6 When the LORD¹⁶ commanded the man dressed in linen, “Take fire from within the wheel-work, from among the cherubim,” the man¹⁷ went in and stood by one of the wheels.¹⁸ **10:7** Then one of the cherubim¹⁹ stretched out his hand²⁰ toward the fire which was among the cherubim. He took some and put it into the hands of the man dressed in linen, who took it and left. **10:8** (The cherubim appeared to have the form²¹ of human hands under their wings.)

¹ **tn** Heb “through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem.”

map For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

² **tn** The word translated “mark” is in Hebrew the letter ט (tav). Outside this context the only other occurrence of the word is in Job 31:35. In ancient Hebrew script this letter was written like the letter X.

sn For a similar concept in the Bible, see Rev 7:2-4; 13:16; 14:9, 11; 20:4; 22:4.

³ **tn** Heb “to these he said in my ears.”

⁴ **tn** The meaning of the Hebrew term is primarily emotional: “to pity,” which in context implies an action, as in being moved by pity in order to spare them from the horror of their punishment.

⁵ **tn** Or “lawlessness” (NAB); “perversity” (NRSV). The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT, and its meaning is uncertain. The similar phrase in 7:23 has a common word for “violence.”

⁶ **tn** The saying is virtually identical to that of the elders in Ezek 8:12.

⁷ **tn** The meaning of the Hebrew term is primarily emotional: “to pity,” which in context implies an action, as in being moved by pity in order to spare them from the horror of their punishment.

⁸ **tn** Heb “their way on their head I have placed.” The same expression occurs in 1 Kgs 8:32; Ezek 11:21; 16:43; 22:31.

⁹ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹⁰ **tn** Or “like a dome.” See 1:22-26.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “and he”; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹² **tn** The Hebrew term often refers to chariot wheels (Isa 28:28; Ezek 23:24; 26:10).

¹³ **tc** The LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, and Targum mss read plural “cherubim” while the MT is singular here, “cherub.” The plural ending was probably omitted in copying the MT due to the similar beginning of the next word.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “right side.”

¹⁵ **tn** The name (“El Shaddai”) has often been translated “God Almighty,” primarily because Jerome translated it *omnipotens* (“all powerful”) in the Latin Vulgate. There has been much debate over the meaning of the name. For discussion see W. F. Albright, “The Names *Shaddai* and *Abram*,” *JBL* 54 (1935): 173-210; R. Gordis, “The Biblical Root *śdy-sd*,” *JTS* 41 (1940): 34-43; and especially T. N. D. Mettinger, *In Search of God*, 69-72.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “he”; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “he”; the referent (the man dressed in linen) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “the wheel.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “the cherub.”

²⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text adds, “from among the cherubim.”

²¹ **tn** The Hebrew term is normally used as an architectural term in describing the plan or pattern of the tabernacle or temple or a representation of it (see Exod 25:8; 1 Chr 28:11).

10:9 As I watched, I noticed¹ four wheels by the cherubim, one wheel beside each cherub;² the wheels gleamed like jasper.³ **10:10** As for their appearance, all four of them looked the same, something like a wheel within a wheel.⁴ **10:11** When they⁵ moved, they would go in any of the four directions they faced without turning as they moved; in the direction the head would turn they would follow⁶ without turning as they moved, **10:12** along with their entire bodies,⁷ their backs, their hands, and their wings. The wheels of the four of them were full of eyes all around. **10:13** As for their wheels, they were called “the wheelwork”⁸ as I listened. **10:14** Each of the cherubim⁹ had four faces: The first was the face of a cherub,¹⁰ the second that of a man, the third that of a lion, and the fourth that of an eagle.

10:15 The cherubim rose up; these were the living beings¹¹ I saw at the Kebar River. **10:16** When the cherubim moved, the wheels moved beside them; when the cherubim spread¹² their wings to rise from the ground, the wheels did not move from their side. **10:17** When the cherubim¹³ stood still, the wheels¹⁴ stood still, and when they rose up, the wheels¹⁵ rose up with them, for the spirit¹⁶ of the living beings¹⁷ was in the wheels.¹⁸

¹ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

² **tn** The MT repeats this phrase, a clear case of dittography.

³ **tn** Heb “Tarshish stone.” The meaning is uncertain. The term has also been translated “topaz” (NEB), “beryl” (KJV, NASB, NRSV), and “chrysolite” (RSV, NIV).

⁴ **tn** Or “like a wheel at right angles to another wheel.” Some envision concentric wheels here, while others propose “a globe-like structure in which two wheels stand at right angles” (L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:33-34). See also 1:16.

⁵ **sn** That is, the cherubim.

⁶ **tn** Many interpreters assume that the human face of each cherub was the one that looked forward.

⁷ **tc** The phrase “along with their entire bodies” is absent from the LXX and may be a gloss explaining the following words.

⁸ **tn** Or “the whirling wheels.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “each one”; the referent (the cherubim) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁰ **sn** The living creature described here is thus slightly different from the one described in Ezek 1:10, where a ox’s face appeared instead of a cherub’s. Note that some English versions harmonize the two descriptions and read the same here as in 1:10 (cf. NAB, NLT “an ox”; TEV, CEV “a bull”). This may be justified based on v. 22, which states the creatures’ appearance was the same.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “it was the living creature.”

¹² **tn** Heb “lifted.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “they”; the referent (the cherubim) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “they”; the referent (the wheels) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “they”; the referent (the wheels) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁶ **tn** Or “wind.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “living creature.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “them”; the referent (the wheels) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

10:18 Then the glory of the LORD moved away from the threshold of the temple and stopped above the cherubim. **10:19** The cherubim spread¹⁹ their wings, and they rose up from the earth²⁰ while I watched (when they went the wheels went alongside them). They stopped at the entrance to the east gate of the LORD’s temple as the glory of the God of Israel hovered above them.

10:20 These were the living creatures²¹ which I saw at the Kebar River underneath the God of Israel; I knew that they were cherubim. **10:21** Each had four faces; each had four wings and the form of human hands under the wings. **10:22** As for the form of their faces, they were the faces whose appearance I had seen at the Kebar River. Each one moved straight ahead.

The Fall of Jerusalem

11:1 A wind²² lifted me up and brought me to the east gate of the LORD’s temple that faces the east. There, at the entrance of the gate, I noticed twenty-five men. Among them I saw Jaazaniah son of Az-zur and Pelatiah son of Benaiah, officials of the people.²³ **11:2** The LORD²⁴ said to me, “Son of man, these are the men who plot evil and give wicked advice in this city. **11:3** They say,²⁵ ‘The time is not near to build houses;²⁶ the city²⁷ is a cooking pot²⁸ and we are the meat in it.’ **11:4** Therefore, prophesy against them! Prophesy, son of man!”

11:5 Then the Spirit of the Lord came²⁹ upon me and said to me, “Say: This is what the Lord says: ‘This is what you are thinking,³⁰ O house of Israel; I know what goes through your minds.³¹ **11:6** You have killed many people in this city; you have filled its streets with corpses.’ **11:7** Therefore, this is what the sovereign Lord says: ‘The corpses you have dumped³² in the midst of the city³³ are the meat, and this city³⁴ is the cooking pot, but I will take

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “lifted.”

²⁰ **tn** Or “the ground” (NIV, NCV).

²¹ **tn** Heb “That was the living creature.”

²² **tn** Or “spirit.” See note on “wind” in 2:2.

²³ **sn** The phrase *officials of the people* occurs in Neh 11:1; 1 Chr 21:2; 2 Chr 24:23.

²⁴ **tn** Heb “and he”; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

²⁵ **tn** The Hebrew verb may mean “think” in this context. This content of what they say (or think) represents their point of view.

²⁶ **sn** The expression *build houses* may mean “establish families” (Deut 25:9; Ruth 4:11; Prov 24:27).

²⁷ **tn** Heb “she” or “it”; the feminine pronoun refers here to Jerusalem.

²⁸ **sn** Jerusalem is also compared to a *pot* in Ezek 24:3-8. The siege of the city is pictured as heating up the pot.

²⁹ **tn** Heb “fell.”

³⁰ **tn** The Hebrew verb commonly means “to say,” but may also mean “to think” (see also v. 3).

³¹ **tn** Heb “I know the steps of your spirits.”

³² **tn** Heb “placed.”

³³ **tn** Heb “in its midst.”

³⁴ **tn** Heb “she/it.” See v. 3.

you out of it.¹ **11:8** You fear the sword, so the sword I will bring against you,' declares the sovereign LORD. **11:9** 'But I will take you out of the city.² And I will hand you over to foreigners. I will execute judgments on you. **11:10** You will die by the sword; I will judge you at the border of Israel. Then you will know that I am the LORD. **11:11** This city will not be a cooking pot for you, and you will not³ be meat within it; I will judge you at the border of Israel. **11:12** Then you will know that I am the LORD, whose statutes you have not followed and whose regulations you have not carried out. Instead you have behaved according to the regulations of the nations around you!'"

11:13 Now, while I was prophesying, Pelatiah son of Benaiah died. Then I threw myself face down and cried out with a loud voice, "Alas, sovereign Lord! You are completely wiping out the remnant of Israel!"⁴

11:14 Then the word of the LORD came to me: **11:15** "Son of man, your brothers,⁵ your relatives,⁶ and the whole house of Israel, all of them are those to whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem⁷ have said, 'They have gone⁸ far away from the LORD; to us this land has been given as a possession.'

11:16 "Therefore say: 'This is what the sovereign LORD says: Although I have removed them far away among the nations and have dispersed them among the countries, I have been a little⁹ sanctuary for them among the lands where they have gone.'

11:17 "Therefore say: 'This is what the sovereign LORD says: When I regather you from the peoples and assemble you from the lands where you have been dispersed, I will give you back the country of Israel.'

¹ **tc** Many of the versions read "I will bring you out" (active) rather than "he brought out" (the reading of MT).

² **tn** *Heb* "its midst."

³ **tn** The Hebrew text does not have the negative particle, but it is implied. The negative particle in the previous line does double duty here.

⁴ **tc** The LXX reads this statement as a question. Compare this to the question in 9:8. It is possible that the interrogative particle has been omitted by haplography. However, an exclamatory statement as in the MT also makes sense and the LXX may have simply tried to harmonize this passage with 9:8.

⁵ **tc** The MT reads "your brothers, your brothers" either for emphasis (D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:341, n. 1; 346) or as a result of dittography.

⁶ **tc** The MT reads גֹּאֲלֵיכֶם (*gē'ullatekha*, "your redemption-men"), referring to the relatives responsible for deliverance in times of hardship (see Lev 25:25-55). The LXX and Syriac read "your fellow exiles," assuming an underlying Hebrew text of גָּלוּתֵיכֶם (*galutekha*) or having read the א (*aleph*) as an internal mater lectionis for *holem*.

⁷ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁸ **tc** The MT has an imperative form ("go far!"), but it may be read with different vowels as a perfect verb ("they have gone far").

⁹ **tn** Or "have been partially a sanctuary"; others take this as temporal (cf. NASB, NIV, NRSV "a little while").

11:18 "When they return to it, they will remove from it all its detestable things and all its abominations. **11:19** I will give them one heart and I will put a new spirit within them;¹⁰ I will remove the hearts of stone from their bodies¹¹ and I will give them tender hearts.¹² **11:20** so that they may follow my statutes and observe my regulations and carry them out. Then they will be my people, and I will be their God.¹³ **11:21** But those whose hearts are devoted to detestable things and abominations, I hereby repay them for what they have done,¹⁴ says the sovereign LORD."

11:22 Then the cherubim spread¹⁵ their wings with their wheels alongside them while the glory of the God of Israel hovered above them. **11:23** The glory of the LORD rose up from within the city and stopped¹⁶ over the mountain east of it. **11:24** Then a wind¹⁷ lifted me up and carried me to the exiles in Babylonia,¹⁸ in the vision given to me by the Spirit of God.

Then the vision I had seen went up from me. **11:25** So I told the exiles everything¹⁹ the LORD had shown me.

Previewing the Exile

12:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **12:2** "Son of man, you are living in the midst of a rebellious house.²⁰ They have eyes to see, but do not see, and ears to hear, but do not hear,²¹ because they are a rebellious house.

12:3 "Therefore, son of man, pack up your belongings as if for exile. During the day, while they are watching, pretend to go into exile. Go from where you live to another place. Perhaps they will understand,²² although they are a rebellious house. **12:4** Bring out your belongings packed for exile during the day while they are watching. And go out at evening, while they are watching, as if for exile. **12:5** While they are watching, dig a hole in the wall and carry your belongings out through it. **12:6** While they are watching, raise your baggage onto your

¹⁰ **tc** The MT reads "you"; many Hebrew MSS along with the LXX and other ancient versions read "within them."

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "their flesh."

¹² **tn** *Heb* "heart of flesh."

¹³ **sn** The expression *They will be my people, and I will be their God* occurs as a promise to Abraham (Gen 17:8); Moses (Exod 6:7); and the nation (Exod 29:45).

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* "their way on their head I have placed."

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "lifted."

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "stood."

¹⁷ **tn** Or "spirit." See note on "wind" in 2:2.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "to Chaldea."

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "all the words of."

²⁰ **sn** The book of Ezekiel frequently refers to the Israelites as a rebellious house (Ezek 2:5, 6, 8; 3:9, 26-27; 12:2-3, 9, 25; 17:12; 24:3).

²¹ **sn** This verse is very similar to Isa 6:9-10.

²² **tn** *Heb* "see." This plays on the uses of "see" in v. 2. They will see his actions with their eyes and perhaps they will "see" with their mind, that is, understand or grasp the point.

shoulder and carry it out in the dark.¹ You must cover your face so that you cannot see the ground² because I have made you an object lesson³ to the house of Israel.”

12:7 So I did just as I was commanded. I carried out my belongings packed for exile during the day, and at evening I dug myself a hole through the wall with my hands. I went out in the darkness, carrying my baggage⁴ on my shoulder while they watched.

12:8 The word of the LORD came to me in the morning: **12:9** “Son of man, has not the house of Israel, that rebellious house, said to you, ‘What are you doing?’” **12:10** Say to them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: The prince will raise this burden in Jerusalem,⁵ and all the house of Israel within it.’⁶ **12:11** Say, ‘I am an object lesson for you. Just as I have done, it will be done to them; they will go into exile and captivity.’

12:12 “The prince⁷ who is among them will raise his belongings⁸ onto his shoulder in darkness, and will go out. He⁹ will dig a hole in the wall to leave through. He will cover his face so that he cannot see the land with his eyes. **12:13** But I will throw my net over him, and he will be caught in my snare. I will bring him to Babylon, the land of the Chaldeans¹⁰ (but he

will not see it),¹¹ and there he will die.¹² **12:14** All his retinue – his attendants and his troops – I will scatter to every wind; I will unleash a sword behind them.

12:15 “Then they will know that I am the LORD when I disperse them among the nations and scatter them among foreign countries. **12:16** But I will let a small number of them survive the sword, famine, and pestilence, so that they can confess all their abominable practices to the nations where they go. Then they will know that I am the LORD.”

12:17 The word of the LORD came to me: **12:18** “Son of man, eat your bread with trembling,¹³ and drink your water with anxious shaking. **12:19** Then say to the people of the land, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says about the inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the land of Israel: They will eat their bread with anxiety and drink their water in fright, for their land will be stripped bare of all it contains because of the violence of all who live in it. **12:20** The inhabited towns will be left in ruins and the land will be devastated. Then you will know that I am the LORD.’”

12:21 The word of the LORD came to me: **12:22** “Son of man, what is this proverb you have in the land of Israel, ‘The days pass slowly, and every vision fails’? **12:23** Therefore tell them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: I hereby end this proverb; they will not recite it in Israel any longer.’ But say to them, ‘The days are at hand when every vision will be fulfilled.’¹⁴ **12:24** For there will no longer be any false visions or flattering omens amidst the house of Israel. **12:25** For I, the LORD, will speak. Whatever word I speak will be accomplished. It will not be delayed any longer. Indeed in your days, O rebellious house, I will speak the word and accomplish it, declares the sovereign LORD.”

12:26 The word of the LORD came to me: **12:27** “Take note, son of man, the house of Israel is saying, ‘The vision that he sees is for distant days; he is prophesying about the far future.’ **12:28** Therefore say to them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: None of my words will be delayed any longer! The word I speak will come to pass, declares the sovereign LORD.’”

¹ **tn** Apart from this context the Hebrew term occurs only in Gen 15:17 in reference to the darkness after sunset. It may mean twilight.

² **tn** Or “land” (ASV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

³ **sn** See also Ezek 12:11, 24:24, 27.

⁴ **tn** The words “my baggage” are not in the Hebrew text, but are implied from the context.

⁵ **tc** The nearly incoherent Hebrew reads “The prince is this burden (prophetic oracle?) in Jerusalem.” The Targum, which may only be trying to make sense of a very difficult text, says “Concerning the prince is this oracle,” assuming the addition of a preposition. This would be the only case where Ezekiel uses this term for a prophetic oracle. The LXX reads the word for “burden” as a synonym for leader, as both words are built on the same root (נָשָׂא, *nasiʿ*), but the verse is still incoherent because it is only a phrase with no verb. The current translation assumes that the verb נָשָׂא (*yisaʿ*) from the root נָשָׂא has dropped out due to homoioteleuton. If indeed the verb has dropped out (the syntax of the verbless clause being the problem), then context clearly suggests that it be a form of נָשָׂא (see vv. 7 and 12). Placing the verb between the subject and object would result in three consecutive words based on the root נָשָׂא, and an environment conducive to an omission in copying: הַנָּשִׂיא יָשָׂא הַנָּשִׂיא (hannasiʿ yishaʿ hammaʿsaʿ hazzeh, “the Prince will raise this burden”).

sn The prince in Jerusalem refers to King Zedekiah.

map For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁶ **tc** The MT reads “within them.” Possibly a scribe copied this form from the following verse “among them,” but only “within it” makes sense in this context.

⁷ **sn** The prince is a reference to Zedekiah.

⁸ **tn** The words “his belongings” are not in the Hebrew text but are implied.

⁹ **tc** The MT reads “they”; the LXX and Syriac read “he.”

¹⁰ **tn** Or “Babylonians” (NCV, NLT).

sn The Chaldeans were a group of people in the country south of Babylon from which Nebuchadnezzar came. The Chaldean dynasty his father established became the name by which the Babylonians are regularly referred to in the book of Jeremiah, while Jeremiah’s contemporary, Ezekiel, uses both terms.

¹¹ **sn** He will not see it. This prediction was fulfilled in 2 Kgs 25:7 and Jer 52:11, which recount how Zedekiah was blinded before being deported to Babylon.

¹² **sn** There he will die. This was fulfilled when King Zedekiah died in exile (Jer 52:11).

¹³ **tn** The Hebrew term normally refers to an earthquake (see 1 Kgs 19:11; Amos 1:1).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “the days draw near and the word of every vision (draws near).”

False Prophets Denounced

13:1 Then the word of the LORD came to me: **13:2** “Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel who are now prophesying. Say to the prophets who prophesy from their imagination:¹ ‘Hear the word of the LORD! **13:3** This is what the sovereign LORD says: Woe to the foolish prophets who follow their own spirit but have seen nothing! **13:4** Your prophets have become like jackals among the ruins, O Israel. **13:5** You have not gone up in the breaks in the wall, nor repaired a wall for the house of Israel that it would stand strong in the battle on the day of the LORD. **13:6** They see delusion and their omens are a lie.² They say, “the LORD declares,” though the LORD has not sent them,³ yet they expect their word to be confirmed.⁴ **13:7** Have you not seen a false vision and announced a lying omen when you say, “the LORD declares,” although I myself never spoke?

13:8 “Therefore, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Because you have spoken false words and forecast delusion, look,⁵ I am against you,⁶ declares the sovereign LORD. **13:9** My hand will be against the prophets who see delusion and announce lying omens. They will not be included in the council⁷ of my people, nor be written in the registry⁸ of the house of Israel, nor enter the land of Israel. Then you will know that I am the sovereign LORD.

13:10 “This is because they have led my people astray saying, “All is well,”⁹ when things are not well. When anyone builds a wall without mortar,¹⁰ they coat it with whitewash.

13:11 Tell the ones who coat it with whitewash that it will fall. When there is a deluge of rain, hailstones¹¹ will fall and a violent wind will break out.¹² **13:12** When the wall has collapsed, people will ask you, “Where is the whitewash you coated it with?”

13:13 ““Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: In my rage I will make a violent wind break out. In my anger there will be a deluge of rain and hailstones in destructive fury. **13:14** I will break down the wall you coated with whitewash and knock it to the ground so that its foundation is exposed. When it falls you will be destroyed beneath it,¹³ and you will know that I am the LORD. **13:15** I will vent my rage against the wall, and against those who coated it with whitewash. Then I will say to you, “The wall is no more and those who whitewashed it are no more – **13:16** those prophets of Israel who would prophesy about Jerusalem¹⁴ and would see visions of peace for it, when there was no peace,” declares the sovereign LORD.’

13:17 “As for you, son of man, turn toward¹⁵ the daughters of your people who are prophesying from their imagination.¹⁶ Prophesy against them **13:18** and say ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Woe to those who sew bands¹⁷ on all their wrists¹⁸ and make headbands¹⁹ for heads of every size to entrap people’s lives!²⁰ Will you entrap my people’s lives, yet preserve your own lives? **13:19** You have profaned me among my people for handfuls of barley and scraps of bread. You have put to death people²¹ who should not die and kept alive those who should not live by your lies to my people, who listen to lies!

¹ **tn** Heb “from their mind.”

sn Who prophesy from their imagination. Note the testimony of Moses in Num 16:28, which contains a similar expression.

² **sn** The same description of a false prophet is found in Micah 2:11.

³ **sn** The LORD has not sent them. A similar concept is found in Jer 14:14; 23:21.

⁴ **tn** Or “confirmed”; NIV “to be fulfilled”; TEV “to come true.”

⁵ **tn** The word *hinnēh* indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁶ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ *‘ēlākā*,” ZAW 45 (1933): 101-8.

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew term may refer to the secret council of the LORD (Jer 23:18; Job 15:8), but here it more likely refers to a human council comprised of civic leaders (Gen 49:6; Jer 6:11; 15:17 Ps 64:3; 111:1).

⁸ **tn** The reference here is probably to a civil list (as in Ezra 2:16; Neh 7:64) rather than to a “book of life” (Exod 32:32; Isa 4:3; Ps 69:29; Dan 12:1). This registry may have been established at the making of David’s census (2 Sam 24:2, 9).

⁹ **tn** Or “peace.”

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew word only occurs here in the Bible. According to L. C. Allen (*Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:202-3) it is also used in the Mishnah of a wall of rough stones without mortar. This fits the context here comparing the false prophetic messages to a nice coat of whitewash on a structurally unstable wall.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “and you, O hailstones.”

¹² **sn** A violent wind will break out. God’s judgments are frequently described in storm imagery (Pss 18:7-15; 77:17-18; 83:15; Isa 28:17; 30:30; Jer 23:19; 30:23).

¹³ **tn** Or “within it,” referring to the city of Jerusalem.

¹⁴ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “set your face against.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “from their heart.”

¹⁷ **sn** The wristbands mentioned here probably represented magical bands or charms. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:413.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “joints of the hands.” This may include the elbow and shoulder joints.

¹⁹ **tn** The Hebrew term occurs in the Bible only here and in v. 21. It has also been understood as a veil or type of head covering. D. I. Block (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:414) suggests that given the context of magical devices, the expected parallel to the magical arm bands, and the meaning of this Hebrew root (סָפַח [*safakh*, “to attach” or “join”]), it may refer to headbands or necklaces on which magical amulets were worn.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “human lives” or “souls” (three times in v. 18 and twice in v. 19).

²¹ **tn** Heb “human lives” or “souls.”

13:20 “Therefore, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Take note¹ that I am against your wristbands with which you entrap people’s lives² like birds. I will tear them from your arms and will release the people’s lives, which you hunt like birds. **13:21** I will tear off your headbands and rescue my people from your power;³ they will no longer be prey in your hands. Then you will know that I am the LORD. **13:22** This is because you have disheartened the righteous person with lies (although I have not grieved him), and because you have encouraged the wicked person not to turn from his evil conduct and preserve his life. **13:23** Therefore you will no longer see false visions and practice divination. I will rescue my people from your power, and you⁴ will know that I am the LORD.”

Well-Deserved Judgment

14:1 Then some men from Israel’s elders came to me and sat down in front of me. **14:2** The word of the LORD came to me: **14:3** “Son of man, these men have erected their idols in their hearts and placed the obstacle leading to their iniquity⁵ right before their faces. Should I really allow them to seek⁶ me? **14:4** Therefore speak to them and say to them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: When any one from the house of Israel erects his idols in his heart and sets the obstacle leading to his iniquity before his face, and then consults a prophet, I the LORD am determined to answer him personally according to the enormity of his idolatry.’ **14:5** I will do this in order to capture the hearts of the house of Israel, who have alienated themselves from me on account of all their idols.’

14:6 “Therefore say to the house of Israel, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Return! Turn from your idols, and turn your faces away from your abominations. **14:7** For when anyone from the house of Israel, or the foreigner who lives in Israel, separates himself from me and erects his idols in his heart and sets the obstacle leading to his iniquity before his face, and then consults a prophet to seek something from me, I the LORD am determined to answer him personally. **14:8** I will set my face against that

person and will make him an object lesson and a byword⁸ and will cut him off from among my people. Then you will know that I am the LORD.

14:9 “As for the prophet, if he is made a fool by being deceived into speaking a prophetic word – I, the LORD, have made a fool of⁹ that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand against him and destroy him from among my people Israel. **14:10** They will bear their punishment;¹⁰ the punishment of the one who sought an oracle will be the same as the punishment of the prophet who gave it¹¹ **14:11** so that the house of Israel will no longer go astray from me, nor continue to defile themselves by all their sins. They will be my people and I will be their God,¹² declares the sovereign LORD.”

14:12 The word of the LORD came to me: **14:13** “Son of man, suppose a country sins

⁸ *tn* Heb “proverbs.”

⁹ *tn* The translation is uncertain due to difficulty both in determining the meaning of the verb’s stem and its conjugation in this context. In the Qal stem the basic meaning of the verbal root פָּתָה (*patah*) is “to be gullible, foolish.” The doubling stems (the Pual and Piel used in this verse) typically give such stative verbs a factitive sense, hence either “make gullible” (i.e., “entice”) or “make into a fool” (i.e., “to show to be a fool”). The latter represents the probable meaning of the term in Jer 20:7, 10 and is followed here (see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:193; R. Mosis “Ez 14, 1-11 – ein Ruf zur Umkehr,” *BZ* 19 [1975]: 166-69 and *ThWAT* 4:829-31). In this view, if a prophet speaks when not prompted by God, he will be shown to be a fool, but this does not reflect negatively on the Lord because it is God who shows him to be a fool. Secondly, the verb is in the perfect conjugation and may be translated “I have made a fool of him” or “I have enticed him,” or to show determination (see *IBHS* 439-41 §27.2f and g), or in certain syntactical constructions as future. Any of these may be plausible if the doubling stems used are understood in the sense of “making a fool of.” But if understood as “to make gullible,” more factors come into play. As the Hebrew verbal form is a perfect, it is often translated as present perfect: “I have enticed.” In this case the Lord states that he himself enticed the prophet to cooperate with the idolaters. Such enticement to sin would seem to be a violation of God’s moral character, but sometimes he does use such deception and enticement to sin as a form of punishment against those who have blatantly violated his moral will (see, e.g., 2 Sam 24). If one follows this line of interpretation in Ezek 14:9, one would have to assume that the prophet had already turned from God in his heart. However, the context gives no indication of this. Therefore, it is better to take the perfect as indicating certitude and to translate it with the future tense: “I will entice.” In this case the Lord announces that he will judge the prophet appropriately. If a prophet allows himself to be influenced by idolaters, then the Lord will use deception as a form of punishment against that deceived prophet. A comparison with the preceding oracles also favors this view. In 14:4 the perfect of certitude is used for emphasis (see “I will answer”), though in v. 7 a participle is employed. For a fuller discussion of this text, see R. B. Chisholm, Jr., “Does God Deceive?” *BSac* 155 (1998): 23-25.

¹⁰ *tn* Or “They will bear responsibility for their iniquity.” The Hebrew term “iniquity” (three times in this verse) often refers by metonymy to the consequence of sin (see Gen 4:13).

¹¹ *tn* Or “As is the guilt of the inquirer so is the guilt of the prophet.”

¹² *sn* I will be their God. See Exod 6:7; Lev 26:12; Jer 7:23; 11:4.

¹ *tn* The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

² *tn* Heb “human lives” or “souls.”

³ *tn* Heb “from your hand(s).” This refers to their power over the people.

⁴ *tn* The Hebrew verb is feminine plural, indicating that it is the false prophetesses who are addressed here.

⁵ *tn* Heb “the stumbling block of their iniquity.” This phrase is unique to the prophet Ezekiel.

⁶ *tn* Or “I will not reveal myself to them.” The Hebrew word is used in a technical sense here of seeking an oracle from a prophet (2 Kgs 1:16; 3:11; 8:8).

⁷ *tn* Heb “in accordance with the multitude of his idols.”

against me by being unfaithful, and I stretch out my hand against it, cut off its bread supply,¹ cause famine to come on it, and kill both people and animals. **14:14** Even if these three men, Noah, Daniel,² and Job, were in it, they would save only their own lives by their righteousness, declares the sovereign LORD.

14:15 “Suppose I were to send wild animals through the land and kill its children, leaving it desolate, without travelers due to the wild animals. **14:16** Even if these three men were in it, as surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, they could not save their own sons or daughters; they would save only their own lives, and the land would become desolate.

14:17 “Or suppose I were to bring a sword against that land and say, ‘Let a sword pass through the land,’ and I were to kill both people and animals. **14:18** Even if these three men were in it, as surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, they could not save their own sons or daughters – they would save only their own lives.

14:19 “Or suppose I were to send a plague into that land, and pour out my rage on it with bloodshed, killing both people and animals. **14:20** Even if Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, they could not save their own son or daughter; they would save only their own lives by their righteousness.

14:21 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says: How much worse will it be when I send my four terrible judgments – sword, famine, wild animals, and plague – to Jerusalem³ to kill both people and animals! **14:22** Yet some survivors will be left in it, sons and daughters who will be brought out. They will come out to you, and when you see their behavior and their deeds, you will be consoled about the catastrophe I have brought on Jerusalem – for everything I brought on it. **14:23** They will console you when you see their behavior and their deeds, because you will know that it was not without reason that I have done everything which I have done in it, declares the sovereign LORD.”

¹ **tn** *Heb* “break its staff of bread.”

² **sn** Traditionally this has been understood as a reference to the biblical Daniel, though he was still quite young when Ezekiel prophesied. One wonders if he had developed a reputation as an intercessor by this point. For this reason some prefer to see a reference to a ruler named Danel, known in Canaanite legend for his justice and wisdom. In this case all three of the individuals named would be non-Israelites, however the Ugaritic Danel is not known to have qualities of faith in the LORD that would place him in the company of the other men. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:447-50.

³ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

Burning a Useless Vine

15:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **15:2** “Son of man, of all the woody branches among the trees of the forest, what happens to the wood of the vine?⁴ **15:3** Can wood be taken from it to make anything useful? Or can anyone make a peg from it to hang things on? **15:4** No!⁵ It is thrown in the fire for fuel; when the fire has burned up both ends of it and it is charred in the middle, will it be useful for anything? **15:5** Indeed! If it was not made into anything useful when it was whole, how much less can it be made into anything when the fire has burned it up and it is charred?

15:6 “Therefore, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Like the wood of the vine is among the trees of the forest which I have provided as fuel for the fire – so I will provide the residents of Jerusalem⁶ as fuel.⁷ **15:7** I will set⁸ my face against them – although they have escaped from the fire,⁹ the fire will still consume them! Then you will know that I am the LORD, when I set my face against them. **15:8** I will make¹⁰ the land desolate because they have acted unfaithfully, declares the sovereign LORD.”

God's Unfaithful Bride

16:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **16:2** “Son of man, confront Jerusalem¹¹ with her abominable practices **16:3** and say, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says to Jerusalem: Your origin and your birth were in the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite and your mother a Hittite. **16:4** As for your birth, on the day you were born your umbilical cord was not cut, nor were you washed in water;¹² you

⁴ **tn** Most modern translations take the statement as a comparison (“how is vine wood better than any forest wood?”) based on the preposition *בין* (*min*). But a comparison should have a word as an adjective or stative verb designating a quality, i.e., a word for “good/better” is lacking. The preposition is translated above in its partitive sense.

⁵ **sn** Comparing Israel to the wood of the vine may focus on Israel's inferiority to the other nations. For the vine imagery in relation to Israel and the people of God, see Ps 80:8-13; John 15:1-7; Rom 11:17-22.

⁶ **tn** The word *הִינֵה* (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) draws one's attention to something. Sometimes it may be translated as a verb of perception; here it is treated as a particle that fits the context (so also in v. 5, but with a different English word).

⁷ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁸ **tn** The words “as fuel” are not in the Hebrew text, but are implied.

⁹ **tn** The word translated “set” is the same Hebrew word translated as “provide” in the previous verse.

¹⁰ **sn** This escape refers to the exile of Ezekiel and others in 597 B.C. (Ezek 1:2; 2 Kgs 24:10-16).

¹¹ **tn** The word translated “make” is the same Hebrew word translated as “provide” in v. 6.

¹² **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “in water you were not washed for cleansing” or “with water you were not washed smooth” (see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:473, n. 57, for a discussion of possible meanings of this *hapax legomenon*).

were certainly not rubbed down with salt, nor wrapped with blankets.¹ **16:5** No eye took pity on you to do even one of these things for you to spare you;² you were thrown out into the open field³ because you were detested on the day you were born.

16:6 “I passed by you and saw you kicking around helplessly in your blood. I said to you as you lay there in your blood, ‘Live!’ I said to you as you lay there in your blood, ‘Live!’”⁴ **16:7** I made you plentiful like sprouts in a field; you grew tall and came of age so that you could wear jewelry. Your breasts had formed and your hair had grown, but you were still naked and bare.

16:8 “Then I passed by you and watched you, noticing⁵ that you had reached the age for love.⁶ I spread my cloak⁷ over you and covered your nakedness. I swore a solemn oath to you and entered into a marriage covenant with you, declares the sovereign LORD, and you became mine.

16:9 “Then I bathed you in water, washed the blood off you, and anointed you with fragrant oil. **16:10** I dressed you in embroidered clothing and put fine leather sandals on your feet. I wrapped you with fine linen and covered you with silk. **16:11** I adorned you with jewelry. I put bracelets on your hands and a necklace around your neck. **16:12** I put a ring in your nose, earrings on your ears, and a beautiful crown on your head. **16:13** You were adorned with gold and silver, while your clothing was of fine linen, silk, and embroidery. You ate the finest flour, honey, and olive oil. You became extremely beautiful and attained the position of royalty. **16:14** Your fame⁸ spread among the nations because of your beauty; your beauty was perfect because of the splendor which I

bestowed on you, declares the sovereign LORD.⁹

16:15 “But you trusted in your beauty and capitalized on your fame by becoming a prostitute. You offered your sexual favors to every man who passed by so that your beauty¹⁰ became his.

16:16 You took some of your clothing and made for yourself decorated high places; you engaged in prostitution on them. You went to him to become his.¹¹ **16:17** You also took your beautiful jewelry, made of my gold and my silver I had given to you, and made for yourself male images and engaged in prostitution¹² with them. **16:18** You took your embroidered clothing and used it to cover them; you offered my olive oil and my incense to them. **16:19** As for my food that I gave you – the fine flour, olive oil, and honey I fed you – you placed it before them as a soothing aroma. That is exactly what happened, declares the sovereign LORD.

16:20 “You took your sons and your daughters whom you bore to me and you sacrificed them¹³ as food for the idols to eat. As if your prostitution not enough, **16:21** you slaughtered my children and sacrificed them to the idols.¹⁴ **16:22** And with all your abominable practices and prostitution you did not remember the days of your youth when you were naked and bare, kicking around in your blood.

16:23 “After all of your evil – “Woe! Woe to you!” declares the sovereign LORD – **16:24** you built yourself a chamber¹⁵ and put up a pavilion¹⁶ in every public square. **16:25** At the head of every street you erected your pavilion and you disgraced¹⁷ your beauty when you

¹ **sn** Arab midwives still cut the umbilical cords of infants and then proceed to apply salt and oil to their bodies.

² **sn** These verbs, “pity” and “spare,” echo the judgment oracles in 5:11; 7:4, 9; 8:18; 9:5, 10.

³ **sn** A similar concept is found in Deut 32:10.

⁴ **tc** The translation reflects the Hebrew text, which repeats the statement, perhaps for emphasis. However, a few medieval Hebrew manuscripts, the Old Greek, and the Syriac do not include the repetition. The statement could have been accidentally repeated or the second occurrence could have been accidentally omitted. Based on the available evidence it is difficult to know which is more likely.

⁵ **tn** The word *hinneh*, traditionally “behold” indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a participle.

⁶ **tn** See similar use of this term in Ezek 23:17; Prov 7:16; Song of Songs 4:10; 7:13.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “wing” or “skirt.” The gesture symbolized acquiring a woman in early Arabia (similarly, see Deut 22:30; Ruth 3:9).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “name.”

⁹ **sn** The description of the nation Israel in vv. 10-14 recalls the splendor of the nation’s golden age under King Solomon.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “it” (so KJV, ASV); the referent (the beauty in which the prostitute trusted, see the beginning of the verse) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹¹ **tc** The text as written in the MT is incomprehensible (“not coming [plural] and he will not”). Driver has suggested a copying error of similar-sounding words, specifically *לֹא* (*lo’*) for *לו’* (*lo’*). The feminine participle *בָּאוֹת* (*va’ot*) has also been read as the feminine perfect *בָּאוּ* (*va’u’*). See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:228, n. 15.b, and D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:486, n. 137.

¹² **tn** Or perhaps “and worshiped them,” if the word “prostitution” is understood in a figurative rather than a literal sense (cf. CEV, NLT).

¹³ **sn** The sacrifice of children was prohibited in Lev 18:21; 20:2; Deut 12:31; 18:10.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and you gave them, by passing them through to them.” Some believe this alludes to the pagan practice of making children pass through the fire.

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew *בֵּית* (*bet*) may represent more than one word, each rare in the Old Testament. It may refer to a “mound” or to “rafters.” The LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate interpret this as a brothel.

¹⁶ **tn** Or “lofty place” (NRSV). See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:229, and B. Lang, *Frau Weisheit*, 137.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “treated as if abominable,” i.e., repudiated.

spread¹ your legs to every passerby and multiplied your promiscuity. **16:26** You engaged in prostitution with the Egyptians, your sexually aroused neighbors,² multiplying your promiscuity and provoking me to anger. **16:27** So see here, I have stretched out my hand against you and cut off your rations. I have delivered you into the power of those who hate you, the daughters of the Philistines, who were ashamed by your obscene conduct. **16:28** You engaged in prostitution with the Assyrians because your sexual desires were insatiable; you prostituted yourself with them and yet you were still not satisfied. **16:29** Then you multiplied your promiscuity to the land of merchants, Babylonia,³ but you were not satisfied there either.

16:30 “How sick is your heart, declares the sovereign LORD, when you perform all of these acts, the deeds of a bold prostitute. **16:31** When you built your chamber at the head of every street and put up your pavilion in every public square, you were not like a prostitute, because you scoffed at payment.⁴

16:32 “Adulterous wife, who prefers strangers instead of her own husband! **16:33** All prostitutes receive payment,⁵ but instead you give gifts to every one of your lovers. You bribe them to come to you from all around for your sexual favors! **16:34** You were different from other prostitutes⁶ because no one solicited you. When you gave payment and no payment was given to you, you became the opposite!

16:35 “Therefore O prostitute, hear the word of the LORD: **16:36** This is what the sovereign LORD says: Because your lust⁷ was poured out and your nakedness was uncovered in your prostitution with your lovers, and because of all your detestable idols, and because of the blood of your children you have given to them, **16:37** therefore, take note: I am about to gather all your lovers whom you enjoyed, both all those you loved and all those you hated. I will gather them against you from all around, and I will expose your nakedness to them, and they will see all your nakedness.⁸ **16:38** I will

punish you as an adulteress and murderer deserves.⁹ I will avenge your bloody deeds with furious rage.¹⁰ **16:39** I will give you into their hands and they will destroy your chambers and tear down your pavilions. They will strip you of your clothing and take your beautiful jewelry and leave you naked and bare. **16:40** They will summon a mob who will stone you and hack you in pieces with their swords. **16:41** They will burn down your houses and execute judgments on you in front of many women. Thus I will put a stop to your prostitution, and you will no longer give gifts to your clients.¹¹ **16:42** I will exhaust my rage on you, and then my fury will turn from you. I will calm down and no longer be angry.

16:43 “Because you did not remember the days of your youth and have enraged me with all these deeds, I hereby repay you for what you have done,¹² declares the sovereign LORD. Have you not engaged in prostitution on top of all your other abominable practices?

16:44 “Observe – everyone who quotes proverbs will quote this proverb about you: “Like mother, like daughter.” **16:45** You are the daughter of your mother, who detested her husband and her sons, and you are the sister of your sisters who detested their husbands and their sons. Your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite. **16:46** Your older sister was Samaria, who lived north¹³ of you with her daughters, and your younger sister, who lived south¹⁴ of you, was Sodom¹⁵ with her daughters. **16:47** Have you not copied their behavior¹⁶ and practiced their abominable deeds? In a short time¹⁷ you became even more depraved in all your conduct than they were! **16:48** As surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, your sister Sodom and her daughters never behaved as wickedly as you and your daughters have behaved.

16:49 “See here – this was the iniquity¹⁸ of your sister Sodom: She and her daughters had majesty, abundance of food, and enjoyed care-free ease, but they did not help¹⁹ the poor and needy. **16:50** They were haughty and practiced abominable deeds before me. Therefore when I saw it I removed them. **16:51** Samaria has not

¹ **tn** The only other occurrence of the Hebrew root is found in Prov 13:3 in reference to the talkative person who habitually “opens wide” his lips.

² **tn** Heb “your neighbors, large of flesh.” The word “flesh” is used here of the genitals. It may simply refer to the size of their genitals in general, or, as the translation suggests, depicts them as sexually aroused.

³ **tn** Heb “Chaldea.” The name of the tribal group ruling Babylon (“Chaldeans”) and the territory from which they originated (“Chaldea”) is used as metonymy for the whole empire of Babylon.

⁴ **tn** The Hebrew term, which also occurs in vv. 34 and 41 of this chapter, always refers to the payment of a prostitute (Deut 23:19; Isa 23:17; Hos 9:1; Mic 1:7).

⁵ **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT.

⁶ **tn** Heb “With you it was opposite of women in your prostitution.”

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew word occurs only here in the OT.

⁸ **sn** Harlots suffered degradation when their nakedness was exposed (Jer 13:22, 26; Hos 2:12; Nah 3:5).

⁹ **tn** Heb “and I will judge you (with) the judgments of adulteresses and of those who shed blood.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and I will give you the blood of rage and zeal.”

¹¹ **tn** The words “to your clients” are not in the Hebrew text but are implied.

¹² **tn** Heb “your way on (your) head I have placed.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “left.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “right.”

¹⁵ **sn** Sodom was the epitome of evil (Deut 29:23; 32:32; Isa 1:9-10; 3:9; Jer 23:14; Lam 4:6; Matt 10:15; 11:23-24; Jude 7).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “walked in their ways.”

¹⁷ **tn** The Hebrew expression has a temporal meaning as illustrated by the use of the phrase in 2 Chr 12:7.

¹⁸ **tn** Or “guilt.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “strengthen the hand of.”

committed half the sins you have; you have done more abominable deeds than they did.¹ You have made your sisters appear righteous with all the abominable things you have done. **16:52** So now, bear your disgrace, because you have given your sisters reason to justify their behavior.² Because the sins you have committed were more abominable than those of your sisters; they have become more righteous than you. So now, be ashamed and bear the disgrace of making your sisters appear righteous.

16:53 “I will restore their fortunes, the fortunes of Sodom and her daughters, and the fortunes of Samaria and her daughters (along with your fortunes among them), **16:54** so that you may bear your disgrace and be ashamed of all you have done in consoling them. **16:55** As for your sisters, Sodom and her daughters will be restored to their former status, Samaria and her daughters will be restored to their former status, and you and your daughters will be restored to your former status. **16:56** In your days of majesty,³ was not Sodom your sister a byword in your mouth, **16:57** before your evil was exposed? Now you have become an object of scorn to the daughters of Aram⁴ and all those around her and to the daughters of the Philistines – those all around you who despise you. **16:58** You must bear your punishment for your obscene conduct and your abominable practices, declares the LORD.

16:59 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says: I will deal with you according to what you have done when you despised your oath by breaking your covenant. **16:60** Yet I will remember the covenant I made with you in the days of your youth, and I will establish a lasting⁵ covenant with you. **16:61** Then you will remember your conduct, and be ashamed when you receive your older and younger sisters. I will give them to you as daughters, but not on account of my covenant with you. **16:62** I will establish my covenant with you, and then you will know that I am the LORD. **16:63** Then you will remember, be ashamed, and remain silent⁶ when I make atonement for all you have done,⁷ declares the sovereign LORD.”

¹ **tn** Or “you have multiplied your abominable deeds beyond them.”

² **tn** *Heb* “because you have interceded for your sisters with your sins.”

³ **tn** Or “pride.”

⁴ **tc** So MT, LXX, and Vulgate; many Hebrew MSS and Syriac read “Edom.”

⁵ **tn** Or “eternal.”

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and your mouth will not be open any longer.”

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “when I make atonement for you for all which you have done.”

A Parable of Two Eagles and a Vine

17:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **17:2** “Son of man, offer a riddle,⁸ and tell a parable to the house of Israel. **17:3** Say to them: ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:⁹

“A great eagle¹⁰ with broad wings, long feathers,¹¹ with full plumage which was multi-hued,¹² came to Lebanon¹³ and took the top of the cedar.

17:4 He plucked off its topmost shoot; he brought it to a land of merchants and planted it in a city of traders.

17:5 He took one of the seedlings¹⁴ of the land, placed it in a cultivated plot;¹⁵ a shoot by abundant water, like a willow he planted it.

17:6 It sprouted and became a vine, spreading low to the ground;¹⁶ its branches turning toward him,¹⁷ its roots were under itself.¹⁸

So it became a vine; it produced shoots and sent out branches.

17:7 “There was another great eagle¹⁹ with broad wings and thick plumage. Now this vine twisted its roots toward him

and sent its branches toward him to be watered from the soil where it was planted.

17:8 In a good field, by abundant waters, it was planted to grow branches, bear fruit, and become a beautiful vine.

17:9 “Say to them: This is what the sovereign LORD says:

⁸ **sn** The verb occurs elsewhere in the OT only in Judg 14:12-19, where Samson supplies a riddle.

⁹ **tn** The parable assumes the defection of Zedekiah to Egypt and his rejection of Babylonian lordship.

¹⁰ **sn** The *great eagle* symbolizes Nebuchadnezzar (17:12).

¹¹ **tn** Hebrew has two words for wings; it is unknown whether they are fully synonymous or whether one term distinguishes a particular part of the wing such as the wing coverts (nearest the shoulder), secondaries (mid-feathers of the wing) or primaries (last and longest section of the wing).

¹² **tn** This term was used in 16:10, 13, and 18 of embroidered cloth.

¹³ **sn** In the parable *Lebanon* apparently refers to Jerusalem (17:12).

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “took of the seed of the land.” For the vine imagery, “seedling” is a better translation, though in its subsequent interpretation the “seed” refers to Zedekiah through its common application to offspring.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “a field for seed.”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “short of stature.”

¹⁷ **tn** That is, the eagle.

¹⁸ **tn** Or “him,” i.e., the eagle.

¹⁹ **sn** The phrase *another great eagle* refers to Pharaoh Hophra.

“Will it prosper?
Will he not rip out its roots
and cause its fruit to rot¹ and wither?
All its foliage² will wither.
No strong arm or large army
will be needed to pull it out by its roots.³
17:10 Consider! It is planted, but will it
prosper?
Will it not wither completely when the
east wind blows on it?
Will it not wither in the soil where it
sprouted?”

17:11 Then the word of the LORD came to me: **17:12** “Say to the rebellious house of Israel:⁴ ‘Don’t you know what these things mean?’⁵ Say: ‘See here, the king of Babylon came to Jerusalem⁶ and took her king and her officials prisoner and brought them to himself in Babylon. **17:13** He took one from the royal family,⁷ made a treaty with him, and put him under oath.⁸ He then took the leaders of the land **17:14** so it would be a lowly kingdom which could not rise on its own but must keep its treaty with him in order to stand. **17:15** But this one from Israel’s royal family⁹ rebelled against the king of Babylon¹⁰ by sending his emissaries to Egypt to obtain horses and a large army. Will he prosper? Will the one doing these things escape? Can he break the covenant and escape?’

17:16 “‘As surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, surely in the city¹¹ of the king who crowned him, whose oath he despised and whose covenant he broke – in the middle of Babylon he will die! **17:17** Pharaoh with his great army and mighty horde will not help¹² him in battle, when siege ramps are erected and siege-walls are built to kill many people. **17:18** He despised the oath by breaking the covenant.

Take note¹³ – he gave his promise¹⁴ and did all these things – he will not escape!

17:19 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: As surely as I live, I will certainly repay him¹⁵ for despising my oath and breaking my covenant! **17:20** I will throw my net over him and he will be caught in my snare; I will bring him to Babylon and judge him there because of the unfaithfulness he committed against me. **17:21** All the choice men¹⁶ among his troops will die¹⁷ by the sword and the survivors will be scattered to every wind. Then you will know that I, the LORD, have spoken!

17:22 “This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“I will take a sprig¹⁸ from the lofty top of the cedar and plant it.¹⁹

I will pluck from the top one of its tender twigs;

I myself will plant it on a high and lofty mountain.

17:23 I will plant it on a high mountain of Israel,

and it will raise branches and produce fruit and become a beautiful cedar.

Every bird will live under it;

Every winged creature will live in the shade of its branches.

17:24 All the trees of the field will know that I am the LORD.

I make the high tree low; I raise up the low tree.

I make the green tree wither, and I make the dry tree sprout.

I, the LORD, have spoken, and I will do it!”

Individual Retribution

18:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **18:2** “What do you mean by quoting this proverb concerning the land of Israel,

“The fathers eat sour grapes

And the children’s teeth become numb?”²⁰

¹ **tn** The Hebrew root occurs only here in the OT and appears to have the meaning of “strip off.” In application to fruit the meaning may be “cause to rot.”

² **tn** *Heb* “all the תרפי (tarpey) of branches.” The word תרפי occurs only here in the Bible; its precise meaning is uncertain.

³ **tn** Or “there will be no strong arm or large army when it is pulled up by the roots.”

⁴ **tn** The words “of Israel” are not in the Hebrew text, but are supplied in the translation as a clarification of the referent.

sn The book of Ezekiel frequently refers to the Israelites as a rebellious house (Ezek 2:5, 6, 8; 3:9, 26-27; 12:2-3, 9, 25; 17:12; 24:3).

⁵ **sn** The narrative description of this interpretation of the riddle is given in 2 Kgs 24:11-15.

⁶ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁷ **tn** Or “descendants”; *Heb* “seed” (cf. v. 5).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “caused him to enter into an oath.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “he”; the referent (the member of the royal family, v. 13) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “him”; the referent (the king of Babylon) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “place.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “deal with” or “work with.”

¹³ **tn** The word הנה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates being aware of or taking notice of something.

¹⁴ **sn** *Heb* “hand.” “Giving one’s hand” is a gesture of promise (2 Kgs 10:15).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “place it on his head.”

¹⁶ **tc** Some manuscripts and versions read “choice men,” while most manuscripts read “fugitives”; the difference arises from the reversal, or metathesis, of two letters, מִבְּרָחִי (*mivvakhry*) for מִבְּרָחִי (*mivvakhry*).

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “fall.”

¹⁸ **sn** The language is analogous to messianic imagery in Isa 11:1; Zech 3:8; 6:4 although the technical terminology is not the same.

¹⁹ **tc** The LXX lacks “and plant it.”

²⁰ **tn** This word only occurs here and in the parallel passage in Jer 31:29-30 in the Qal stem and in Eccl 10:10 in the Piel stem. In the latter passage it refers to the bluntness of an ax that has not been sharpened. Here the idea is of the “bluntness” of the teeth, not from having ground them down due to the bitter taste of sour grapes but to the fact that they have lost their “edge,” “bite,” or “sharpness” because they are numb from the sour taste. For this meaning for the word, see W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah* (Hermeneia), 2:197.

18:3 “As surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD,¹ you will not quote this proverb in Israel anymore! **18:4** Indeed! All lives are mine – the life of the father as well as the life of the son is mine. The one² who sins will die.

18:5 “Suppose a man is righteous. He practices what is just and right, **18:6** does not eat pagan sacrifices on the mountains³ or pray to the idols⁴ of the house of Israel, does not defile his neighbor’s wife, does not have sexual relations with⁵ a woman during her period, **18:7** does not oppress anyone, but gives the debtor back whatever was given in pledge,⁶ does not commit robbery,⁷ but gives his bread to the hungry and clothes the naked, **18:8** does not engage in usury or charge interest,⁸ but refrains⁹ from wrongdoing, promotes true justice¹⁰ between men, **18:9** and follows my statutes and observes my regulations by carrying them out.¹¹ That man¹² is righteous; he will certainly live,¹³ declares the sovereign LORD.

18:10 “Suppose such a man has¹⁴ a violent son who sheds blood and does any of these things¹⁵ mentioned previously **18:11** (though the father did not do any of them).¹⁶ He eats pagan sacrifices on the mountains,¹⁷ defiles his neighbor’s wife, **18:12** oppresses the poor and

the needy,¹⁸ commits robbery, does not give back what was given in pledge, prays to¹⁹ idols, performs abominable acts, **18:13** engages in usury and charges interest. Will he live? He will not! Because he has done all these abominable deeds he will certainly die.²⁰ He will bear the responsibility for his own death.²¹

18:14 “But suppose he in turn has a son who notices all the sins his father commits, considers them, and does not follow his father’s example.²² **18:15** He does not eat pagan sacrifices on the mountains, does not pray to the idols of the house of Israel, does not defile his neighbor’s wife, **18:16** does not oppress anyone or keep what has been given in pledge, does not commit robbery, gives his food to the hungry, and clothes the naked, **18:17** refrains from wrongdoing,²³ does not engage in usury or charge interest, carries out my regulations and follows my statutes. He will not die for his father’s iniquity;²⁴ he will surely live. **18:18** As for his father, because he practices extortion, robs his brother, and does what is not good among his people, he will die for his iniquity.

18:19 “Yet you say, ‘Why should the son not suffer²⁵ for his father’s iniquity?’ When the son does what is just and right, and observes all my statutes and carries them out, he will surely live. **18:20** The person who sins is the one who will die. A son will not suffer²⁶ for his father’s iniquity, and a father will not suffer²⁷ for his son’s iniquity; the righteous person will be judged according to his righteousness, and the wicked person according to his wickedness.²⁸

18:21 “But if the wicked person turns from all the sin he has committed and observes all my statutes and does what is just and right, he will surely live; he will not die. **18:22** None of the sins he has committed will be held²⁹ against him; because of the righteousness he has done, he will live. **18:23** Do I actually delight in the death of the wicked, declares the sovereign

¹ **tn** This expression occurs often in Ezekiel (5:11; 14:16, 18, 20; 16:48; 17:16, 19; 20:3, 31, 33; 33:11, 27; 34:8; 35:6, 11).

² **tn** Heb “life.”

³ **tn** Heb “on the mountains he does not eat.” The mountains are often mentioned as the place where idolatrous sacrifices were eaten (Ezek 20:28; 22:9; 34:6).

⁴ **tn** Heb “does not lift up his eyes.” This refers to looking to idols for help.

⁵ **tn** Heb “does not draw near to.” “Draw near” is a euphemism for sexual intercourse (Lev 18:14; Deut 22:14; Isa 8:3).

⁶ **tn** Heb “restores to the debtor his pledge.” The root occurs in Exod 22:25 in reference to restoring a man’s garment as a pledge before nightfall.

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew term refers to seizure of property, usually by the rich (Isa 3:14; 10:2; Mic 2:2; see Lev 5:21, 22 HT [6:2, 3 ET]).

⁸ **sn** This law was given in Lev 25:36.

⁹ **tn** Heb, “turns back his hand.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “justice of truth.”

¹¹ **tc** The MT reads לעשות אמת (*la’asot ‘emet*, “to do with integrity”), while the LXX reads “to do them,” presupposing לעשות אמת (*la’asot ‘otam*). The ׁ (*mem*) and ת (*tav*) have been reversed in the MT. The LXX reflects the original, supported by similar phrasing in Ezekiel 11:20; 20:19.

¹² **tn** Heb “he.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “living, he will live.” The infinitive absolute precedes the finite verb for emphasis.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “begets.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “and he does, a brother, from one of these.” If “brother” is retained, it may be an adverbial accusative, “against a brother” (i.e., fellow Israelite). But the form is likely dittographic (note the הא [*aleph-heth*] combination in the following form).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “and he all of these did not do.” The parenthetical note refers back to the father described in the preceding verses.

¹⁷ **sn** See note on “mountains” in v. 6.

¹⁸ **sn** The poor and needy are often mentioned together in the OT (Deut 24:14; Jer 22:16; Ezek 16:49; Ps 12:6; 35:10; 37:14).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “lifts up his eyes.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “be put to death.” The translation follows an alternative reading that appears in several ancient textual witnesses.

²¹ **tn** Heb “his blood will be upon him.”

²² **tn** Heb “and he sees and does not do likewise.”

²³ **tc** This translation follows the LXX. The MT reads “restrains his hand from the poor,” which makes no sense here.

²⁴ **tn** Or “in his father’s punishment.” The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity/punishment” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here and in vv. 18, 19, 20; 3:18, 19; 4:17; 7:13, 16; 24:23; 33:6, 8, 9; 39:23. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment for iniquity.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “lift up, bear.”

²⁶ **tn** Heb “lift up, bear.”

²⁷ **tn** Heb “lift up, bear.”

²⁸ **tn** Heb “the righteousness of the righteous one will be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked one will be upon him.”

²⁹ **tn** Heb “remembered.”

LORD? Do I not prefer that he turn from his wicked conduct and live?

18:24 “But if a righteous man turns away from his righteousness and practices wrongdoing according to all the abominable practices the wicked carry out, will he live? All his righteous acts will not be remembered; because of the unfaithful acts he has done and the sin he has committed, he will die.¹

18:25 “Yet you say, ‘The Lord’s conduct² is unjust!’ Hear, O house of Israel: Is my conduct unjust? Is it not your conduct that is unjust?

18:26 When a righteous person turns back from his righteousness and practices wrongdoing, he will die for it,³ because of the wrongdoing he has done, he will die. **18:27** When a wicked person turns from the wickedness he has committed and does what is just and right, he will preserve his life. **18:28** Because he considered⁴ and turned from all the sins he had done, he will surely live; he will not die. **18:29** Yet the house of Israel says, ‘The Lord’s conduct is unjust!’ Is my conduct unjust, O house of Israel? Is it not your conduct that is unjust?

18:30 “Therefore I will judge each person according to his conduct,⁵ O house of Israel, declares the sovereign LORD. Repent⁶ and turn from all your wickedness; then it will not be an obstacle leading to iniquity.⁷ **18:31** Throw away all your sins you have committed and fashion yourselves a new heart and a new spirit!⁸ Why should you die, O house of Israel? **18:32** For I take no delight in the death of anyone,⁹ declares the sovereign LORD. Repent and live!

Lament for the Princes of Israel

19:1 “And you, sing¹⁰ a lament for the princes of Israel, **19:2** and say:

“What a lioness was your mother among the lions!

She lay among young lions;¹¹ she reared her cubs.

19:3 She reared one of her cubs; he became a young lion.

He learned to tear prey; he devoured people.¹²

19:4 The nations heard about him; he was trapped in their pit. They brought him with hooks to the land of Egypt.¹³

19:5 “When she realized that she waited in vain, her hope was lost. She took another of her cubs¹⁴ and made him a young lion.

19:6 He walked about among the lions; he became a young lion. He learned to tear prey; he devoured people.

19:7 He broke down¹⁵ their strongholds¹⁶ and devastated their cities. The land and everything in it was frightened at the sound of his roaring.

19:8 The nations – the surrounding regions – attacked him. They threw their net over him; he was caught in their pit.

19:9 They put him in a collar with hooks;¹⁷ they brought him to the king of Babylon; they brought him to prison¹⁸ so that his voice would not be heard any longer on the mountains of Israel.

19:10 “Your mother was like a vine in your vineyard,¹⁹ planted by water.

¹³ **sn** The description applies to king Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:31-34; Jer 22:10-12).

¹⁴ **sn** The identity of this second lion is unclear; the referent is probably Jehoiakim or Zedekiah. If the lioness is Hamutal, then Zedekiah is the lion described here.

¹⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text reads “knew,” but is apparently the result of a דָּרַךְ (*dalet-resh*) confusion. For a defense of the emendation, see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:284. However, Allen retains the reading “widows” as the object of the verb, which he understands in the sense of “do harm to,” and translates the line: “He did harm to women by making them widows” (p. 282). The line also appears to be lacking a beat for the meter of the poem.

¹⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads “widows” instead of “strongholds,” apparently due to a confusion of רָ (resh) and לָ (*lamed*). L. C. Allen (*Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:284) favors the traditional text, understanding “widows” in the sense of “women made widows.” D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:602) also defends the Hebrew text, arguing that the image is that of a dominant male lion who takes over the pride and by copulating with the females lays claim to his predecessor’s “widows.”

¹⁷ **tn** Or “They put him in a neck stock with hooks.” The noun סוּגָר (*sugar*), translated “collar,” occurs only here in the Bible. L. C. Allen and D. I. Block point out a Babylonian cognate that refers to a device for transporting prisoners of war that held them by their necks (D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:597, n. 35; L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 1:284). Based on the Hebrew root, the traditional rendering had been “cage” (cf. ASV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁸ **tc** The term in the MT occurs only here and in Eccl 9:12 where it refers to a net for catching fish. The LXX translates this as “prison,” which assumes a confusion of *dalet* and *resh* took place in the MT.

¹⁹ **tc** The Hebrew text reads “in your blood,” but most emend to “in your vineyard,” assuming a בֶּתֶךָ (*beth-kaph*) confusion. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 1:284. Another attractive emendation assumes a faulty word division and yields the reading “like a vine full of tendrils, which/because...”; see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:607, n. 68.

¹ **tn** Heb “because of them he will die.”

² **tn** Heb “way.”

³ **tn** Heb “for them” or “because of them.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “he saw.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “ways.”

⁶ **tn** The verbs and persons in this verse are plural whereas the individual has been the subject of the chapter.

⁷ **tn** Or “leading to punishment.”

⁸ **sn** In Ezek 11:19, 36:26 the new heart and new spirit are promised as future blessings.

⁹ **tn** Heb “the death of the one dying.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “lift up.”

¹¹ **sn** Lions probably refer to Judahite royalty and/or nobility. The lioness appears to symbolize the Davidic dynasty, though some see the referent as Hamutal, the wife of Josiah and mother of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah. Gen 49:9 seems to be the background for Judah being compared to lions.

¹² **tn** Heb “a man.”

It was fruitful and full of branches because it was well-watered.

19:11 Its boughs were strong, fit¹ for rulers' scepters; it reached up into the clouds.

It stood out because of its height and its many branches.²

19:12 But it was plucked up in anger; it was thrown down to the ground.

The east wind³ dried up its fruit; its strong branches broke off and withered –

a fire consumed them.

19:13 Now it is planted in the wilderness, in a dry and thirsty land.⁴

19:14 A fire has gone out from its branch; it has consumed its shoot and its fruit.⁵

No strong branch was left in it, nor a scepter to rule.⁶

This is a lament song, and has become a lament song.”

Israel's Rebellion

20:1 In the seventh year, in the fifth month, on the tenth of the month,⁶ some of the elders⁷ of Israel came to seek⁸ the LORD, and they sat down in front of me. **20:2** The word of the LORD came to me: **20:3** “Son of man, speak to the elders of Israel, and tell them: ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Are you coming to seek me? As surely as I live, I will not allow you to seek me,’⁹ declares the sovereign LORD.” **20:4** “Are you willing to pronounce judgment?¹⁰ Are you willing to pronounce judgment, son of man? Then confront them with the abominable practices of their fathers, **20:5** and say to them:

“This is what the sovereign LORD says: On the day I chose Israel I swore¹¹ to the descendants¹² of the house of Jacob and made myself known to them in the land of Egypt. I swore¹³ to them, “I am the LORD your God.” **20:6** On that day I swore¹⁴ to bring them out of the land

of Egypt to a land which I had picked out¹⁵ for them, a land flowing with milk and honey,¹⁶ the most beautiful of all lands. **20:7** I said to them, “Each of you must get rid of the detestable idols you keep before you,¹⁷ and do not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt; I am the LORD your God.” **20:8** But they rebelled against me, and refused to listen to me; no one got rid of their detestable idols,¹⁸ nor did they abandon the idols of Egypt. Then I decided to pour out¹⁹ my rage on them and fully vent my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt. **20:9** I acted for the sake of my reputation,²⁰ so that I would not be profaned before the nations among whom they lived,²¹ before whom I revealed myself by bringing them out of the land of Egypt.²²

20:10 “So I brought them out of the land of Egypt and led them to the wilderness. **20:11** I gave them my statutes²³ and revealed my regulations to them. The one²⁴ who carries²⁵ them out will live by them!²⁶ **20:12** I also gave them my Sabbaths²⁷ as a reminder of our relationship,²⁸ so that they would know that I, the LORD, sanctify them.” **20:13** But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness; they did not follow my statutes and they rejected my regulations (the one who obeys them will live by them), and they utterly desecrated my Sabbaths. So I decided to pour out³⁰ my rage on them in the wilderness and destroy them.³¹ **20:14** I acted for the sake of my reputa-

¹⁵ **tn** Or “searched out.” The Hebrew word is used to describe the activity of the spies in “spying out” the land of Canaan (Num 13:14); cf. KJV “I had espied for them.”

¹⁶ **sn** The phrase “a land flowing with milk and honey,” a figure of speech describing the land’s abundant fertility, occurs in v. 15 as well as Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev 20:24; Num 13:27; Deut 6:3; 11:9; 26:9; 27:3; Josh 5:6; Jer 11:5; 32:23 (see also Deut 1:25; 8:7-9).

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “each one, the detestable things of his eyes, throw away.” The Pentateuch does not refer to the Israelites worshipping idols in Egypt, but Josh 24:14 appears to suggest that they did so.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “each one, the detestable things of their eyes did not throw away.”

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “and I said/thought to pour out.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “for the sake of my name.”

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “before the eyes of the nations in whose midst they were.”

²² **tn** *Heb* “to whom I made myself known before their eyes to bring them out from the land of Egypt.” The translation understands the infinitive construct (“to bring them out”) as indicating manner. God’s deliverance of his people from Egypt was an act of self-revelation in that it displayed his power and his commitment to his promises.

²³ **sn** The laws were given at Mount Sinai.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the man.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “does.”

²⁶ **tn** The wording and the concept is contained in Lev 18:5 and Deut 30:15-19.

²⁷ **sn** Ezekiel’s contemporary, Jeremiah, also stressed the importance of obedience to the Sabbath law (Jer 17).

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “to become a sign between me and them.”

²⁹ **tn** Or “set them apart.” The last phrase of verse 12 appears to be a citation of Exod 31:13.

³⁰ **tn** *Heb* “and I said/thought to pour out.”

³¹ **tn** *Heb* “to bring them to an end.”

¹ **tn** The word “fit” does not occur in the Hebrew text.

² **tn** *Heb* “and it was seen by its height and by the abundance of its branches.”

³ **sn** The east wind symbolizes the Babylonians.

⁴ **sn** This metaphor depicts the Babylonian exile of the Davidic dynasty.

⁵ **tn** The verse describes the similar situation recorded in Judg 9:20.

⁶ **sn** The date would be August 14th, 591 B.C. The seventh year is the seventh year of Jehoiachin’s exile.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “men from the elders.”

⁸ **tn** See the note at 14:3.

⁹ **tn** Or “I will not reveal myself to you.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “will you judge.” Here the imperfect form of the verb is probably used with a desiderative nuance. Addressed to the prophet, “judge” means to warn of or pronounce God’s impending judgment.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “I lifted up my hand.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “seed.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “I lifted up my hand.”

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “I lifted up my hand to them.”

tion, so that I would not be profaned before the nations in whose sight I had brought them out. **20:15** I also swore⁴ to them in the wilderness that I would not bring them to the land I had given them – a land flowing with milk and honey, the most beautiful of all lands. **20:16** I did this² because they rejected my regulations, did not follow my statutes, and desecrated my Sabbaths; for their hearts followed their idols.³ **20:17** Yet I had pity on⁴ them and did not destroy them, so I did not make an end of them in the wilderness.

20:18 “But I said to their children⁵ in the wilderness, “Do not follow the practices of your fathers; do not observe their regulations,⁶ nor defile yourselves with their idols. **20:19** I am the LORD your God; follow my statutes, observe my regulations, and carry them out. **20:20** Treat my Sabbaths as holy⁷ and they will be a reminder of our relationship,⁸ and then you will know that I am the LORD your God.” **20:21** “But the children⁹ rebelled against me, did not follow my statutes, did not observe my regulations by carrying them out (the one who obeys¹⁰ them will live by them), and desecrated my Sabbaths. I decided to pour out¹¹ my rage on them and fully vent my anger against them in the wilderness. **20:22** But I refrained from doing so,¹² and acted instead for the sake of my reputation, so that I would not be profaned before the nations in whose sight I had brought them out. **20:23** I also swore¹³ to them in the wilderness that I would scatter them among the nations and disperse them throughout the lands. **20:24** I did this¹⁵ because they did not observe my regulations, they rejected my statutes, they desecrated my Sabbaths, and their

eyes were fixed on¹⁶ their fathers’ idols. **20:25** I also gave¹⁷ them decrees¹⁸ which were not good and regulations by which they could not live. **20:26** I declared them to be defiled because of their sacrifices¹⁹ – they caused all their first born to pass through the fire²⁰ – so that I would devastate them, so that they will know that I am the LORD.”²¹

20:27 “Therefore, speak to the house of Israel, son of man, and tell them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: In this way too your fathers blasphemed me when they were unfaithful to me. **20:28** I brought them to the land which I swore²² to give them, but whenever they saw any high hill or leafy tree, they offered their sacrifices there and presented the offerings that provoke me to anger. They offered their soothing aroma there and poured out their drink offerings. **20:29** So I said to them, ‘What is this high place you go to?’” (So it is called “High Place”²³ to this day.)

20:30 “Therefore say to the house of Israel, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Will you defile yourselves like your fathers²⁴ and engage in prostitution with detestable idols? **20:31** When you present your sacrifices²⁵ – when you make your sons pass through the fire – you defile yourselves with all your idols to this very day. Will I allow you to seek me,²⁶ O house of Israel? As surely as I live, declares the

¹ **tn** Heb “I lifted up my hand.”

² **tn** The words “I did this” are not in the Hebrew text, but are supplied for stylistic reasons. Verses 15-16 are one long sentence in the Hebrew text. The translation divides this sentence into two for stylistic reasons.

³ **tn** Heb “for after their idols their heart was going.” The use of the active participle (“was going”) in the Hebrew text draws attention to the ongoing nature of their idolatrous behavior.

⁴ **tn** Heb “my eye pitied.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “sons,” reflecting the patriarchal idiom of the culture.

⁶ **tn** Or “standard of justice.” See Ezek 7:27.

⁷ **tn** Or “set apart my Sabbaths.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “and they will become a sign between me and you.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “sons.”

¹⁰ **tn** Or “carries them out.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “and I said/thought to pour out.”

¹² **tn** Heb “drew my hand back.” This idiom also occurs in Lam 2:8 and Ps 74:11.

¹³ **tn** Heb “I lifted up my hand.”

¹⁴ **sn** Though the Pentateuch does not seem to know of this episode, Ps 106:26-27 may speak of God’s oath to exile the people before they had entered Canaan.

¹⁵ **tn** The words “I did this” are not in the Hebrew text, but are supplied for stylistic reasons. Verses 23-24 are one long sentence in the Hebrew text. The translation divides this sentence into two for stylistic reasons.

¹⁶ **tn** Or “they worshiped” (NCV, TEV, CEV); Heb “their eyes were on” or “were after” (cf. v. 16).

¹⁷ **tn** Or “permitted.”

¹⁸ **sn** The content of the verse is shocking: that God would “give” bad decrees. This probably does not refer to the Mosaic law but to the practices of the Canaanites who were left in the land in order to test Israel. See Judg 2:20-23, the note on “decrees” in v. 25, and the note on “pass through the fire” in v. 26.

¹⁹ **tn** The Hebrew term חֻקֹּת (*khuqot*; translated “statutes” elsewhere in this chapter) is normally feminine. Here Ezekiel changes the form to masculine: חֻקִּים (*khuqim*). Further, they are not called “my decrees” as vv. 11 and 13 refer to “my statutes.” The change is a signal that Ezekiel is not talking about the same statutes in vv. 11 and 13, which lead to life.

²⁰ **tn** Or “gifts.”

²¹ **sn** This act is prohibited in Deut 12:29-31 and Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35. See also 2 Kgs 21:6; 23:10. This custom indicates that the laws the Israelites were following were the disastrous laws of pagan nations (see Ezek 16:20-21).

²² **sn** God sometimes punishes sin by inciting the sinner to sin even more, as the biblical examples of divine hardening and deceit make clear. See Robert B. Chisholm, Jr., “Divine Hardening in the Old Testament,” *BSac* 153 (1996): 410-34; idem, “Does God Deceive?” *BSac* 155 (1998): 11-28. For other instances where the Lord causes individuals to act unwisely or even sinfully as punishment for sin, see 1 Sam 2:25; 2 Sam 17:14; 1 Kgs 12:15; 2 Chr 25:20.

²³ **tn** Heb “which I lifted up my hand.”

²⁴ **tn** The Hebrew word (“Bamah”) means “high place.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “in the way of your fathers.”

²⁶ **tn** Or “gifts.”

²⁷ **tn** Or “Will I reveal myself to you?”

sovereign LORD, I will not allow you to seek me!¹⁴

20:32 “What you plan² will never happen. You say, “We will be³ like the nations, like the clans of the lands, who serve gods of wood and stone.”⁴

20:33 As surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, with a powerful hand and an outstretched arm,⁵ and with an outpouring of rage, I will be king over you. **20:34** I will bring you out from the nations, and will gather you from the lands where you are scattered, with a powerful hand and an outstretched arm and with an outpouring of rage! **20:35** I will bring you into the wilderness of the nations, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. **20:36** Just as I entered into judgment with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so I will enter into judgment with you, declares the sovereign LORD. **20:37** I will make you pass under⁶ the shepherd’s staff,⁷ and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant. **20:38** I will eliminate from among you the rebels and those who revolt⁸ against me. I will bring them out from the land where they have been residing, but they will not come to the land of Israel. Then you will know that I am the LORD.

20:39 “As for you, O house of Israel, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Each of you go and serve your idols,⁹ if you will not listen to me.¹⁰ But my holy name will not be profaned¹¹ again by your sacrifices¹² and your idols. **20:40** For there on my holy mountain, the high mountain of Israel, declares the sovereign LORD, all the house of Israel will serve me, all of them¹³ in the land. I will accept them there, and there I will seek your contributions and your choice gifts, with all your holy things. **20:41** When I bring you out from the nations and gather you from the lands where you are scattered, I will accept you along with your soothing aroma. I will display my holiness among you in the sight of the nations. **20:42** Then you will know that I am the LORD when I bring you to the land of

Israel, to the land I swore¹⁴ to give to your fathers. **20:43** And there you will remember your conduct¹⁵ and all your deeds by which you defiled yourselves. You will despise yourselves¹⁶ because of all the evil deeds you have done. **20:44** Then you will know that I am the LORD, when I deal with you for the sake of my reputation and not according to your wicked conduct and corrupt deeds, O house of Israel, declares the sovereign LORD.”

Prophecy Against the South

20:45 (21:1)¹⁷ The word of the LORD came to me: **20:46** “Son of man, turn toward¹⁸ the south,¹⁹ and speak out against the south.²⁰ Prophecy against the open scrub²¹ land of the Negev, **20:47** and say to the scrub land of the Negev, ‘Hear the word of the LORD: This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look here,²² I am about to start a fire in you,²³ and it will devour every green tree and every dry tree in you. The flaming fire will not be extinguished, and the whole surface of the ground from the Negev to the north will be scorched by it. **20:48** And everyone²⁴ will see that I, the LORD, have burned it; it will not be extinguished.”

20:49 Then I said, “O sovereign LORD! They are saying of me, ‘Does he not simply speak in eloquent figures of speech?’”

The Sword of Judgment

21:1 (21:6)²⁵ The word of the LORD came to me: **21:2** “Son of man, turn toward²⁶ Jerusalem²⁷ and speak out against the sanctuaries. Prophecy against the land of Israel **21:3** and say

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “I lifted up my hand.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “ways.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “loathe yourselves in your faces.”

¹⁷ **sn** Beginning with **20:45**, the verse numbers through **21:32** in the English Bible differ by five from the verse numbers in the Hebrew text (*BHS*), with **20:45** ET = **21:1** HT, **20:46** ET = **21:2** HT, **21:1** ET = **21:6** HT etc., through **21:32** ET = **21:37** HT. Beginning with **22:1** the verse numbers in the English Bible and the Hebrew Bible are again the same.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “set your face toward.” This expression occurs as well in Ezek 6:2; 13:17.

¹⁹ **tn** Or “the way toward the south,” or “the way toward Teman.” Teman is in the south and may be a location or the direction.

²⁰ **tn** Or “toward Darom.” Darom may mean the south or a region just north of southern city of Beer Sheba. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:417-18.

²¹ **tn** The Hebrew term can also mean “forest,” but a meaning of uncultivated wasteland fits the Negev region far better. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:418.

²² **tn** The word הִינֵה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

²³ **tn** Fire also appears as a form of judgment in Ezek 15:4-7; 19:12, 14.

²⁴ **tn** Heb “all flesh.”

²⁵ **sn** Ezek **21:1** in the English Bible is **21:6** in the Hebrew text (*BHS*). See the note at 20:45.

²⁶ **tn** Heb “set your face toward.”

²⁷ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹ **tn** Or “I will not reveal myself to you.”

² **tn** Heb “what comes upon your mind.”

³ **tn** The Hebrew could also read: “Let us be.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “serving wood and stone.”

sn This verse echoes the content of 1 Sam 8:20.

⁵ **sn** This phrase occurs frequently in Deuteronomy (Deut 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8).

⁶ **tn** This is the same Hebrew verb used to describe the passing of the children through the fire.

⁷ **sn** The metaphor may be based in Lev 27:32 (see also Jer 33:13; Matt 25:32-33). A shepherd would count his sheep as they passed behind his staff.

⁸ **tn** See the note at 2:3.

⁹ **sn** Compare the irony here to Amos 4:4 and Jer 44:25.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and after, if you will not listen to me.” The translation leaves out “and after” for smoothness. The text is difficult. M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel* [AB], 1:374) suggests that it may mean “but afterwards, if you will not listen to me...” with an unspoken threat.

¹¹ **sn** A similar concept may be found in Lev 18:21; 20:3.

¹² **tn** Or “gifts.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “all of it.”

to them.¹ ‘This is what the LORD says: Look,² I am against you.³ I will draw my sword⁴ from its sheath and cut off from you both the righteous and the wicked.⁵ 21:4 Because I will cut off from you both the righteous and the wicked, my sword will go out from its sheath against everyone⁶ from the south⁷ to the north. 21:5 Then everyone will know that I am the LORD, who drew my sword from its sheath – it will not be sheathed again!’

21:6 “And you, son of man, groan with an aching heart⁸ and bitterness; groan before their eyes. 21:7 When they ask you, ‘Why are you groaning?’ you will reply, ‘Because of the report that has come. Every heart will melt with fear and every hand will be limp; everyone⁹ will faint and every knee will be wet with urine.’¹⁰ Pay attention – it is coming and it will happen, declares the sovereign LORD.”

21:8 The word of the LORD came to me: 21:9 “Son of man, prophesy and say: ‘This is what the Lord says:

“‘A sword, a sword is sharpened, and also polished.

21:10 It is sharpened for slaughter, it is polished to flash like lightning!

“‘Should we rejoice in the scepter of my son? No! The sword despises every tree!¹¹

¹ *tn* Heb “the land of Israel.”

² *tn* The word *hinnēh* (‘behold’) draws attention to something and has been translated here as a verb.

³ *tn* Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘*hinnen*’ *’ēlēkā*,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8.

⁴ *sn* This is the sword of judgment, see Isa 31:8; 34:6; 66:16.

⁵ *sn* Ezekiel elsewhere pictures the Lord’s judgment as discriminating between the righteous and the wicked (9:4-6; 18:1-20; see as well Pss 1 and 11) and speaks of the preservation of a remnant (3:21; 6:8; 12:16). Perhaps here he exaggerates for rhetorical effect in an effort to subdue any false optimism. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:25-26; D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:669-70; and W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Her-meneia), 1:424-25.

⁶ *tn* Heb “all flesh” (also in the following verse).

⁷ *tn* Heb “Negev.” The Negev is the south country.

⁸ *tn* Heb “breaking loins.”

⁹ *tn* Heb “every spirit will be dim.”

¹⁰ *sn* This expression depicts in a very vivid way how they will be overcome with fear. See the note on the same phrase in 7:17.

¹¹ *tn* Heb “Or shall we rejoice, scepter of my son, it despises every tree.” The translation understands the subject of the verb “despises,” which is a feminine form in the Hebrew text, to be the sword (which is a feminine noun) mentioned just before this. Alternatively, the line may be understood as “let us not rejoice, O tribe of my son; it despises every tree.” The same word in Hebrew may be either “rod,” “scepter,” or “tribe.” The word sometimes translated as “or” or taken as an interrogative particle may be a negative particle. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:672, n. 79.

sn The people of Judah should not place false hope in their king, symbolized by his royal scepter, for God’s judgment (symbolized by fire and then a sword) would destroy every tree (see 20:47), symbolizing the righteous and wicked (see 21:3-4).

21:11 “‘He gave it to be polished, to be grasped in the hand – the sword is sharpened, it is polished – giving it into the hand of the executioner.

21:12 Cry out and moan, son of man, for it is wielded against my people; against all the princes of Israel. They are delivered up to the sword, along with my people.

Therefore, strike your thigh.¹²

21:13 “‘For testing will come, and what will happen when the scepter, which the sword despises, is no more?¹³ declares the sovereign LORD.”

21:14 “And you, son of man, prophesy, and clap your hands together.

Let the sword strike twice, even three times!

It is a sword for slaughter, a sword for the great slaughter surrounding them.

21:15 So hearts melt with fear and many stumble.

At all their gates I have stationed the sword for slaughter.

Ah! It is made to flash, it is drawn for slaughter!

21:16 Cut sharply on the right!

Swing to¹⁴ the left, wherever your edge¹⁵ is appointed to strike.

21:17 I too will clap my hands together, I will exhaust my rage; I the LORD have spoken.”

21:18 The word of the LORD came to me: 21:19 “You, son of man, mark out two routes for the king of Babylon’s sword to take; both of them will originate in a single land. Make a signpost and put it at the beginning of the road leading to the city. 21:20 Mark out the routes for the sword to take: “Rabbah of the Ammonites” and “Judah with Jerusalem in it.”¹⁶

¹² *sn* This physical action was part of an expression of grief. Cp. Jer. 31:19.

¹³ *tn* Heb “For testing (will come) and what if also a scepter, it despises, will not be?” The translation understands the subject of the verb “despises,” which is a feminine form in the Hebrew text, to be the sword (which is a feminine noun) mentioned in the previous verses. The text is very difficult and any rendering is uncertain.

¹⁴ *tn* Heb “Put to.”

¹⁵ *tn* Heb “face.”

¹⁶ *tc* The MT reads “Judah in fortified Jerusalem,” a geographic impossibility. The translation follows the LXX, which assumes בְּתוֹכָהּ (*bē’tokhah*, “in it”) for בְּצִירָהּ (*bē’tsurah*, “fortified”).

sn As the Babylonians approached from the north, one road would branch off to the left and lead down the east side of the Jordan River to Ammon. The other road would veer to the right and lead down west of the Jordan to Jerusalem.

21:21 For the king of Babylon stands at the fork¹ in the road at the head of the two routes. He looks for omens.² He shakes arrows, he consults idols,³ he examines⁴ animal livers.⁵ **21:22** Into his right hand⁶ comes the portent for Jerusalem – to set up battering rams, to give the signal⁷ for slaughter, to shout out the battle cry,⁸ to set up battering rams against the gates, to erect a siege ramp, to build a siege wall. **21:23** But those in Jerusalem⁹ will view it as a false omen. They have sworn solemn oaths,¹⁰ but the king of Babylon¹¹ will accuse them of violations¹² in order to seize them.¹³

21:24 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: ‘Because you have brought up¹⁴ your own guilt by uncovering your transgressions and revealing your sins through all your actions, for this reason you will be taken by force.’¹⁵

21:25 “‘As for you, profane and wicked prince of Israel,¹⁶ whose day has come, the time of final punishment,

21:26 this is what the sovereign LORD says:

Tear off the turban,¹⁷
take off the crown!
Things must change!¹⁸
Exalt the lowly,
bring down the proud!¹⁹

21:27 A total ruin I will make it!²⁰
It will come to an end
when the one arrives to whom I have assigned judgment.’²¹

21:28 “As for you, son of man, prophesy and say, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says concerning the Ammonites and their coming humiliation;²² say:

“‘A sword, a sword drawn for slaughter, polished to consume,²³ to flash like lightning –

21:29 while seeing false visions for you and reading lying omens for you²⁴ – to place that sword²⁵ on the necks of the profane wicked,²⁶ whose day has come, the time of final punishment.

21:30 Return it to its sheath!²⁷
In the place where you were created,²⁸ in your native land, I will judge you.

²⁰ *tn* Heb “A ruin, a ruin, a ruin I will make it.” The threefold repetition of the noun “ruin” is for emphasis and draws attention to the degree of ruin that would take place. See *IBHS* 233 §12.5a and GKC 431-32 §133.k. The pronominal suffix (translated “it”) on the verb “make” is feminine in Hebrew. The probable antecedent is the “turban/crown” (both nouns are feminine in form) mentioned in verse 26. The point is that the king’s royal splendor would be completely devastated as judgment overtook his realm and brought his reign to a violent end.

²¹ *tn* Heb “Also this, he was not, until the coming of the one to whom the judgment belongs and I have given it.” The Hebrew text, as it stands, is grammatically difficult. The pronoun “this” is feminine, while the following negated verb (“was not”) is masculine. Some emend the verb to a feminine form (see *BHS*). In this case the statement refers to the destiny of the king’s turban/crown (symbolizing his reign). See the previous note. The preposition translated “when” normally means “until,” but here it seems to refer to the period during which the preceding situation is realized, rather than its termination point. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:19, 21. The second part of the statement, though awkward, probably refers to the arrival of the Babylonian king, to whom the Lord had assigned the task of judgment (see 23:24). Or the verse may read “A total ruin I will make, even this. It will not be until the one comes to whom is (the task of) judgment and I have assigned it.”

²² *tn* Heb “their reproach.”

²³ *tn* Heb “to contain, endure.” Since the Hebrew text as it stands makes little, if any, sense, most emend the text to read either “to consume” or “for destruction.” For discussion of options see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:693.

²⁴ *tn* Heb “in the seeing concerning you falsehood, in divining concerning you a lie.” This probably refers to the attempts of the Ammonites to ward off judgment through prophetic visions and divination.

²⁵ *tn* Heb “you”; the referent (the sword mentioned in v. 28) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

²⁶ *sn* The second half of the verse appears to state that the sword of judgment would fall upon the wicked, despite their efforts to prevent it.

²⁷ *sn* Once the Babylonian king’s sword (vv. 19-20) has carried out its assigned task, the Lord commands it to halt and announces that Babylon itself will also experience his judgment. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:28.

²⁸ *tn* In the Hebrew text of vv. 30-32 the second person verbal and pronominal forms are feminine singular. This may indicate that the personified Babylonian sword is being addressed. The Hebrew word for “sword” (see v. 28) is feminine. However, it may refer to the Ammonites.

¹ *tn* Heb “mother.”

² *sn* Mesopotamian kings believed that the gods revealed the future through omens. They employed various divination techniques, some of which are included in the list that follows. A particularly popular technique was the examination and interpretation of the livers of animals. See R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, 90-110.

³ *tn* This word refers to personal idols that were apparently used for divination purposes (Gen 31:19; 1 Sam 19:13, 16).

⁴ *tn* Heb “sees.”

⁵ *tn* Heb “the liver.”

⁶ *tn* Or “on the right side,” i.e., the omen mark on the right side of the liver.

⁷ *tn* Heb “to open the mouth” for slaughter.

⁸ *tn* Heb “to raise up a voice in a battle cry.”

⁹ *tn* Heb “they”; the referent (the people in Jerusalem) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁰ *sn* When the people of Judah realized the Babylonians’ intentions, they would object on grounds that they had made a treaty with the Babylonian king (see 17:13).

¹¹ *tn* Heb “he”; the referent (the king of Babylon) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹² *tn* Or “iniquity.”

¹³ *tn* Heb “and he will remind of guilt for the purpose of being captured.” The king would counter their objections by pointing out that they had violated their treaty with him (see 17:18).

¹⁴ *tn* Heb “caused to be remembered.”

¹⁵ *tn* Heb “Because you have brought to remembrance your guilt when your transgressions are uncovered so that your sins are revealed in all your deeds – because you are remembered, by the hand you will be seized.”

¹⁶ *tn* This probably refers to King Zedekiah.

¹⁷ *tn* Elsewhere in the Bible the turban is worn by priests (Exod 28:4, 37, 39; 29:6; 39:28, 31; Lev 8:9; 16:4), but here a royal crown is in view.

¹⁸ *tn* Heb “This not this.”

¹⁹ *tn* Heb “the high one.”

21:31 I will pour out my anger on you; the fire of my fury I will blow on you. I will hand you over to brutal men, who are skilled in destruction.
21:32 You will become fuel for the fire – your blood will stain the middle of the land;¹
 you will no longer be remembered, for I, the LORD, have spoken.”

The Sins of Jerusalem

22:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **22:2** “As for you, son of man, are you willing to pronounce judgment,² are you willing to pronounce judgment on the bloody city?³ Then confront her with all her abominable deeds! **22:3** Then say, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: O city, who spills blood within herself (which brings on her doom),⁴ and who makes herself idols (which results in impurity), **22:4** you are guilty because of the blood you shed and defiled by the idols you made. You have hastened the day of your doom;⁵ the end of your years has come.⁶ Therefore I will make⁷ you an object of scorn to the nations, an object to be mocked by all lands. **22:5** Those both near and far from you will mock you, you with your bad reputation,⁸ full of turmoil.

22:6 “‘See how each of the princes of Israel living within you has used his authority to shed blood.⁹ **22:7** They have treated father and mother with contempt¹⁰ within you; they have oppressed the foreigner among you; they have

wronged the orphan and the widow¹¹ within you. **22:8** You have despised my holy things and desecrated my Sabbaths! **22:9** Slanderous men shed blood within you.¹² Those who live within you eat pagan sacrifices on the mountains;¹³ they commit obscene acts among you.¹⁴ **22:10** They have sex with their father’s wife within you;¹⁵ they violate women during their menstrual period within you.¹⁶ **22:11** One¹⁷ commits an abominable act with his neighbor’s wife; another obscenely defiles his daughter-in-law; another violates¹⁸ his sister – his father’s daughter¹⁹ – within you. **22:12** They take bribes within you to shed blood. You engage in usury and charge interest;²⁰ you extort money from your neighbors. You have forgotten me,²¹ declares the sovereign LORD.²²

22:13 “‘See, I strike my hands together²³ at the dishonest profit you have made, and at the bloodshed²⁴ they have done among you. **22:14** Can your heart endure,²⁵ or can your hands be

¹¹ **tn** Widows and orphans are often coupled together in the OT (Deut 14:29; 16:11, 14; 24:19-21; 26:12-13; Jer 7:6; 22:3). They represented all who were poor and vulnerable to economic exploitation.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “men of slander are in you in order to shed blood.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “and on the mountains they eat within you.” The mountains mentioned here were the site of pagan sacrifices. See 18:6.

¹⁴ **sn** This statement introduces vv. 10-11 and refers in general terms to the sexual sins described there. For the legal background of vv. 10-11, see Lev 18:7-20; 20:10-21; Deut 22:22-23, 30; 27:22.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “the nakedness of a father one uncovers within you.” The ancient versions read the verb as plural (“they uncover”). If the singular is retained, it must be taken as indefinite and representative of the entire group. The idiomatic expression “uncover the nakedness” refers here to sexual intercourse (cf. Lev 18:6). To uncover a father’s nakedness could include sexual relations with one’s own mother (Lev 18:7), but more likely it refers to having intercourse with another wife of one’s father, such as a stepmother (Lev 18:8; cf. Gen 35:22; 49:4).

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “(one who is) unclean due to the impurity they humble within you.” The use of the verb “to humble” suggests that these men forced themselves upon women during menstruation. Having sexual relations with a woman during her period was forbidden by the Law (Lev 18:19; 20:18).

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “a man.”

¹⁸ **tn** The verb is the same one used in verse 10b and suggests forcible sexual violation of the woman.

¹⁹ **sn** Sexual relations with one’s half-sister may be primarily in view here. See Lev 18:9; 20:17.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “usury and interest you take.” See 18:13, 17. This kind of economic exploitation violated the law given in Lev 25:36.

²¹ **sn** Forgetting the Lord is also addressed in Deut 6:12; 8:11, 14; Jer 3:21; 13:25; Ezek 23:35; Hos 2:15; 8:14; 13:6.

²² **tn** The second person verb forms are feminine singular in Hebrew, indicating that the personified city is addressed here as representing its citizens.

²³ **sn** This gesture apparently expresses mourning and/or anger (see 6:11; 21:14, 17).

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the blood which was in you.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “stand.” The heart here stands for the emotions; Jerusalem would panic in the face of God’s judgment.

¹ **tn** *Heb* “your blood will be in the middle of the land.”

² **tn** *Heb* “will you judge.” Here the imperfect form of the verb is probably used with a desiderative nuance. Addressed to the prophet, “judge” means to warn of or pronounce God’s impending judgment upon the city. See 20:4.

³ **tn** The phrase “bloody city” is used of Nineveh in Nah 3:1.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “her time”; this refers to the time of impending judgment (see the note on “doom” in v. 4).

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “you have brought near your days.” The expression “bring near your days” appears to be an adaptation of the idiom “days draw near,” which is used to indicate that an event, such as death, is imminent (see Gen 27:41; 47:29; Deut 31:14; 1 Kgs 2:1; Ezek 12:23). Here “your days” probably refers to the days of the personified city’s life, which was about to come to an end through God’s judgment.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and you have come to your years.” This appears to mean that she has arrived at the time when her years (i.e., life) would end, though it may mean that her years of punishment will begin. Because “day” and “time” are so closely associated in the immediate context (see 21:25, 29) some prefer to emend the text and read “you have brought near your time.” See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:31, as well as the translator’s note on verse 3.

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew verb is a prophetic perfect, emphasizing that the action is as good as done from the speaker’s perspective.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “unclean of name.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “Look! The princes of Israel, each according to his arm, were in you in order to shed blood.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “treated lightly, cursed.”

strong when I deal with you!¹ I, the LORD, have spoken, and I will do it! **22:15** I will scatter you among the nations and disperse you among various countries; I will remove your impurity from you.² **22:16** You will be profaned within yourself³ in the sight of the nations; then you will know that I am the LORD.”

22:17 The word of the LORD came to me: **22:18** “Son of man, the house of Israel has become slag to me. All of them are like bronze, tin, iron, and lead in the furnace;⁴ they are the worthless slag of silver. **22:19** Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: ‘Because all of you⁵ have become slag, look out! – I am about to gather you in the middle of Jerusalem.’ **22:20** As silver, bronze, iron, lead, and tin are gathered in a furnace so that the fire can melt them, so I will gather you in my anger and in my rage. I will deposit you there⁷ and melt you. **22:21** I will gather you and blow on you with the fire of my fury, and you will be melted in it. **22:22** As silver is melted in a furnace, so you will be melted in it, and you will know that I, the LORD, have poured out my anger on you.”

22:23 The word of the LORD came to me: **22:24** “Son of man, say to her: ‘You are a land that receives no rain⁸ or showers in the day of my anger.’ **22:25** Her princes¹⁰ within her are

like a roaring lion tearing its prey; they have devoured lives. They take away riches and valuable things; they have made many women widows¹¹ within it. **22:26** Her priests abuse my law and have desecrated my holy things. They do not distinguish between the holy and the profane,¹² or recognize any distinction between the unclean and the clean. They ignore¹³ my Sabbaths and I am profaned in their midst. **22:27** Her officials are like wolves in her midst rending their prey – shedding blood and destroying lives – so they can get dishonest profit. **22:28** Her prophets coat their messages with white-wash.¹⁴ They see false visions and announce lying omens for them, saying, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says,’ when the LORD has not spoken. **22:29** The people of the land have practiced extortion and committed robbery. They have wronged the poor and needy; they have oppressed the foreigner who lives among them and denied them justice.¹⁵

22:30 “I looked for a man from among them who would repair the wall and stand in the gap before me on behalf of the land, so that I would not destroy it, but I found no one.¹⁶ **22:31** So I have poured my anger on them, and destroyed them with the fire of my fury. I hereby repay them for what they have done,¹⁷ declares the sovereign LORD.”

Two Sisters

23:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **23:2** “Son of man, there were two women who were daughters of the same mother. **23:3** They engaged in prostitution in Egypt; in their youth they engaged in prostitution. Their breasts were squeezed there; lovers¹⁸ fondled their virgin nipples there. **23:4** Oholah was the name of the older and Oholibah¹⁹ the name of her younger sister. They became mine, and gave birth to sons and daughters.²⁰ Oholah is Samaria and Oholibah is Jerusalem.

¹ **tn** *Heb* “in the days when I act against you.”

² **sn** The ultimate purpose of divine judgment is to purify the covenant community of its sins.

³ **tc** Several ancient versions read the verb as first person, in which case the Lord refers to how his people’s sin brings disgrace upon him. For a defense of the Hebrew text, see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:712, n. 68, and M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:457–58.

tn The phrase “within yourself” is the same as the several previous occurrences of “within you” but adjusted to fit this clause which is the culmination of the series of indictments.

⁴ **tn** For similar imagery, see Isa 1:21–26; Jer 6:27–30.

⁵ **tn** The Hebrew second person pronoun is masculine plural here and in vv. 19b–21, indicating that the people are being addressed.

⁶ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “I will put.” No object is supplied in the Hebrew, prompting many to emend the text to “I will blow.” See *BHS* and verse 21.

⁸ **tc** The MT reads “that is not cleansed”; the LXX reads “that is not drenched,” which assumes a different vowel pointing as well as the loss of a *mem* due to haplography. In light of the following reference to showers, the reading of the LXX certainly fits the context well. For a defense of the emendation, see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:32. Yet the MT is not an unreasonable reading since uncleanness in the land also fits the context, and a poetic connection between rain and the land being uncleanness may be feasible since washing with water is elsewhere associated with cleansing (Num 8:7; 31:23; Ps 51:7).

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “in a day of anger.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “a conspiracy of her prophets is in her midst.” The LXX reads “whose princes” rather than “a conspiracy of prophets.” The prophets are mentioned later in the paragraph (v. 28). If one follows the LXX in verse 25, then five distinct groups are mentioned in vv. 25–29: princes, priests, officials, prophets, and the people of the land. For a defense of the Septuagintal reading, see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:32, and D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:720, n. 4.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “her widows they have multiplied.” The statement alludes to their murderous acts.

¹² **tn** Or “between the consecrated and the common.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “hide their eyes from.” The idiom means to disregard or ignore something or someone (see Lev 20:4; 1 Sam 12:3; Prov 28:27; Isa 1:15).

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “her prophets coat for themselves with white-wash.” The expression may be based on Ezek 13:10–15.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “and the foreigner they have oppressed without justice.”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “I did not find.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “their way on their head I have placed.”

¹⁸ **tn** In the Hebrew text the subject is left unstated and must be supplied from the context.

¹⁹ **tn** The names Oholah and Oholibah are both derived from the word meaning “tent.” The meaning of Oholah is “her tent,” while Oholibah means “my tent is in her.”

²⁰ **sn** In this allegory the Lord is depicted as being the husband of two wives. The OT law prohibited a man from marrying sisters (Lev 18:18), but the practice is attested in the OT (cf. Jacob). The metaphor is utilized here for illustrative purposes and does not mean that the Lord condoned such a practice or bigamy in general.

23:5 “Oholah engaged in prostitution while she was mine.¹ She lusted after her lovers, the Assyrians² – warriors³ **23:6** clothed in blue, governors and officials, all of them desirable young men, horsemen riding on horses. **23:7** She bestowed her sexual favors on them; all of them were the choicest young men of Assyria. She defiled herself with all whom she desired⁴ – with all their idols. **23:8** She did not abandon the prostitution she had practiced in Egypt; for in her youth men had sex with her, fondled her virgin breasts, and ravished her.⁵ **23:9** Therefore I handed her over to her lovers, the Assyrians⁶ for whom she lusted. **23:10** They exposed her nakedness, seized her sons and daughters, and killed her with the sword. She became notorious⁷ among women, and they executed judgments against her.

23:11 “Her sister Oholibah watched this,⁸ but she became more corrupt in her lust than her sister had been, and her acts of prostitution were more numerous than those of her sister. **23:12** She lusted after the Assyrians – governors and officials, warriors in full armor, horsemen riding on horses, all of them desirable young men. **23:13** I saw that she was defiled; both of them followed the same path. **23:14** But she increased her prostitution. She saw men carved on the wall, images of the Chaldeans carved in bright red,⁹ **23:15** wearing belts on their waists and flowing turbans on their heads, all of them looking like officers, the image of Babylonians¹⁰ whose native land is Chaldea. **23:16** When she saw them,¹¹ she lusted after them and sent messengers to them in Chaldea.¹² **23:17** The Babylonians crawled into bed with her.¹³ They defiled her with their lust; after she was defiled by them, she¹⁴ be-

came disgusted with them. **23:18** When she lustfully exposed her nakedness,¹⁵ ¹⁶ was disgusted with her, just as ¹⁷ had been disgusted with her sister. **23:19** Yet she increased her prostitution, remembering the days of her youth when she engaged in prostitution in the land of Egypt. **23:20** She lusted after their genitals – as large as those of donkeys,¹⁸ and their seminal emission was as strong as that of stallions. **23:21** This is how you assessed¹⁹ the obscene conduct of your youth, when the Egyptians fondled²⁰ your nipples and squeezed²¹ your young breasts.

23:22 “Therefore, Oholibah, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look here,²² I am about to stir up against you the lovers with whom you were disgusted; I will bring them against you from every side: **23:23** the Babylonians and all the Chaldeans, Pekod,²³ Shoa,²⁴ and Koa,²⁵ and all the Assyrians with them, desirable young men, all of them governors and officials, officers and nobles, all of them riding on horses. **23:24** They will attack²⁶ you with weapons,²⁷ chariots, wagons, and with a huge army;²⁸ they will array themselves against you on every side

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “She exposed her harlotry and she exposed her nakedness.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “my soul.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “my soul.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “She lusted after their concubines (?) whose flesh was the flesh of donkeys.” The phrase “their concubines” is extremely problematic here. The pronoun is masculine plural, suggesting that the Egyptian men are in view, but how concubines would fit into the picture envisioned here is not clear. Some suggest that Ezekiel uses the term in an idiomatic sense of “paramour,” but this still fails to explain how the pronoun relates to the noun. It is more likely that the term refers here to the Egyptians’ genitals. The relative pronoun that follows introduces a more specific description of their genitals.

¹⁹ **tn** Or “you took note of.” The Hebrew verb פָּקַד (*paqad*) in the Qal implies evaluating something and then acting in light of that judgment; here the prophet depicts Judah as approving of her youthful unfaithfulness and then magnifying it at the present time. Some translations assume the verb should be repointed as a Niphal, rendering “you missed” or by extension “you longed for,” but such an extension of the Niphal “to be missing” is otherwise unattested.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “when (they) did,” but the verb makes no sense here and is better emended to “when (they) fondled,” a verb used in vv. 3 and 8. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:43.

²¹ **tn** Heb “for the sake of,” but the expression is awkward and is better emended to read “to squeeze.” See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:43.

²² **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

²³ **sn** Pekod was the name of an Aramean tribe (known as Puqudu in Mesopotamian texts) that lived in the region of the Tigris River.

²⁴ **sn** Shoa was the name of a nomadic people (the Sutu) that lived in Mesopotamia.

²⁵ **sn** Koa was the name of another Mesopotamian people group (the Qutu).

²⁶ **tn** Heb “come against.”

²⁷ **tn** This is the only occurrence of this term in the OT. The precise meaning is uncertain.

²⁸ **tn** Heb “an assembly of peoples.”

¹ **tn** Heb “while she was under me.” The expression indicates that Oholah is viewed as the Lord’s wife. See Num 5:19-20, 29.

sn Engaged in prostitution refers to alliances with pagan nations in this context. In Ezek 16 harlotry described the sin of idolatry.

² **tn** Heb “Assyria.”

³ **tn** The term apparently refers to Assyrian military officers; it is better construed with the description that follows. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:738.

⁴ **tn** Heb “lusted after.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “and poured out their harlotry on her.”

⁶ **tn** Heb “I gave her into the hand of her lovers, into the hand of the sons of Assyria.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “name.”

⁸ **tn** The word “this” is not in the original text.

⁹ **tn** The only other occurrence of the Hebrew term is in Jer 22:14.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “the sons of Babel.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “at the appearance of her eyes.”

¹² **sn** The Chaldeans were prominent tribal groups of Babylonia. The imagery is reminiscent of events in the reigns of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:12-15) and Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:34-24:1).

¹³ **tn** Heb “The sons of Babel came to her on a bed of love.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “her soul.”

with large shields, small shields, and helmets. I will assign them the task of judgment;¹ they will punish you according to their laws. **23:25** I will direct² my jealous anger against you, and they will deal with you in rage. They will cut off your nose and your ears,³ and your survivors will die⁴ by the sword. They will seize your sons and daughters, and your survivors will be consumed by fire. **23:26** They will strip your clothes off you and take away your beautiful jewelry. **23:27** So I will put an end to your obscene conduct and your prostitution which you have practiced in the land of Egypt.⁵ You will not seek their help⁶ or remember Egypt anymore.

23:28 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look here,⁷ I am about to deliver you over to⁸ those whom you hate, to those with whom you were disgusted. **23:29** They will treat you with hatred, take away all you have labored for,⁹ and leave you naked and bare. Your nakedness will be exposed, just as when you engaged in prostitution and obscene conduct.¹⁰ **23:30** I will do these things to you¹¹ because you engaged in prostitution with the nations, polluting yourself with their idols. **23:31** You have followed the ways of your sister, so I will place her cup of judgment¹² in your hand. **23:32** “This is what the sovereign LORD says: “You will drink your sister’s deep and wide cup;¹³ you will be scorned and derided, for it holds a great deal. **23:33** You will be overcome by¹⁴ drunkenness and sorrow. The cup of your sister Samaria is a cup of horror and desolation. **23:34** You will drain it dry,¹⁵ gnaw its pieces,¹⁶

and tear out your breasts,¹⁷ for I have spoken, declares the sovereign LORD.

23:35 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Because you have forgotten me and completely disregarded me,¹⁸ you must bear now the punishment¹⁹ for your obscene conduct and prostitution.”

23:36 The LORD said to me: “Son of man, are you willing to pronounce judgment²⁰ on Oholah and Oholibah? Then declare to them their abominable deeds! **23:37** For they have committed adultery and blood is on their hands. They have committed adultery with their idols, and their sons, whom they bore to me,²¹ they have passed through the fire as food to their idols.²² **23:38** Moreover, they have done this to me: In the very same day²³ they desecrated my sanctuary and profaned my Sabbaths. **23:39** On the same day they slaughtered their sons for their idols, they came to my sanctuary to desecrate it. This is what they have done in the middle of my house.

23:40 “They even sent for men from far away; when the messenger arrived, those men set out.²⁴ For them you bathed,²⁵ painted your eyes, and decorated yourself with jewelry. **23:41** You sat on a magnificent couch, with a table arranged in front of it where you placed

shattered pieces of pottery and so could envision a broken cup. But the Piel verb form is used in only one other place (Num 24:8), where it is a denominative from the noun “bone” and seems to mean to “break (bones).” Why it would be collocated with “sherds” is not clear. For this reason some emend the phrase to read “consume its dregs” (see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 2:44) or emend the verb to read “swallow,” as if the intoxicated Oholibah breaks the cup and then eats the very sherds in an effort to get every last drop of the beverage that dampens them.

17 sn The severe action is more extreme than beating the breasts in anguish (Isa 32:12; Nah 2:7). It is also ironic for these are the very breasts she so blatantly offered to her lovers (vv. 3, 21).

18 tn Heb “and you cast me behind your back.” The expression pictures her rejection of the Lord (see 1 Kgs 14:9).

19 tn The word “punishment” is not in the Hebrew text but is demanded by the context.

20 tn Heb “will you judge.” Here the imperfect form of the verb is probably used with a desiderative nuance. Addressed to the prophet, “judge” means to warn of or pronounce God’s impending judgment. See 20:4; 22:2.

21 sn The Lord speaks here in the role of the husband of the sisters.

22 tn Heb “they have passed to them for food.” The verb is commonly taken to refer to passing children through fire, especially as an offering to the pagan god Molech. See Jer 32:35.

23 tn Heb “in that day.”

24 tn Heb “to whom a messenger was sent, and look, they came.” Foreign alliances are in view here.

25 tn The Hebrew verb form is feminine singular, indicating that Oholibah (Judah) is specifically addressed here. This address continues through verse 42a (note “her”), but then both sisters are described in verse 42b, where the feminine pronouns are again plural.

¹ tn Heb “I will place before them judgment.”

² tn Heb “give.”

³ tn Heb “they will remove.”

sn This method of punishment is attested among ancient Egyptian and Hittite civilizations. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Hermeneia), 1:489.

⁴ tn Heb “fall.”

⁵ tn Heb “I will cause your obscene conduct to cease from you and your harlotry from the land of Egypt.”

⁶ tn Heb “lift your eyes to them.”

⁷ tn The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁸ tn Heb “I am giving you into the hand of.”

⁹ tn The Hebrew term means “labor,” but by extension it can also refer to that for which one works.

¹⁰ tn Heb “The nakedness of your prostitution will be exposed, and your obscene conduct and your harlotry.”

¹¹ tn The infinitive absolute continues the sequence begun in v. 28: “Look here, I am about to deliver you.” See Joüon 2:430 §123.w.

¹² tn Heb “her cup.” A cup of intoxicating strong drink is used, here and elsewhere, as a metaphor for judgment because both leave one confused and reeling. (See Jer 25:15, 17, 28; Hab 2:16.) The cup of wrath is a theme also found in the NT (Mark 14:36).

¹³ sn The image of a deep and wide cup suggests the degree of punishment; it will be extensive and leave the victim helpless.

¹⁴ tn Heb “filled with.”

¹⁵ tn Heb “You will drink it and drain (it).”

¹⁶ tn D. I. Block compares this to the idiom of “licking the plate” (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:754, n. 137). The text is difficult as the word translated “gnaw” is rare. The noun is used of the

my incense and my olive oil. **23:42** The sound of a carefree crowd accompanied her,¹ including all kinds of men;² even Sabeans³ were brought from the desert. The sisters⁴ put bracelets on their wrists and beautiful crowns on their heads. **23:43** Then I said about the one worn out by adultery, 'Now they will commit immoral acts with her.' **23:44** They had sex with her⁵ as one does with a prostitute. In this way they had sex with Oholah and Oholibah, promiscuous women. **23:45** But upright men will punish them appropriately for their adultery and bloodshed,⁶ because they are adulteresses and blood is on their hands.

23:46 "For this is what the sovereign LORD says: Bring up an army⁷ against them and subject them⁸ to terror and plunder. **23:47** That army will pelt them with stones and slash them with their swords; they will kill their sons and daughters and burn their houses.⁹ **23:48** I will put an end to the obscene conduct in the land; all the women will learn a lesson from this and not engage in obscene conduct. **23:49** They will repay you for your obscene conduct, and you will be punished for idol worship.¹⁰ Then you will know that I am the sovereign LORD."

The Boiling Pot

24:1 The word of the LORD came to me in the ninth year, in the tenth month, on the tenth day of the month¹¹. **24:2** "Son of man, write down the name of this day, this very day. The king of Babylon has laid siege¹² to Jerusalem¹³ this very day. **24:3** Recite a proverb to this rebellious house¹⁴ and say to them, 'This is what the sovereign LORD says:

"Set on the pot,¹⁵ set it on, pour water in it too;
24:4 add the pieces of meat to it, every good piece, the thigh and the shoulder; fill it with choice bones.

24:5 Take the choice bone of the flock, heap up bones under it; boil rapidly, and boil its bones in it.

24:6 "Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Woe to the city of bloodshed, the pot whose rot¹⁶ is in it, whose rot has not been removed¹⁷ from it!

Empty it piece by piece. No lot has fallen on it.¹⁸

24:7 For her blood was in it; she poured it on an exposed rock; she did not pour it on the ground to cover it up with dust.

24:8 To arouse anger, to take vengeance, I have placed her blood on an exposed rock so that it cannot be covered up.

24:9 "Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says:

Woe to the city of bloodshed! I will also make the pile high.

24:10 Pile up the bones, kindle the fire; cook the meat well, mix in the spices, let the bones be charred.

24:11 Set the empty pot on the coals,¹⁹ until it becomes hot and its copper glows, until its uncleanness melts within it and its rot²⁰ is consumed.

24:12 It has tried my patience;²¹ yet its thick rot is not removed²² from it. Subject its rot to the fire!²³

24:13 You mix uncleanness with obscene conduct.²⁴

I tried to cleanse you,²⁵ but you are not clean.

You will not be cleansed from your uncleanness²⁶ until I have exhausted my anger on you.

¹ **tn** Heb "(was) in her."

² **tn** Heb "and men from the multitude of mankind."

³ **tn** An alternate reading is "drunkards." Sheba is located in the area of modern day Yemen.

⁴ **tn** Heb "they"; the referents (the sisters) have been specified in the translation for the sake of clarity.

⁵ **tn** Heb "and they came to her."

⁶ **tn** Heb "and upright men will judge them (with) the judgment of adulteresses and the judgment of those who shed blood."

⁷ **tn** Heb "assembly."

⁸ **tn** Heb "give them to."

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text adds "with fire."

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "and the sins of your idols you will bear." By extension it can mean the punishment for the sins.

¹¹ **tn** The date of this oracle was January 15, 588 B.C.

¹² **tn** Heb "lean on, put pressure on."

¹³ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁴ **sn** The book of Ezekiel frequently refers to the Israelites as a rebellious house (Ezek 2:5, 6, 8; 3:9, 26-27; 12:2-3, 9, 25; 17:12; 24:3).

¹⁵ **sn** See Ezek 11:3-12.

¹⁶ **tn** Or "rust."

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "has not gone out."

¹⁸ **tn** Here "lot" may refer to the decision made by casting lots; it is not chosen at all.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "set it upon its coals, empty."

²⁰ **tn** Or "rust" (so also in v. 12).

²¹ **tn** Heb "(with) toil she has wearied." The meaning of the statement is unclear in the Hebrew text; some follow the LXX and delete it. The first word in the statement (rendered "toil" in the literal translation above) occurs only here in the OT, and the verb "she has wearied" lacks a stated object. Elsewhere the Hiphil of the verb refers to wearying someone or trying someone's patience. The feminine subject is apparently the symbolic pot.

²² **tn** Heb "does not go out."

²³ **tn** Heb "in fire its rust." The meaning of the expression is unclear. The translation understands the statement as a command to burn the rust away. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:768.

²⁴ **tn** Heb "in your uncleanness (is) obscene conduct."

²⁵ **tn** Heb "because I cleansed you." In this context (see especially the very next statement), the statement must refer to divine intention and purpose. Despite God's efforts to cleanse his people, they resisted him and remained morally impure.

²⁶ **tn** The Hebrew text adds the word "again."

24:14 “I the LORD have spoken; judgment¹ is coming and I will act! I will not relent, or show pity, or be sorry!² I will judge you³ according to your conduct⁴ and your deeds, declares the sovereign LORD.”

Ezekiel's Wife Dies

24:15 The word of LORD came to me: **24:16** “Son of man, realize that I am about to take the delight of your eyes away from you with a jolt,⁵ but you must not mourn or weep or shed tears. **24:17** Groan in silence for the dead,⁶ but do not perform mourning rites.⁷ Bind on your turban⁸ and put your sandals on your feet. Do not cover your lip⁹ and do not eat food brought by others.”¹⁰

24:18 So I spoke to the people in the morning, and my wife died in the evening. In the morning¹¹ I acted just as I was commanded. **24:19** Then the people said to me, “Will you not tell us what these things you are doing mean for us?”

24:20 So I said to them: “The word of the LORD came to me: **24:21** Say to the house of Israel, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Realize I am about to desecrate my sanctuary – the source of your confident pride,¹² the object in which your eyes delight,¹³ and your life’s

passion.¹⁴ Your very own sons and daughters whom you have left behind will die¹⁵ by the sword. **24:22** Then you will do as I have done: You will not cover your lip or eat food brought by others.¹⁶ **24:23** Your turbans will be on your heads and your sandals on your feet; you will not mourn or weep, but you will rot¹⁷ for your iniquities¹⁸ and groan among yourselves. **24:24** Ezekiel will be an object lesson for you; you will do all that he has done. When it happens, then you will know that I am the sovereign LORD.”

24:25 “And you, son of man, this is what will happen on the day I take¹⁹ from them their stronghold – their beautiful source of joy, the object in which their eyes delight, and the main concern of their lives,²⁰ as well as their sons and daughters:²¹ **24:26** On that day a fugitive will come to you to report the news.²² **24:27** On that day you will be able to speak again;²³ you will talk with the fugitive and be silent no longer. You will be an object lesson for them, and they will know that I am the LORD.”

A Prophecy Against Ammon

25:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **25:2** “Son of man, turn toward²⁴ the Ammonites²⁵ and prophesy against them. **25:3** Say to the Ammonites, ‘Hear the word of the sovereign LORD: This is what the sovereign LORD says: You said “Aha!” about my sanctuary when it was desecrated, about the land of Israel when it was made desolate, and about the house of Judah when they went into exile.

¹ **tn** Heb “it”; the referent has been specified in the translation for clarity.

² **tn** Or perhaps, “change my mind.”

³ **tc** Some medieval Hebrew MSS and the major ancient versions read a first person verb here. Most Hebrew MSS read have an indefinite subject, “they will judge you,” which could be translated, “you will be judged.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “ways.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “a strike.”

⁶ **tn** Or “Groan silently. As to the dead....” Cf. M. Greenberg’s suggestion that דָּם מֵתִים (*dom metim*) be taken together and be derived from דָּמָם, “to moan, murmur”. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:508.

⁷ **tn** Heb “(For) the dead mourning you shall not conduct.” In the Hebrew text the word translated “dead” is plural, indicating that mourning rites are in view. Such rites would involve outward demonstrations of one’s sorrow, including weeping and weeping.

⁸ **sn** The turban would normally be removed for mourning (Josh 7:6; 1 Sam 4:12).

⁹ **sn** Mourning rites included covering the lower part of the face. See Lev 13:45.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “the bread of men.” The translation follows the suggestion accepted by M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel* [AB], 2:509) that this refers to a meal brought by comforters to the one mourning. Some reprint the consonantal text to read “the bread of despair” (see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 2:56), while others, with support from the Targum and Vulgate, emend the consonantal text to read “the bread of mourners” (see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* [NICOT], 1:784).

¹¹ **tn** This may refer to the following morning. For a discussion of various interpretive options in understanding the chronology reflected in verse 18, see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:790.

¹² **tn** Heb “the pride of your strength” means “your strong pride.”

¹³ **sn** Heb “the delight of your eyes.” Just as Ezekiel was deprived of his beloved wife (v. 16, the “desire” of his “eyes”) so the Lord would be forced to remove the object of his devotion, the temple, which symbolized his close relationship to his covenant people.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “the object of compassion of your soul.” The accentuation in the traditional Hebrew text indicates that the descriptive phrases (“the source of your confident pride, the object in which your eyes delight, and your life’s passion”) modify the preceding “my sanctuary.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “fall.”

¹⁶ **tn** See v. 17.

¹⁷ **tn** The same verb appears in 4:17 and 33:10.

¹⁸ **tn** Or “in your punishment.” The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity/punishment” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here; 3:18, 19; 4:17; 7:13, 16; 18:17, 18, 19, 20; 33:6, 8, 9; 39:23. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment” for iniquity or “guilt” of iniquity.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “(Will) it not (be) in the day I take?”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “the uplifting of their soul.” According to BDB 672 s.v. מִשָּׁנָה 2, the term “uplifting” refers to “that to which they lift up their soul, their heart’s desire.” However, this text is the only one listed for this use. It seems more likely that the term has its well-attested nuance of “burden, load,” here and refers to that which weighs them down emotionally and is a constant source of concern or worry.

²¹ **tn** In the Hebrew text there is no conjunction before “their sons and daughters.” For this reason one might assume that the preceding descriptive phrases refer to the sons and daughters, but verse 21 suggests otherwise. The descriptive phrases appear to refer to the “stronghold,” which parallels “my sanctuary” in verse 21. The children constitute a separate category.

²² **tn** Heb “to make the ears hear.”

²³ **tn** Heb “your mouth will open.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “set your face toward.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “the sons of Ammon.” Ammon was located to the east of Israel.

25:4 So take note,¹ I am about to make you slaves of² the tribes³ of the east. They will make camps among you and pitch their tents among you. They will eat your fruit and drink your milk. 25:5 I will make Rabbah a pasture for camels and Ammon⁴ a resting place for sheep. Then you will know that I am the LORD. 25:6 For this is what the sovereign LORD says: Because you clapped your hands, stamped your feet, and rejoiced with intense scorn⁵ over the land of Israel, 25:7 take note, I have stretched out my hand against you, and I will hand you over as plunder⁶ to the nations. I will cut you off from the peoples and make you perish from the lands. I will destroy you; then you will know that I am the LORD.”

A Prophecy Against Moab

25:8 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: ‘Moab⁷ and Seir say, “Look, the house of Judah is like all the other nations.”’ 25:9 So look, I am about to open up Moab’s flank,⁸ eliminating the cities,⁹ including its frontier cities,¹⁰ the beauty of the land – Beth Jeshimoth, Baal Meon, and Kiriathaim. 25:10 I will hand it over,¹¹ along with the Ammonites,¹² to the tribes¹³ of the east, so that the Ammonites will no longer be remembered among the nations. 25:11 I will execute judgments against Moab. Then they will know that I am the LORD.”

A Prophecy Against Edom

25:12 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: ‘Edom¹⁴ has taken vengeance against the house of Judah; they have made themselves fully culpable¹⁵ by taking vengeance¹⁶ on

them.¹⁷ 25:13 So this is what the sovereign LORD says: I will stretch out my hand against Edom, and I will kill the people and animals within her,¹⁸ and I will make her desolate; from Teman to Dedan they will die¹⁹ by the sword. 25:14 I will exact my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel. They will carry out in Edom my anger and rage; they will experience²⁰ my vengeance, declares the sovereign LORD.”

A Prophecy Against Philistia

25:15 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: ‘The Philistines²¹ have exacted merciless revenge,²² showing intense scorn²³ in their effort to destroy Judah²⁴ with unrelenting hostility.’ 25:16 So this is what the sovereign LORD says: Take note, I am about to stretch out my hand against the Philistines. I will kill²⁵ the Cherethites²⁷ and destroy those who remain on the seacoast. 25:17 I will exact great vengeance upon them with angry rebukes.²⁸ Then they will know that I am the LORD, when I exact my vengeance upon them.”

A Prophecy Against Tyre

26:1 In the eleventh year, on the first day of the month,²⁹ the word of the LORD came to me: 26:2 “Son of man, because Tyre³⁰ has said about Jerusalem,³¹ ‘Aha, the gateway of the peoples is broken; it has swung open to me. I

¹ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates being aware of or taking notice of something and has been translated here with a verb (so also throughout the chapter).

² **tn** *Heb* “Look I am about to give you for a possession to.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “sons.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the sons of Ammon.”

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “with all your scorn in (the) soul.”

⁶ **tc** The translation here follows the marginal reading (*Qere*) of the Hebrew text. The consonantal text (*Kethib*) is meaningless.

⁷ **sn** Moab was located immediately south of Ammon.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “shoulder.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “from the cities.” The verb “eliminating” has been added in the translation to reflect the privative use of the preposition (see BDB 583 s.v. יָרָא 7.b).

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “from its cities, from its end.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “I will give it for a possession.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “the sons of Ammon” (twice in this verse).

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “the sons.”

¹⁴ **sn** Edom was located south of Moab.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “and they have become guilty, becoming guilty.” The infinitive absolute following the finite verb makes the statement emphatic and draws attention to the degree of guilt incurred by Edom due to its actions.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and they have taken vengeance.”

¹⁷ **sn** Edom apparently in some way assisted in the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C. (Ps 137:7; Lam 4:21, 22; Joel 3:19; Obadiah).

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “and I will cut off from her man and beast.”

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “fall.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “know.”

²¹ **sn** The Philistines inhabited the coastal plain by the Mediterranean Sea, west of Judah.

²² **tn** *Heb* “have acted with vengeance and taken vengeance with vengeance.” The repetition emphasizes the degree of vengeance which they exhibited, presumably toward Judah.

²³ **tn** *Heb* “with scorn in (the) soul.”

²⁴ **tn** The object is not specified in the Hebrew text, but has been clarified as “Judah” in the translation.

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “to destroy (with) perpetual hostility.” Joel 3:4-8 also speaks of the Philistines taking advantage of the fall of Judah.

²⁶ **tn** In Hebrew the verb “and I will cut off” sounds like its object, “the Cherethites,” and draws attention to the statement.

²⁷ **sn** This is a name for the Philistines, many of whom migrated to Palestine from Crete.

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “with acts of punishment of anger.”

²⁹ **tc** Date formulae typically include the month. According to D. I. Block (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 2:34, n. 27) some emend to “in the twelfth year in the eleventh month” based partially on the copy of the LXX from Alexandrinus, where Albright suggested that “eleventh month” may have dropped out due to haplography.

sn April 23, 587 B.C.

³⁰ **sn** Tyre was located on the Mediterranean coast north of Israel.

³¹ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

will become rich,¹ now that she² has been destroyed,³ 26:3 therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look,³ I am against you,⁴ O Tyre! I will bring up many nations against you, as the sea brings up its waves. 26:4 They will destroy the walls of Tyre and break down her towers. I will scrape her soil⁵ from her and make her a bare rock. 26:5 She will be a place where fishing nets are spread, surrounded by the sea. For I have spoken, declares the sovereign LORD. She will become plunder for the nations, 26:6 and her daughters⁶ who are in the field will be slaughtered by the sword. Then they will know that I am the LORD.

26:7 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says: Take note that⁷ I am about to bring King Nebuchadnezzar⁸ of Babylon, king of kings, against Tyre from the north, with horses, chariots, and horsemen, an army and hordes of people. 26:8 He will kill your daughters in the field with the sword. He will build a siege wall against you, erect a siege ramp against you, and raise a great shield against you. 26:9 He will direct the blows of his battering rams against your walls and tear down your towers with his weapons.⁹ 26:10 He will cover you with the dust kicked up by his many horses.¹⁰ Your walls will shake from the noise of the horsemen, wheels, and chariots when he enters your gates like those who invade through a city’s broken walls.¹¹ 26:11 With his horses’ hoofs he will trample all your streets. He will kill your people with the sword, and your strong pillars will tumble down to the ground. 26:12 They will steal your wealth and loot your merchandise. They will tear down your walls and destroy your luxurious¹² homes. Your stones, your trees, and your soil he will throw¹³ into

the water.¹⁴ 26:13 I will silence¹⁵ the noise of your songs; the sound of your harps will be heard no more. 26:14 I will make you a bare rock; you will be a place where fishing nets are spread. You will never be built again,¹⁶ for I, the LORD, have spoken, declares the sovereign LORD.

26:15 “This is what the sovereign LORD says to Tyre: Oh, how the coastlands will shake at the sound of your fall, when the wounded groan, at the massive slaughter in your midst! 26:16 All the princes of the sea will vacate¹⁷ their thrones. They will remove their robes and strip off their embroidered clothes; they will clothe themselves with trembling. They will sit on the ground; they will tremble continually and be shocked at what has happened to you.¹⁸ 26:17 They will sing this lament over you:¹⁹

“How you have perished – you have vanished²⁰ from the seas,
O renowned city, once mighty in the sea,
she and her inhabitants, who spread their terror!²¹

26:18 Now the coastlands will tremble on the day of your fall;
the coastlands by the sea will be terrified by your passing.²²

26:19 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says: When I make you desolate like the uninhabited cities, when I bring up the deep over you and the surging²³ waters overwhelm you, 26:20 then I will bring you down to bygone people,²⁴ to be with those who descend to the Pit. I will make you live in the lower parts of the earth, among²⁵ the primeval ruins, with those who descend to the Pit, so that you will not be inhabited or stand²⁶ in the land of the

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “into the midst of the water.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “cease to end.”

¹⁶ **sn** This prophecy was fulfilled by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “descend from.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “and they will be astonished over you.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “and they will lift up over you a lament and they will say to you.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “O inhabitant.” The translation follows the LXX and understands a different Hebrew verb, meaning “cease,” behind the consonantal text. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* [WBC], 2:72, and D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:43.

²¹ **tn** Heb “she and her inhabitants who placed their terror to all her inhabitants.” The relationship of the final prepositional phrase to what precedes is unclear. The preposition probably has a specifying function here, drawing attention to Tyre’s inhabitants as the source of the terror mentioned prior to this. In this case, one might paraphrase verse 17b: “she and her inhabitants, who spread their terror; yes, her inhabitants (were the source of this terror).”

²² **tn** Heb “from your going out.”

²³ **tn** Heb “many.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “to the people of antiquity.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “like.” The translation assumes an emendation of the preposition ל (kî, “like”), to ב (bî, “in, among”).

²⁶ **tn** Heb “and I will place beauty.” This reading makes little sense; many, following the lead of the LXX, emend the text to read “nor will you stand” with the negative particle before the preceding verb understood by ellipsis; see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:73. D. I. Block (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 2:47) offers another alternative, taking the apparent first person verb form as an archaic second feminine form and translating “nor radiate

¹ **tn** Heb “I will be filled.”

² **sn** That is, Jerusalem.

³ **tn** The word הִינֵה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) draws attention to something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁴ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ êlêhâ,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8. The Hebrew text switches to a second feminine singular form here, indicating that personified Jerusalem is addressed (see vv. 5-6a). The address to Jerusalem continues through v. 15. In vv. 16-17 the second masculine plural is used, as the people are addressed.

⁵ **tn** Or “debris.”

⁶ **sn** That is, the towns located inland that were under Tyre’s rule.

⁷ **tn** The word הִינֵה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) draws attention to something.

⁸ **tn** Heb “Nebuchadnezzar” is a variant and more correct spelling of Nebuchadnezzar, as the Babylonian name *Nabukadurri-usur* has an “r” rather than an “n.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “swords.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “From the abundance of his horses he will cover you (with) their dust.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “like those who enter a breached city.”

¹² **tn** Heb “desirable.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “set.”

living. **26:21** I will bring terrors on you, and you will be no more! Though you are sought after, you will never be found again, declares the sovereign LORD.”

A Lament for Tyre

27:1 The word of the LORD came to me:
27:2 “You, son of man, sing a lament for Tyre.¹
27:3 Say to Tyre, who sits at the entrance² of the sea,³ merchant to the peoples on many coasts, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“‘O Tyre, you have said, ‘I am perfectly beautiful.”

27:4 Your borders are in the heart of the seas;

your builders have perfected your beauty.
27:5 They crafted⁵ all your planks out of fir trees from Senir,⁶
they took a cedar from Lebanon to make your mast.

27:6 They made your oars from oaks of Bashan;

they made your deck⁷ with cypresses⁸ from the Kittean isles.⁹

27:7 Fine linen from Egypt, woven with patterns, was used for your sail to serve as your banner;

blue and purple from the coastlands of El-ishah¹⁰ was used for your deck’s awning.

27:8 The leaders¹¹ of Sidon¹² and Arvad¹³ were your rowers;

splendor.”

¹ **tn** Heb “lift up over Tyre a lament.”

² **tn** Heb “entrances.” The plural noun may reflect the fact that Tyre had two main harbors.

³ **sn** Rome, another economic power, is described in a similar way in Rev 17:1.

⁴ **tn** The city of Tyre is described in the following account as a merchant ship.

⁵ **tn** Heb “built.”

⁶ **tn** Perhaps the hull or deck. The term is dual, so perhaps it refers to a double-decked ship.

⁷ **tn** Or “hull.”

⁸ **tc** The Hebrew reads “Your deck they made ivory, daughter of Assyria.” The syntactically difficult “ivory” is understood here as dittography and omitted, though some construe this to refer to ivory inlays. “Daughter of Assyria” is understood here as improper word division and the vowels repointed as “cypresses.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “from the coastlands (or islands) of Kittim,” generally understood to be a reference to the island of Cyprus, where the Phoenicians had a trading colony on the southeast coast. Many modern English versions have “Cyprus” (CEV, TEV), “the coastlands of Cyprus” (NASB), “the coasts of Cyprus” (NIV, NRSV), or “the southern coasts of Cyprus” (NLT).

sn The *Kittean isles* is probably a reference to southeast Cyprus where the Phoenicians had a colony.

¹⁰ **sn** This is probably a reference to Cyprus.

¹¹ **tc** The MT reads “the residents of”; the LXX reads “your rulers who dwell in.” With no apparent reason for the LXX to add “the rulers” many suppose something has dropped out of the Hebrew text. While more than one may be possible, Allen’s proposal, positing a word meaning “elders,” is the most likely to explain the omission in the MT from a graphic standpoint and also provides a parallel to the beginning of v. 9. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:81.a parallel to v. 9.

¹² **map** For location see Map1-A1; JP3-F3; JP4-F3.

¹³ **sn** Sidon and Arvad, like Tyre, were Phoenician coastal cities.

your skilled¹⁴ men, O Tyre, were your captains.

27:9 The elders of Gebal¹⁵ and her skilled men were within you, mending cracks;¹⁶ all the ships of the sea and their mariners were within you to trade for your merchandise.¹⁷

27:10 Men of Persia, Lud,¹⁸ and Put were in your army, men of war.

They hung shield and helmet on you; they gave you your splendor.

27:11 The Arvadites¹⁹ joined your army on your walls all around, and the Gammadites²⁰ were in your towers.

They hung their quivers²¹ on your walls all around;

they perfected your beauty.

27:12 “‘Tarshish²² was your trade partner because of your abundant wealth; they exchanged silver, iron, tin, and lead for your products. **27:13** Javan, Tubal, and Meshech were your clients; they exchanged slaves and bronze items for your merchandise. **27:14** Beth Togarmah exchanged horses, chargers,²³ and mules for your products. **27:15** The Dedanites²⁴ were your clients. Many coastlands were your customers; they paid²⁵ you with ivory tusks and

¹⁴ **tn** Or “wise.”

¹⁵ **sn** Another Phoenician coastal city located between Sidon and Arvad.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “strengthening damages.” Here “to strengthen” means to repair. The word for “damages” occurs several times in 1 Kgs 12 about some type of damage to the temple, which may have referred to or included cracks. Since the context describes Tyre in its glory, we do not expect this reference to damages to be of significant scale, even if there are repairs. This may refer to using pitch to seal the seams of the ship, which had to be done periodically and could be considered routine maintenance rather than repair of damage.

¹⁷ **sn** The reference to “all the ships of the sea...within you” suggests that the metaphor is changing; previously Tyre had been described as a magnificent ship, but now the description shifts back to an actual city. The “ships of the sea” were within Tyre’s harbor. Verse 11 refers to “walls” and “towers” of the city.

¹⁸ **sn** See Gen 10:22.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “sons of Arvad.”

²⁰ **sn** The identity of the Gammadites is uncertain.

²¹ **tn** See note on “quivers” in Jer 51:11 on the meaning of Hebrew שָׁוֶן (*shevet*) and also M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:553.

²² **sn** *Tarshish* refers to a distant seaport sometimes believed to be located in southern Spain (others identified it as Carthage in North Africa). In any event it represents here a distant, rich, and exotic port which was a trading partner of Tyre.

²³ **tn** The way in which these horses may have been distinguished from other horses is unknown. Cf. ASV “war-horses” (NASB, NIV, NRSV, CEV all similar); NLT “chariot horses.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “sons of Dedan.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “they returned as your gift.”

ebony. **27:16** Edom¹ was your trade partner because of the abundance of your goods; they exchanged turquoise, purple, embroidered work, fine linen, coral, and rubies for your products. **27:17** Judah and the land of Israel were your clients; they traded wheat from Minnith,² millet, honey, olive oil, and balm for your merchandise. **27:18** Damascus was your trade partner because of the abundance of your goods and of all your wealth: wine from Helbon, white wool from Zahar, **27:19** and casks of wine³ from Izal⁴ they exchanged for your products. Wrought iron, cassia, and sweet cane were among your merchandise. **27:20** Dedan was your client in saddlecloths for riding. **27:21** Arabia and all the princes of Kedar were your trade partners; for lambs, rams, and goats they traded with you. **27:22** The merchants of Sheba and Raamah engaged in trade with you; they traded the best kinds of spices along with precious stones and gold for your products. **27:23** Haran, Kanneh, Eden, merchants from Sheba, Asshur, and Kilmad were your clients. **27:24** They traded with you choice garments, purple clothes and embroidered work, and multicolored carpets, bound and reinforced with cords; these were among your merchandise. **27:25** The ships of Tarshish⁵ were the transports for your merchandise.

“So you were filled and weighed down in the heart of the seas.

27:26 Your rowers have brought you into surging waters.

The wind has wrecked you in the heart of the seas.

27:27 Your wealth, products, and merchandise, your sailors and captains, your ship’s carpenters,⁶ your merchants, and all your fighting men within you, along with all your crew who are in you, will fall into the heart of the seas on the day of your downfall.

27:28 At the sound of your captains’ cry the waves will surge;⁷

27:29 They will descend from their ships – all who handle the oar, the sailors and all the sea captains – they will stand on the land.

27:30 They will lament loudly⁸ over you and cry bitterly.

They will throw dust on their heads and roll in the ashes;⁹

27:31 they will tear out their hair because of you and put on sackcloth, and they will weep bitterly over you with intense mourning.¹⁰

27:32 As they wail they will lament over you, chanting:

“Who was like Tyre, like a tower¹¹ in the midst of the sea?”

27:33 When your products went out from the seas,

you satisfied many peoples; with the abundance of your wealth and merchandise

you enriched the kings of the earth.

27:34 Now you are wrecked by the seas, in the depths of the waters;

your merchandise and all your company have sunk¹² along with you.¹³

27:35 All the inhabitants of the coastlands are shocked at you, and their kings are horribly afraid – their faces are troubled.

27:36 The traders among the peoples hiss at you;

you have become a horror, and will be no more.”

A Prophecy Against the King of Tyre

28:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **28:2** “Son of man, say to the prince¹⁴ of Tyre, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“Your heart is proud¹⁵ and you said, ‘I am a god;¹⁶

I sit in the seat of gods, in the heart of the seas” –

yet you are a man and not a god, though you think you are godlike.¹⁷

28:3 Look, you are wiser than Daniel;¹⁸

¹ **tc** Many Hebrew MSS, Aquila’s Greek translation, and the Syriac version read “Edom.” The LXX reads “man,” a translation which assumes the same consonants as Edom. This reading is supported from the context as the text deals with Damascus, the capital of Syria (Aram), later (in v. 18).

² **sn** The location is mentioned in Judg 11:33.

³ **tc** The MT leaves v. 18 as an incomplete sentence and begins v. 19 with “and Dan and Javan (Ionia) from Uzal.” The LXX mentions “wine.” The translation follows an emendation assuming some confusions of *vav* and *yod*. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:82.

⁴ **sn** According to L. C. Allen (*Ezekiel* [WBC], 2:82), *Izal* was located between Haran and the Tigris and was famous for its wine.

⁵ **tn** Or perhaps “Large merchant ships.” The expression “ships of Tarshish” may describe a class of vessel, that is, large oceangoing merchant ships.

⁶ **tn** Heb “your repairers of damage.” See v. 9.

⁷ **tn** Compare this phrase to Isa 57:20 and Amos 8:8. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:561.

⁸ **tn** Heb “make heard over you with their voice.”

⁹ **tn** Note a similar expression to “roll in the ashes” in Mic 1:10.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and they will weep concerning you with bitterness of soul, (with) bitter mourning.”

¹¹ **tn** As it stands, the meaning of the Hebrew text is unclear. The translation follows the suggestion of M. Dahood, “Accadian-Ugaritic *dmt* in Ezekiel 27:32,” *Bib* 45 (1964): 83–84. Several other explanations and emendations have been offered. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:83, and D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:85–86, for a list of options.

¹² **tn** Heb “fallen.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “in the midst of you.”

¹⁴ **tn** Or “ruler” (NIV, NCV).

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “lifted up.”

¹⁶ **sn** See Prov 16:5.

¹⁷ **tn** Or “I am divine.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “and you made your heart (mind) like the heart (mind) of gods.”

¹⁹ **sn** Or perhaps “Daniel” (so TEV), referring to a ruler known

no secret is hidden from you.¹

28:4 By your wisdom and understanding you have gained wealth for yourself; you have amassed gold and silver in your treasuries.

28:5 By your great skill² in trade you have increased your wealth, and your heart is proud because of your wealth.

28:6 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says:

Because you think you are godlike,³

28:7 I am about to bring foreigners⁴ against you, the most terrifying of nations.

They will draw their swords against the grandeur made by your wisdom,⁵ and they will defile your splendor.

28:8 They will bring you down to the Pit, and you will die violently⁶ in the heart of the seas.

28:9 Will you still say, “I am a god,” before the one who kills you – though you are a man and not a god – when you are in the power of those who wound you?

28:10 You will die the death of the uncircumcised⁷ by the hand of foreigners; for I have spoken, declares the sovereign LORD.”

28:11 The word of the LORD came to me: **28:12** “Son of man, sing⁸ a lament for the king of Tyre, and say to him, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“You were the sealer⁹ of perfection, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty.

28:13 You were in Eden, the garden of God.”¹⁰

from Canaanite legend. See the note on “Daniel” in 14:14. A reference to Danel (preserved in legend at Ugarit, near the northern end of the Phoenician coast) makes more sense here when addressing Tyre than in 14:14.

¹ **sn** The tone here is sarcastic, reflecting the ruler’s view of himself.

² **tn** Or “wisdom.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “because of your making your heart like the heart of gods.”

⁴ **sn** This is probably a reference to the Babylonians.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “they will draw their swords against the beauty of your wisdom.”

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “you will die the death of the slain.”

⁷ **sn** The Phoenicians practiced circumcision, so the language here must be figurative, indicating that they would be treated in a disgraceful manner. Uncircumcised peoples were viewed as inferior, unclean, and perhaps even sub-human. See 31:18 and 32:17-32, as well as the discussion in D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:99.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “lift up.”

⁹ **tn** For a discussion of possible nuances of this phrase, see M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:580-81.

¹⁰ **sn** The imagery of the lament appears to draw upon an extrabiblical Eden tradition about the expulsion of the first man (see v. 14 and the note there) from the garden due to his pride. The biblical Eden tradition speaks of cherubs placed as guardians at the garden entrance following the sin of Adam and Eve (Gen 3:24), but no guardian cherub like the one de-

Every precious stone was your covering, the ruby, topaz, and emerald, the chrysolite, onyx, and jasper, the sapphire, turquoise, and beryl;¹¹ your settings and mounts were made of gold.

On the day you were created they were prepared.

28:14 I placed you there with an anointed¹² guardian¹³ cherub;¹⁴

you were on the holy mountain of God; you walked about amidst fiery stones.

28:15 You were blameless in your behavior¹⁵ from the day you were created, until sin was discovered in you.

28:16 In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence,¹⁶ and you sinned; so I defiled you and banished you¹⁷ from the mountain of God – the guardian cherub expelled you¹⁸ from the midst of the stones of fire.

scribed in verse 14 is depicted or mentioned in the biblical account. Ezekiel’s imagery also appears to reflect Mesopotamian and Canaanite mythology at certain points. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:119-20.

¹¹ **tn** The exact identification of each gemstone is uncertain. The list should be compared to that of the priest in Exod 28:17-20, which lists twelve stones in rows of three. The LXX apparently imports the Exod 28 list. See reference to the types of stones in L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:91.

¹² **tn** Or “winged”; see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:91.

¹³ **tn** The meaning of this phrase in Hebrew is uncertain. The word translated here “guards” occurs in Exod 25:20 in reference to the cherubim “covering” the ark.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “you (were) an anointed cherub that covers and I placed you.” In the Hebrew text the ruler of Tyre is equated with a cherub, and the verb “I placed you” is taken with what follows (“on the holy mountain of God”). However, this reading is problematic. The pronoun “you” at the beginning of verse 14 is feminine singular in the Hebrew text; elsewhere in this passage the ruler of Tyre is addressed with masculine singular forms. It is possible that the pronoun is a rare (see Deut 5:24; Num 11:15) or defectively written (see 1 Sam 24:19; Neh 9:6; Job 1:10; Ps 6:3; Eccl 7:22) masculine form, but it is more likely that the form should be reprinted as the preposition “with” (see the LXX). In this case the ruler of Tyre is compared to the first man, not to a cherub. If this emendation is accepted, then the verb “I placed you” belongs with what precedes and concludes the first sentence in the verse. It is noteworthy that the verbs in the second and third lines of the verse also appear at the end of the sentence in the Hebrew text. The presence of a conjunction at the beginning of “I placed you” is problematic for the proposal, but it may reflect a later misunderstanding of the syntax of the verse. For a defense of the proposed emendation, see L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:91.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “ways.”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “they filled your midst with violence.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “I defiled you.” The presence of the preposition “from” following the verb indicates that a verb of motion is implied as well. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:91.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “and I expelled you, O guardian cherub.” The Hebrew text takes the verb as first person and understands “guardian cherub” as a vocative, in apposition to the pronominal suffix on the verb. However, if the emendation in verse 14a is accepted (see the note above), then one may follow the LXX here as well and emend the verb to a third person perfect. In this case the subject of the verb is the guardian cherub. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:91.

28:17 Your heart was proud because of your beauty;
you corrupted your wisdom on account of your splendor.

I threw you down to the ground;
I placed you before kings, that they might see you.

28:18 By the multitude of your iniquities, through the sinfulness of your trade, you desecrated your sanctuaries.
So I drew fire out from within you;

it consumed you,
and I turned you to ashes on the earth before the eyes of all who saw you.

28:19 All who know you among the peoples are shocked at you;
you have become terrified and will be no more.”

A Prophecy Against Sidon

28:20 The word of the LORD came to me:

28:21 “Son of man, turn toward¹ Sidon² and prophesy against it. **28:22** Say, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“Look, I am against you,³ Sidon, and I will magnify myself in your midst. Then they will know that I am the LORD when I execute judgments on her and reveal my sovereign power⁴ in her.

28:23 I will send a plague into the city⁵ and bloodshed into its streets; the slain will fall within it, by the sword that attacks it⁶ from every side.

Then they will know that I am the LORD.

28:24 “No longer will Israel suffer from the sharp briars⁷ or painful thorns of all who surround and scorn them.⁸ Then they will know that I am the sovereign LORD.

28:25 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: When I regather the house of Israel from the peoples where they are dispersed, I will reveal my sovereign power⁹ over them in the sight of the nations, and they will live in their land that I gave to my servant Jacob.

¹ **tn** *Heb* “set your face against.”

² **sn** *Sidon* was located 25 miles north of Tyre.

³ **map** For location see Map1-A1; JP3-F3; JP4-F3.

⁴ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ *êlêkâ*,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8.

⁵ **tn** Or “reveal my holiness.” God’s “holiness” is fundamentally his transcendence as sovereign ruler of the world. The revelation of his authority and power through judgment is in view in this context.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “into it”; the referent of the feminine pronoun has been specified in the translation for clarity.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “by a sword against it.”

⁸ **sn** Similar language is used in reference to Israel’s adversaries in Num 33:55; Josh 23:13.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “and there will not be for the house of Israel a brier that pricks and a thorn that inflicts pain from all the ones who surround them, the ones who scorn them.”

¹⁰ **tn** Or “reveal my holiness.” See verse 22.

28:26 They will live securely in it; they will build houses and plant vineyards. They will live securely¹⁰ when I execute my judgments on all those who scorn them and surround them. Then they will know that I am the LORD their God.”

A Prophecy Against Egypt

29:1 In the tenth year, in the tenth month, on the twelfth day of the month,¹¹ the word of the LORD came to me: **29:2** “Son of man, turn toward¹² Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him and against all Egypt. **29:3** Tell them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“Look, I am against¹³ you, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great monster¹⁴ lying in the midst of its waterways, who has said, ‘My Nile is my own, I made it for myself.’”¹⁵

29:4 I will put hooks in your jaws and stick the fish of your waterways to your scales.

I will haul you up from the midst of your waterways, and all the fish of your waterways will stick to your scales.

29:5 I will leave you in the wilderness, you and all the fish of your waterways; you will fall in the open field and will not be gathered up or collected.¹⁶

I have given you as food to the beasts of the earth and the birds of the skies.

29:6 Then all those living in Egypt will know that I am the LORD because they were a reed staff¹⁷ for the house of Israel;

29:7 when they grasped you with their hand,¹⁸ you broke and tore¹⁹ their shoulders,

¹⁰ **sn** This promise was given in Lev 25:18-19.

¹¹ **tn** January 7, 587 B.C.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “set your face against.”

¹³ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ *êlêkâ*,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “jackals,” but many medieval Hebrew MSS read correctly “the serpent.” The Hebrew term appears to refer to a serpent in Exod 7:9-10, 12; Deut 32:33; and Ps 91:13. It also refers to large creatures that inhabit the sea (Gen 1:21; Ps 148:7). In several passages it is associated with the sea or with the multiheaded sea monster Leviathan (Job 7:12; Ps 74:13; Isa 27:1; 51:9). Because of the Egyptian setting of this prophecy and the reference to the creature’s scales (v. 4), many understand a crocodile to be the referent here (e.g., NCV “a great crocodile”; TEV “you monster crocodile”; CEV “a giant crocodile”).

¹⁵ **sn** In Egyptian theology Pharaoh owned and controlled the Nile. See J. D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament*, 240-44.

¹⁶ **tc** Some Hebrew MSS, the Targum, and the LXX read “buried.”

¹⁷ **sn** Compare Isa 36:6.

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew consonantal text (*Kethib*) has “by your hand,” but the marginal reading (*Qere*) has simply “by the hand.” The LXX reads “with their hand.”

¹⁹ **tn** Or perhaps “dislocated.”

and when they leaned on you, you splintered and caused their legs to be unsteady.¹

29:8 “Therefore, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am about to bring a sword against you, and I will kill² every person and every animal. **29:9** The land of Egypt will become a desolate ruin. Then they will know that I am the LORD.

Because he said, “The Nile is mine and I made it,” **29:10** I am against³ you and your waterways. I will turn the land of Egypt into an utter desolate ruin from Migdol⁴ to Syene,⁵ as far as the border with Ethiopia. **29:11** No human foot will pass through it, and no animal’s foot will pass through it; it will be uninhabited for forty years. **29:12** I will turn the land of Egypt into a desolation in the midst of desolate lands; for forty years her cities will lie desolate in the midst of ruined cities. I will scatter Egypt among the nations and disperse them among foreign countries.

29:13 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says: At the end of forty years⁶ I will gather Egypt from the peoples where they were scattered. **29:14** I will restore the fortunes of Egypt, and will bring them back⁷ to the land of Pathros, to the land of their origin; there they will be an insignificant kingdom. **29:15** It will be the most insignificant of the kingdoms; it will never again exalt itself over the nations. I will make them so small that they will not rule over the nations. **29:16** It will never again be Israel’s source of confidence, but a reminder of how they sinned by turning to Egypt for help.⁸ Then they will know that I am the sovereign LORD.”

29:17 In the twenty-seventh year, in the first month, on the first day of the month,⁹ the word of the LORD came to me: **29:18** “Son of man,

King Nebuchadrezzar¹⁰ of Babylon made his army labor hard against Tyre.¹¹ Every head was rubbed bald and every shoulder rubbed bare; yet he and his army received no wages from Tyre for the work he carried out against it. **29:19** Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am about to give the land of Egypt to King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon. He will carry off her wealth, capture her loot, and seize her plunder; it will be his army’s wages. **29:20** I have given him the land of Egypt as his compensation for attacking Tyre¹², because they did it for me, declares the sovereign LORD. **29:21** On that day I will make Israel powerful,¹³ and I will give you the right to be heard¹⁴ among them. Then they will know that I am the LORD.”

A Lament Over Egypt

30:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **30:2** “Son of man, prophesy and say, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“Wail, ‘Alas, the day is here!’”¹⁵

30:3 For the day is near, the day of the LORD is near; it will be a day of storm clouds,¹⁶ it will be a time of judgment¹⁷ for the nations.

30:4 A sword will come against Egypt and panic will overtake Ethiopia when the slain fall in Egypt and they carry away her wealth and dismantle her foundations.

30:5 Ethiopia, Put, Lud, all the foreigners,¹⁸ Libya, and the people¹⁹ of the covenant land²⁰ will die by the sword along with them.

30:6 “This is what the LORD says:

¹ **tn** Heb “you caused to stand for them all their hips.” An emendation which switches two letters but is supported by the LXX yields the reading “you caused all their hips to shake.” See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:103. In 2 Kgs 18:21 and Isa 36:6 trusting in the Pharaoh is compared to leaning on a staff. The oracle may reflect Hophra’s attempt to aid Jerusalem (Jer 37:5-8).

² **tn** Heb “I will cut off from you.”

³ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ *’ēlākā*,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8.

⁴ **sn** This may refer to a site in the Egyptian Delta which served as a refuge for Jews (Jer 44:1; 46:14).

⁵ **sn** Syene is known today as Aswan.

⁶ **sn** In Ezek 4:4-8 it was said that the house of Judah would suffer forty years.

⁷ **tc** Thus the Masoretic Text. The LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate translate as though the Hebrew read “cause to inhabit.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “reminding of iniquity when they turned after them.”

⁹ **sn** April 26, 571 B.C.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “Nebuchadrezzar” is a variant and more correct spelling of Nebuchadnezzar, as the Babylonian name *Nabukudurri-usur* has an “r” rather than an “n” (so also in v. 19).

¹¹ **sn** Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre from 585 to 571 B.C. **map** For location see Map1-A2; Map2-G2; Map4-A1; JP3-F3; JP4-F3.

¹² **tn** Heb “for which he worked,” referring to the assault on Tyre (v. 18).

¹³ **tn** Heb “I will cause a horn to sprout for the house of Israel.” The horn is used as a figure for military power in the OT (Ps 92:10). A similar expression is made about the Davidic dynasty in Ps 132:17.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “I will grant you an open mouth.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “Alas for the day.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “a day of clouds.” The expression occurs also in Joel 2:2 and Zeph 1:15; it recalls the appearance of God at Mount Sinai (Exod 19:9, 16, 18).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “a time.” The words “of judgment” have been added in the translation for clarification (see the following verses).

¹⁸ **tn** Heb The same expression appears in Exod 12:38; Jer 25:20; 50:37; Neh 13:3. It may refer to foreign mercenaries serving in the armies of the nations listed here.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “sons.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb The expression “sons of the covenant land” possibly refers to Jews living in Egypt (Jer 44).

Egypt's supporters will fall;
her confident pride will crumble.¹
From Migdol to Syene² they will die by
the sword within her,
declares the sovereign LORD.

30:7 They will be desolate among desolate
lands,
and their cities will be among ruined cit-
ies.

30:8 They will know that I am the LORD
when I ignite a fire in Egypt
and all her allies are defeated.³

30:9 On that day messengers will go out from
me in ships to frighten overly confident Ethiopia;
panic will overtake them on the day of Egypt's
doom,⁴ for beware – it is coming!

30:10 ““This is what the sovereign LORD
says:
I will put an end to the hordes of Egypt,
by the hand of King Nebuchadrezzar⁵ of
Babylon.

30:11 He and his people with him,
the most terrifying of the nations,⁶
will be brought there to destroy the land.
They will draw their swords against
Egypt,
and fill the land with corpses.

30:12 I will dry up the waterways
and hand the land over to⁷ evil men.
I will make the land and everything in it
desolate by the hand of foreigners.
I, the LORD, have spoken!

30:13 ““This is what the sovereign LORD
says:
I will destroy the idols,
and put an end to the gods of Memphis.
There will no longer be a prince from the
land of Egypt;
so I will make the land of Egypt fearful.⁸
30:14 I will desolate Pathros,
I will ignite a fire in Zoan,
and I will execute judgments on Thebes.
30:15 I will pour out my anger upon Pelu-
sium,⁹

the stronghold of Egypt;
I will cut off¹⁰ the hordes of Thebes.

30:16 I will ignite a fire in Egypt;
Syene¹¹ will writhe in agony,

Thebes will be broken down,
and Memphis will face enemies every
day.

30:17 The young men of On and of Pi-
beseth¹² will die by the sword;
and the cities will go¹³ into captivity.

30:18 In Tahpanhes the day will be dark¹⁴
when I break the yoke of Egypt there.
Her confident pride will cease within her;
a cloud will cover her, and her daughters
will go into captivity.

30:19 I will execute judgments on Egypt.
Then they will know that I am the
LORD.””

30:20 In the eleventh year, in the first month,
on the seventh day of the month,¹⁵ the word of the
LORD came to me: **30:21** “Son of man, I have bro-
ken the arm¹⁶ of Pharaoh king of Egypt.¹⁷ Look,
it has not been bandaged for healing or set with a
dressing so that it might become strong enough to
grasp a sword. **30:22** Therefore this is what the sov-
ereign LORD says: Look,¹⁸ I am against¹⁹ Pharaoh
king of Egypt, and I will break his arms, the strong
arm and the broken one, and I will make the sword
drop from his hand. **30:23** I will scatter the Egyp-
tians among the nations, and disperse them among
foreign countries. **30:24** I will strengthen the arms
of the king of Babylon, and I will place my sword
in his hand, but I will break the arms of Pharaoh,
and he will groan like the fatally wounded before
the king of Babylon.²⁰ **30:25** I will strengthen the
arms of the king of Babylon, but the arms of Pha-
raoh will fall limp. Then they will know that I am
the LORD when I place my sword in the hand of
the king of Babylon and he extends it against the
land of Egypt. **30:26** I will scatter the Egyptians
among the nations and disperse them among for-
eign countries. Then they will know that I am the
LORD.”

¹² **tn** On and Pi-beseth are generally identified with the Egyptian cities of Heliopolis and Bubastis.

¹³ **tn** Heb “they will go.” The pronoun and verb are feminine plural, indicating that the cities just mentioned are the antecedent of the pronoun and the subject of the verb. The translation makes this clear by stating the subject as “the cities.”

¹⁴ **sn** In Zeph 1:15 darkness is associated with the day of the LORD.

¹⁵ **tn** April 29, 587 B.C.

¹⁶ **sn** The expression “breaking the arm” indicates the removal of power (Ps 10:15; 37:17; Job 38:15; Jer 48:25).

¹⁷ **sn** This may refer to the event recorded in Jer 37:5.

¹⁸ **tn** The word *hinnēh* indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹⁹ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201-2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’ êlêkâ,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101-8.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “him”; the referent has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹ **tn** Heb “come down.”

² **sn** Syene is known as Aswan today.

³ **tn** Heb “all who aid her are broken.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “in the day of Egypt.” The word “doom” has been added in the translation to clarify the nature of the day.

⁵ **tn** Heb “Nebuchadrezzar” is a variant and more correct spelling of Nebuchadnezzar, as the Babylonian name *Nabukadurri-usur* has an “r” rather than an “n.”

⁶ **tn** The Babylonians were known for their cruelty (2 Kgs 25:7).

⁷ **tn** Heb “and I will sell the land into the hand of.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “I will put fear in the land of Egypt.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “Sin” (so KJV, NASB), a city commonly identified with Pelusium, a fortress on Egypt's northeastern frontier.

¹⁰ **tn** Or “kill.”

¹¹ **tc** The LXX reads “Syene,” which is Aswan in the south. The MT reads Sin, which has already been mentioned in v. 15.

A Cedar in Lebanon

31:1 In the eleventh year, in the third month, on the first day of the month,¹ the word of the LORD came to me: **31:2** “Son of man, say to Pharaoh king of Egypt and his hordes:

“Who are you like in your greatness?

31:3 Consider Assyria,² a cedar in Lebanon,³

with beautiful branches, like a forest giving shade, and extremely tall; its top reached into the clouds.

31:4 The water made it grow; underground springs made it grow tall. Rivers flowed all around the place it was planted,

while smaller channels watered all the trees of the field.⁴

31:5 Therefore it grew taller than all the trees of the field;

its boughs grew large and its branches grew long, because of the plentiful water in its shoots.⁵

31:6 All the birds of the sky nested in its boughs;

under its branches all the beasts of the field gave birth,

in its shade all the great⁶ nations lived.

31:7 It was beautiful in its loftiness, in the length of its branches;

for its roots went down deep to plentiful waters.

31:8 The cedars in the garden of God could not eclipse it,

nor could the fir trees⁷ match its boughs; the plane trees were as nothing compared to its branches;

no tree in the garden of God could rival its beauty.

31:9 I made it beautiful with its many branches; all the trees of Eden, in the garden of God, envied it.

31:10 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Because it was tall in stature, and its top reached into the clouds, and it was proud of its height, **31:11** I gave it over to the leader of the nations. He has judged it thoroughly,⁸ as its sinfulness deserves. I have thrown it out. **31:12** Foreigners from the most terrifying nations have cut it down and left it to lie there on the mountains. In all the valleys its branches have fallen, and its boughs lie broken in the ravines of the land. All the peoples of the land⁹ have departed¹⁰ from its shade and left it. **31:13** On its ruins all the birds of the sky will live, and all the wild animals¹¹ will walk¹² on its branches. **31:14** For this reason no watered trees will grow so tall; their tops will not reach into the clouds, nor will the well-watered ones grow that high.¹³ For all of them have been appointed to die in the lower parts of the earth;¹⁴ they will be among mere mortals,¹⁵ with those who descend to the Pit.

31:15 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: On the day it¹⁶ went down to Sheol I caused observers to lament.¹⁷ I covered it with the deep and held back its rivers; its plentiful water was restrained. I clothed Lebanon in black for it, and all the trees of the field wilted because of it. **31:16** I made the nations shake at the sound of its fall, when I threw it down to Sheol, along with those who descend to the Pit.¹⁸ Then all the trees of Eden, the choicest and the best of Lebanon, all that were well-watered, were comforted in the earth below. **31:17** Those who lived in its shade, its allies¹⁹ among the nations, also went down with it to Sheol, to those killed by the sword. **31:18** Which of the trees of Eden was like you in majesty and loftiness? You will be brought down with the trees of Eden to the lower parts of the earth; you will lie among the uncircum-

¹ **sn** June 21, 587 B.C.

² **sn** Either Egypt, or the Lord compares Egypt to Assyria, which is described in vv. 3-17 through the metaphor of a majestic tree. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:185. Like Egypt, Assyria had been a great world power, but in time God brought the Assyrians down. Egypt should learn from history the lesson that no nation, no matter how powerful, can withstand the judgment of God. Rather than following the text here, some prefer to emend the proper name Assyria to a similar sounding common noun meaning “boxwood” (see Ezek 27:6), which would make a fitting parallel to “cedar of Lebanon” in the following line. In this case vv. 3-18 in their entirety refer to Egypt, not Assyria. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:121-27.

³ **sn** Lebanon was known for its cedar trees (Judg 9:15; 1 Kgs 4:33; 5:6; 2 Kgs 14:9; Ezra 3:7; Pss 29:5; 92:12; 104:16).

⁴ **tn** Heb “Waters made it grow; the deep made it grow tall. It (the deep) was flowing with its rivers around the place it (the tree) was planted, it (the deep) sent out its channels to all the trees of the field.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “when it sends forth.” Repointing the consonants of the Masoretic text would render the proposed reading “shoots” (cf. NRSV).

⁶ **tn** Or “many.”

⁷ **tn** Or “cypress trees” (cf. NASB, NLT); NIV “pine trees.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “acting he has acted with regard to it.” The infinitive absolute precedes the main verb to emphasize the certainty and decisiveness of the action depicted.

⁹ **tn** Or “earth” (KJV, ASV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “gone down.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “the beasts of the field,” referring to wild as opposed to domesticated animals.

¹² **tn** Heb “be.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and they will not stand to them in their height, all the drinkers of water.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “for death, to the lower earth.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “the sons of men.”

¹⁶ **tn** Or “he.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “I caused lamentation.” D. I. Block (*Ezekiel* [NICOT], 2:194-95) proposes an alternative root which would give the meaning “I gated back the waters,” i.e., shut off the water supply.

¹⁸ **sn** For the expression “going down to the Pit,” see Ezek 26:20; 32:18, 24, 29.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “its arm.”

cised, with those killed by the sword! This is what will happen to Pharaoh and all his hordes, declares the sovereign LORD.”

Lamentation over Pharaoh and Egypt

32:1 In the twelfth year, in the twelfth month, on the first of the month,¹ the word of the LORD came to me: **32:2** “Son of man, sing a lament for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say to him:

“You were like a lion² among the nations,
but you are a monster in the seas;
you thrash about in your streams,
stir up the water with your feet,
and muddy your³ streams.

32:3 “This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“I will throw my net over you⁴ in the assembly of many peoples;
and they will haul you up in my dragnet.

32:4 I will leave you on the ground,
I will fling you on the open field,
I will allow⁵ all the birds of the sky to settle⁶ on you,
and I will permit⁷ all the wild animals⁸ to gorge themselves on you.

32:5 I will put your flesh on the mountains,
and fill the valleys with your maggot-infested carcass.⁹

32:6 I will drench the land with the flow of your blood up to the mountains,
and the ravines will be full of your blood.¹⁰

32:7 When I extinguish you, I will cover the sky;
I will darken its stars.

I will cover the sun with a cloud,
and the moon will not shine.¹¹

32:8 I will darken all the lights in the sky over you,
and I will darken your land,
declares the sovereign LORD.

32:9 I will disturb¹² many peoples,

when I bring about your destruction
among the nations,
among countries you do not know.

32:10 I will shock many peoples with you,
and their kings will shiver with horror
because of you.

When I brandish my sword before them,
every moment each one will tremble for
his life, on the day of your fall.

32:11 “For this is what the sovereign LORD says:

“The sword of the king of Babylon¹³ will attack¹⁴ you.

32:12 By the swords of the mighty warriors I will cause your hordes to fall –
all of them are the most terrifying among the nations.

They will devastate the pride of Egypt,
and all its hordes will be destroyed.

32:13 I will destroy all its cattle beside the plentiful waters;
and no human foot will disturb¹⁵ the waters¹⁶ again,

nor will the hooves of cattle disturb them.
32:14 Then I will make their waters calm,¹⁷
and will make their streams flow like olive oil, declares the sovereign LORD.

32:15 When I turn the land of Egypt into desolation
and the land is destitute of everything that fills it,
when I strike all those who live in it,
then they will know that I am the LORD.¹⁸
32:16 This is a lament; they will chant it.
The daughters of the nations will chant it.
They will chant it over Egypt and over all her hordes,
declares the sovereign LORD.”

32:17 In the twelfth year, on the fifteenth day of the month,¹⁹ the word of the LORD came to me: **32:18** “Son of man, wail²⁰ over the horde of Egypt. Bring it down,²¹ bring²² her²² and the

¹ **sn** This would be March 3, 585 B.C.

² **tn** The lion was a figure of royalty (Ezek 19:1-9).

³ **tc** The Hebrew reads “their streams”; the LXX reads “your streams.”

⁴ **tn** The expression “throw my net” is common in Ezekiel (12:13; 17:20; 19:8).

⁵ **tn** Or “cause.”

⁶ **tn** Heb “live.”

⁷ **tn** Or “cause.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “the beasts of the field,” referring to wild as opposed to domesticated animals.

⁹ **tc** The Hebrew text is difficult here, apparently meaning “your height.” Following Symmachus and the Syriac, it is preferable to emend the text to read “your maggots.” See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:203.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “from you.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “will not shine its light.” For similar features of cosmic eschatology, see Joel 2:10; 3:15; Amos 5:18-20; Zeph 1:5.

¹² **tn** Heb “I will provoke the heart of.”

¹³ **sn** The king of Babylon referred to here was Nebuchadnezzar (Ezek 21:19).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “approach.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “muddy.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “them,” that is, the waters mentioned in the previous line. The translation clarifies the referent.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “sink,” that is, to settle and become clear, not muddied.

¹⁸ **tn** March 17, 585 B.C. The LXX adds “first month.”

¹⁹ **tn** The Hebrew verb is used as a response to death (Jer 9:17-19; Amos 5:16).

²⁰ **sn** Through this prophetic lament given by God himself, the prophet activates the judgment described therein. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:217, and L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:136-37.

²¹ **tn** Heb “Bring him down, her and the daughters of the powerful nations, to the earth below.” The verb “bring down” appears in the Hebrew text only once. Because the verb takes several objects here, the repetition of the verb in the translation improves the English style.

²² **tn** This apparently refers to personified Egypt.

daughters of powerful nations down to the lower parts of the earth, along with those who descend to the Pit. **32:19** Say to them,¹ ‘Whom do you surpass in beauty?’² Go down and be laid to rest with the uncircumcised!’ **32:20** They will fall among those killed by the sword. The sword is drawn; they carry her and all her hordes away. **32:21** The bravest of the warriors will speak to him from the midst of Sheol along with his allies, saying: ‘The uncircumcised have come down; they lie still, killed by the sword.’

32:22 “Assyria is there with all her assembly around her grave,³ all of them struck down by the sword.⁴ **32:23** Their⁵ graves are located in the remote slopes of the Pit.⁶ Her assembly is around her grave, all of them struck down by the sword, those who spread terror in the land of the living.

32:24 “Elam is there with all her hordes around her grave; all of them struck down by the sword. They went down uncircumcised to the lower parts of the earth, those who spread terror in the land of the living. Now they will bear their shame with those who descend to the Pit. **32:25** Among the dead they have made a bed for her, along with all her hordes around her grave.⁷ All of them are uncircumcised, killed by the sword, for their terror had spread in the land of the living. They bear their shame along with those who descend to the Pit; they are placed among the dead.

32:26 “Meshech-Tubal is there, along with all her hordes around her grave.⁸ All of them are uncircumcised, killed by the sword, for they spread their terror in the land of the living. **32:27** They do not lie with the fallen warriors of ancient times,⁹ who went down to Sheol with their weapons of war, having their swords placed under their heads and their shields on

their bones,¹⁰ when the terror of these warriors was in the land of the living.

32:28 “But as for you, in the midst of the uncircumcised you will be broken, and you will lie with those killed by the sword.

32:29 “Edom is there with her kings and all her princes. Despite their might they are laid with those killed by the sword; they lie with the uncircumcised and those who descend to the Pit.

32:30 “All the leaders of the north are there, along with all the Sidonians; despite their might they have gone down in shameful terror with the dead. They lie uncircumcised with those killed by the sword, and bear their shame with those who descend to the Pit.

32:31 “Pharaoh will see them and be consoled over all his hordes who were killed by the sword, Pharaoh and all his army, declares the sovereign LORD. **32:32** Indeed, I terrified him in the land of the living, yet he will lie in the midst of the uncircumcised with those killed by the sword, Pharaoh and all his hordes, declares the sovereign LORD.”

Ezekiel Israel's Watchman

33:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **33:2** “Son of man, speak to your people,¹¹ and say to them, ‘Suppose I bring a sword against the land, and the people of the land take one man from their borders and make him their watchman. **33:3** He sees the sword coming against the land, blows the trumpet,¹² and warns the people,¹³ **33:4** but there is one who hears the sound of the trumpet yet does not heed the warning. Then the sword comes and sweeps him away. He will be responsible for his own death.¹⁴ **33:5** He heard the sound of the trumpet but did not heed the warning, so he is responsible for himself.¹⁵ If he had heeded the warning, he would have saved his life. **33:6** But suppose the watchman sees the sword coming and does not blow the trumpet to warn the people. Then the sword comes and takes one of their lives. He is swept away for his iniquity,¹⁶

¹ **tc** The LXX places this verse after v. 21.

tn The words “say to them” are added in the translation for clarity to indicate the shift in addressee from the prophet to Egypt.

² **tn** Heb “pleasantness.”

³ **tn** Heb “around him his graves.” The masculine pronominal suffixes are problematic; the expression is best emended to correspond to the phrase “around her grave” in v. 23. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:219.

⁴ **tn** Heb “all of them slain, the ones felled by the sword.” See as well vv. 23-24.

⁵ **tn** Heb “whose.”

⁶ **tn** The only other occurrence of the phrase “remote slopes of the Pit” is in Isa 14:15.

⁷ **tn** Heb “around him her graves,” but the expression is best emended to read “around her grave” (see vv. 23-24).

⁸ **tn** Heb “around him her graves,” but the expression is best emended to read “around her grave” (see vv. 23-24).

⁹ **tc** Heb “of the uncircumcised.” The LXX reads, probably correctly, “from of old” rather than “of the uncircumcised.” The phrases are very similar in spelling. The warriors of Meshech-Tubal are described as uncircumcised, so it would be odd for them to not be buried with the uncircumcised. Verse 28 specifically says that they would lie with the uncircumcised.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and their iniquities were over their bones.” The meaning of this statement is unclear; in light of the parallelism (see “swords”) it is preferable to emend “their iniquities” to “their swords.” See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:135.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “sons of your people.”

¹² **tn** Heb “shofar,” a ram’s horn rather than a brass instrument (so throughout the chapter).

¹³ **tn** Sounding the trumpet was a warning of imminent danger (Neh 4:18-20; Jer 4:19; Amos 3:6).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “his blood will be on his own head.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “his blood will be on him.”

¹⁶ **tn** Or “in his punishment.” The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity/punishment” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here and in vv. 8 and 9; 3:18, 19; 4:17; 7:13, 16; 18: 17, 18, 19, 20; 24:23; 39:23. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment” for iniquity or “guilt” of iniquity.

but I will hold the watchman accountable for that person's death.¹

33:7 "As for you, son of man, I have made you a watchman² for the house of Israel. Whenever you hear a word from my mouth, you must warn them on my behalf. **33:8** When I say to the wicked, 'O wicked man, you must certainly die,'³ and you do not warn⁴ the wicked about his behavior,⁵ the wicked man will die for his iniquity, but I will hold you accountable for his death.⁶ **33:9** But if you warn the wicked man to change his behavior,⁷ and he refuses to change,⁸ he will die for his iniquity, but you have saved your own life.

33:10 "And you, son of man, say to the house of Israel, 'This is what you have said: "Our rebellious acts and our sins have caught up with us,⁹ and we are wasting away because of them. How then can we live?"' **33:11** Say to them, 'As surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, I take no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but prefer that the wicked change his behavior¹⁰ and live. Turn back, turn back from your evil deeds!¹¹ Why should you die, O house of Israel?"

33:12 "And you, son of man, say to your people,¹² 'The righteousness of the righteous will not deliver him if he rebels.¹³ As for the wicked, his wickedness will not make him stumble if he turns from it.¹⁴ The righteous will not be able to live by his righteousness¹⁵ if he sins.'¹⁶ **33:13** Suppose I tell the righteous that he will certainly live, but he becomes confident in his righteousness and commits iniquity. None of his righteous deeds will be remembered; because of the iniquity he has committed he will die. **33:14** Suppose I say to the wicked, 'You must certainly die,' but he turns from his sin and does what is just and right. **33:15** He¹⁷ returns what was taken in pledge, pays back what he has stolen, and follows the statutes that

give life,¹⁸ committing no iniquity. He will certainly live – he will not die. **33:16** None of the sins he has committed will be counted¹⁹ against him. He has done what is just and right; he will certainly live.

33:17 "Yet your people²⁰ say, 'The behavior²¹ of the Lord is not right,'²² when it is their behavior that is not right. **33:18** When a righteous man turns from his godliness and commits iniquity, he will die for it. **33:19** When the wicked turns from his sin and does what is just and right, he will live because of it. **33:20** Yet you say, 'The behavior of the Lord is not right.' House of Israel, I will judge each of you according to his behavior."²³

The Fall of Jerusalem

33:21 In the twelfth year of our exile, in the tenth month, on the fifth of the month,²⁴ a refugee came to me from Jerusalem²⁵ saying, "The city has been defeated!"²⁶ **33:22** Now the hand of the LORD had been on me²⁷ the evening before the refugee reached me, but the LORD²⁸ opened my mouth by the time the refugee arrived²⁹ in the morning; he opened my mouth and I was no longer unable to speak.³⁰ **33:23** The word of the LORD came to me: **33:24** "Son of man, the ones living in these ruins in the land of Israel are saying, 'Abraham was only one man, yet he possessed the land, but we are many; surely the land has been given to us for a possession.'³¹ **33:25** Therefore say to them, 'This is what the sovereign LORD says: You eat the meat with the blood still in it,³² pray to³³ your idols, and shed blood. Do you really think you will possess³⁴ the land? **33:26** You rely³⁵ on your swords and commit abominable deeds;

¹ *tn* Heb "his blood from the hand of the watchman I will seek."

² *sn* Jeremiah (Jer 6:17) and Habakkuk (Hab 2:1) also served in the role of a watchman.

³ *tn* The same expression occurs in Gen 2:17.

⁴ *tn* Heb "and you do not speak to warn."

⁵ *tn* Heb "way."

⁶ *tn* Heb "and his blood from your hand I will seek."

⁷ *tn* Heb "from his way to turn from it."

⁸ *tn* Heb "and he does not turn from his way."

⁹ *tn* Heb "(are) upon us."

¹⁰ *tn* Heb "turn from his way."

¹¹ *tn* Heb "ways." This same word is translated "behavior" earlier in the verse.

¹² *tn* Heb "the sons of your people."

¹³ *tn* Heb "in the day of his rebellion." The statement envisions a godly person rejecting what is good and becoming sinful. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:247-48.

¹⁴ *tn* Heb "and the wickedness of the wicked, he will not stumble in it in the day of his turning from his wickedness."

¹⁵ *tn* Heb "by it."

¹⁶ *tn* Heb "in the day of his sin."

¹⁷ *tn* Heb "the wicked one."

¹⁸ *tn* Heb "and in the statutes of life he walks."

¹⁹ *tn* Heb "remembered."

²⁰ *tn* Heb "the sons of your people."

²¹ *tn* Heb "way."

²² *tn* The Hebrew verb translated "is (not) right" has the basic meaning of "to measure." For a similar concept, see Ezek 18:25, 29.

²³ *tn* Heb "ways."

²⁴ *tn* January 19, 585 B.C.

²⁵ *map* For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

²⁶ *tn* Heb "smitten."

²⁷ *tn* The other occurrences of the phrase "the hand of the LORD" in Ezekiel are in the context of prophetic visions.

²⁸ *tn* Heb "he"; the referent has been specified in the translation for clarity.

²⁹ *tn* Heb "by the time of the arrival to me." For clarity the translation specifies the refugee as the one who arrived.

³⁰ *sn* Ezekiel's God-imposed muteness was lifted (see 3:26).

³¹ *sn* Outside of its seven occurrences in Ezekiel the term translated "possession" appears only in Exod 6:8 and Deut 33:4.

³² *sn* This practice was a violation of Levitical law (see Lev 19:26).

³³ *tn* Heb "lift up your eyes."

³⁴ *tn* Heb "Will you possess?"

³⁵ *tn* Heb "stand."

each of you defiles his neighbor's wife. Will you possess the land?"

33:27 "This is what you must say to them, 'This is what the sovereign LORD says: As surely as I live, those living in the ruins will die¹ by the sword, those in the open field I will give to the wild beasts for food, and those who are in the strongholds and caves will die of disease. **33:28** I will turn the land into a desolate ruin; her confident pride will come to an end. The mountains of Israel will be so desolate no one will pass through them. **33:29** Then they will know that I am the LORD when I turn the land into a desolate ruin because of all the abominable deeds they have committed.'²

33:30 "But as for you, son of man, your people³ (who are talking about you by the walls and at the doors of the houses) say to one another,⁴ 'Come hear the word that comes⁵ from the LORD.' **33:31** They come to you in crowds,⁶ and they sit in front of you as⁷ my people. They hear your words, but do not obey⁸ them. For they talk lustfully,⁹ and their heart is set on¹⁰ their own advantage.¹¹ **33:32** Realize¹² that to them you are like a sensual song, a beautiful voice and skilled musician.¹³ They hear your words, but they do not obey them.¹⁴ **33:33** When all this comes true – and it certainly will¹⁵ – then they will know that a prophet was among them."

A Prophecy Against False Shepherds

34:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **34:2** "Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds¹⁶ of Israel; prophesy, and say to them – to the shepherds: 'This is what the sovereign LORD says: Woe to the shepherds of Israel who

have been feeding themselves! Should not shepherds feed the flock? **34:3** You eat the fat, you clothe yourselves with the wool, you slaughter the choice animals, but you do not feed the sheep! **34:4** You have not strengthened the weak, healed the sick, bandaged the injured, brought back the strays, or sought the lost, but with force and harshness¹⁷ you have ruled over them. **34:5** They were scattered because they had no shepherd, and they became food for every wild beast.¹⁸ **34:6** My sheep wandered over all the mountains and on every high hill. My sheep were scattered over the entire face of the earth with no one looking or searching for them.

34:7 "Therefore, you shepherds, hear the word of the LORD: **34:8** As surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, my sheep have become prey and have become food for all the wild beasts. There was no shepherd, and my shepherds did not search for my flock, but fed themselves and did not feed my sheep, **34:9** Therefore, you shepherds, hear the word of the LORD: **34:10** This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am against the shepherds, and I will demand my sheep from their hand. I will no longer let them be shepherds;¹⁹ the shepherds will not feed themselves anymore. I will rescue my sheep from their mouth, so that they will no longer be food for them.

34:11 "For this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I myself will search for my sheep and seek them out. **34:12** As a shepherd seeks out his flock when he is among his scattered sheep, so I will seek out my flock. I will rescue them from all the places where they have been scattered on a cloudy, dark day.²⁰ **34:13** I will bring them out from among the peoples and gather them from foreign countries; I will bring them to their own land. I will feed them on the mountains of Israel, by the streams and all the inhabited places of the land. **34:14** In a good pasture I will feed them; the mountain heights of Israel will be their pasture. There they will lie down in a lush²¹ pasture, and they will feed on rich grass on the mountains of Israel. **34:15** I myself will feed my sheep and I myself will make them lie down, declares the sovereign LORD. **34:16** I will seek the lost and bring back the strays; I will bandage the injured and strengthen the sick, but the fat and the strong I will destroy. I will feed them – with judgment!

¹ tn Heb "fall."

² sn The judgments of vv. 27-29 echo the judgments of Lev 26:22, 25.

³ tn Heb "sons of your people."

⁴ tn Heb "one to one, a man to his brother."

⁵ tn Heb "comes out."

⁶ tn Heb "as people come." Apparently this is an idiom indicating that they come in crowds. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:264.

⁷ tn The word "as" is supplied in the translation.

⁸ tn Heb "do."

⁹ tn Heb "They do lust with their mouths."

¹⁰ tn Heb "goes after."

¹¹ tn The present translation understands the term often used for "unjust gain" in a wider sense, following M. Greenberg, who also notes that the LXX uses a term which can describe either sexual or ritual pollution. See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB), 2:687.

¹² tn The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally "behold") indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹³ tn Heb "one who makes playing music well."

¹⁴ sn Similar responses are found in Isa 29:13; Matt 21:28-32; James 1:22-25.

¹⁵ tn Heb "behold it is coming."

¹⁶ tn The term shepherd is applied to kings in the ancient Near East. In the OT the LORD is often addressed as shepherd of Israel (Gen 49:24; Ps 8:1). The imagery of shepherds as Israel's leaders is also employed (Jer 23:1-2).

¹⁷ tn The term translated "harshness" is used to describe the oppression the Israelites suffered as slaves in Egypt (Exod 1:13).

¹⁸ tn As a case of dittography, the MT repeats "and they were scattered" at the end of the verse.

¹⁹ tn Heb "I will cause them to cease from feeding sheep."

²⁰ sn The imagery may reflect the overthrow of the Israelites by the Babylonians in 587/6 B.C.

²¹ tn Heb "good."

34:17 “As for you, my sheep, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am about to judge between one sheep and another, between rams and goats. **34:18** Is it not enough for you to feed on the good pasture, that you must trample the rest of your pastures with your feet? When you drink clean water, must you muddy the rest of the water by trampling it with your feet? **34:19** As for my sheep, they must eat what you trampled with your feet, and drink what you have muddied with your feet!

34:20 “Therefore, this is what the sovereign LORD says to them: Look, I myself will judge between the fat sheep and the lean sheep. **34:21** Because you push with your side and your shoulder, and thrust your horns at all the weak sheep until you scatter them abroad,¹ **34:22** I will save my sheep; they will no longer be prey. I will judge between one sheep and another.

34:23 I will set one shepherd over them, and he will feed them – namely, my servant David.² He will feed them and will be their shepherd. **34:24** I, the LORD, will be their God, and my servant David will be prince³ among them; I, the LORD, have spoken!

34:25 “I will make a covenant of peace with them and will rid the land of wild beasts, so that they can live securely⁴ in the wilderness and even sleep in the woods.⁵ **34:26** I will turn them and the regions around my hill into a blessing. I will make showers come down in their season; they will be showers that bring blessing.⁶ **34:27** The trees of the field will yield their fruit and the earth will yield its crops. They will live securely on their land; they will know that I am the LORD, when I break the bars of their yoke and rescue them from the hand of those who enslaved them. **34:28** They will no longer be prey for the nations and the wild beasts will not devour them. They will live securely and no one will make them afraid. **34:29** I will prepare for them a healthy⁷ plant-

ing. They will no longer be victims⁸ of famine in the land and will no longer bear the insults of the nations. **34:30** Then they will know that I, the LORD their God, am with them,⁹ and that they are my people, the house of Israel, declares the sovereign LORD.¹⁰ **34:31** And you, my sheep, the sheep of my pasture, are my people,¹¹ and I am your God, declares the sovereign LORD.”

Prophecy Against Mount Seir

35:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **35:2** “Son of man, turn toward¹² Mount Seir,¹³ and prophesy against it. **35:3** Say to it, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says:

“Look, I am against you, Mount Seir; I will stretch out my hand against you and turn you into a desolate ruin.

35:4 I will lay waste your cities; and you will become desolate.

Then you will know that I am the LORD!

35:5 “You have shown unrelenting hostility and poured the people of Israel onto the blades of a sword¹⁴ at the time of their calamity, at the time of their final punishment. **35:6** Therefore, as surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, I will subject you to bloodshed, and bloodshed will pursue you. Since you did not hate bloodshed, bloodshed will pursue you. **35:7** I will turn Mount Seir into a desolate ruin;¹⁵ I will cut off¹⁶ from it the one who passes through or returns. **35:8** I will fill its mountains with its dead; on your hills and in your valleys and in all your ravines, those killed by the sword will fall. **35:9** I will turn you into a perpetual desolation, and your cities will not be inhabited. Then you will know that I am the LORD.

35:10 “You said, “These two nations, these two lands¹⁷ will be mine, and we will possess

¹ **tn** Heb “outside.”

² **sn** The messianic king is here called “David” (see Jer 30:9 and Hos 3:5, as well as Isa 11:1 and Mic 5:2) because he will fulfill the Davidic royal ideal depicted in the prophets and royal psalms (see Ps 2, 89).

³ **sn** The messianic king (“David”) is called both “king” and “prince” in 37:24-25. The use of the term “prince” for this king facilitates the contrast between this ideal ruler and the Davidic “princes” denounced in earlier prophecies (see 7:27; 12:10, 12; 19:1; 21:25; 22:6, 25).

⁴ **tn** The phrase “live securely” occurs in Ezek 28:26; 38:8, 11, 14; 39:26 as an expression of freedom from fear. It is a promised blessing resulting from obedience (see Lev 26:5-6).

⁵ **sn** The woods were typically considered to be places of danger (Ps 104:20-21; Jer 5:6).

⁶ **tn** Heb “showers of blessing.” Abundant rain, which in turn produces fruit and crops (v. 27), is a covenantal blessing for obedience (Lev 26:4).

⁷ **tc** The MT reads לִשְׁמָה (lîshem, “for a name”), meaning perhaps a renowned planting (place). The translation takes this to be a metathesis of שָׁלוֹם (shalom) as was read by the LXX.

⁸ **tn** Heb “those gathered” for famine.

⁹ **sn** A promise given to Abraham (Gen 15:7) and his descendants (Gen 15:8; Exod 6:7).

¹⁰ **sn** The blessings described in vv. 25-30 are those promised for obedience in Lev 26:4-13.

¹¹ **tn** Heb, “the sheep of my pasture, you are human.” See 36:37-38 for a similar expression. The possessive pronoun “my” is supplied in the translation to balance “I am your God” in the next clause.

¹² **tn** Heb “set your face against.”

¹³ **sn** Mount Seir is to be identified with Edom (Ezek 35:15), home of Esau’s descendants (Gen 25:21-30).

¹⁴ **tn** Or “gave over...to the power of the sword.” This phrase also occurs in Jer 18:21 and Ps 63:10.

¹⁵ **tc** The translation reads with some manuscripts לְשִׁמְמָה וּמִשְׁמָמָה (lîshimmaḥ umîshammaḥ, “desolate ruin”) as in verse 3 and often in Ezekiel. The majority reading reverses the first mem (ם) with the shin (ש) resulting in the repetition of the word desolate: לְשִׁמְמָה וּשְׁמָמָה (lîshimmaḥ ushîmamah).

¹⁶ **tn** Or “kill.”

¹⁷ **sn** The reference is to Israel and Judah.

them,”¹ – although the LORD was there – **35:11** therefore, as surely as I live, declares the sovereign LORD, I will deal with you according to your anger, and according to your envy, by which you acted spitefully against them. I will reveal myself to them when I judge you. **35:12** Then you will know that I, the LORD, have heard all the insults you spoke against the mountains of Israel, saying, “They are desolate, they have been given to us for food.” **35:13** You exalted yourselves against me with your speech² and hurled many insults against me³ – I have heard them all! **35:14** This is what the sovereign LORD says: While the whole earth rejoices, I will turn you into a desolation. **35:15** As you rejoiced over the inheritance of the house of Israel because it was desolate, so will I deal with you – you will be desolate, Mount Seir, and all of Edom – all of it! Then they will know that I am the LORD.”

Blessings on the Mountains of Israel

36:1 “As for you, son of man, prophesy to the mountains of Israel, and say: ‘O mountains of Israel, hear the word of the LORD! **36:2** This is what the sovereign LORD says: The enemy has spoken against you, saying “Aha!” and, “The ancient heights⁴ have become our property!”’ **36:3** So prophesy and say: ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Surely because they have made you desolate and crushed you from all directions, so that you have become the property of the rest of the nations, and have become the subject of gossip⁵ and slander among the people, **36:4** therefore, O mountains of Israel, hear the word of the sovereign LORD: This is what the sovereign LORD says to the mountains and hills, the ravines and valleys, and to the desolate ruins and the abandoned cities that have become prey and an object of derision to the rest of the nations round about – **36:5** therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Surely I have spoken in the fire of my zeal against the rest of the nations, and against all Edom, who with great joy and utter contempt have made my land their property and prey, because of its pasture.’

36:6 “Therefore prophesy concerning the land of Israel, and say to the mountains and hills, the ravines and valleys, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I have spoken in my zeal and in my anger, because you have endured the insults of the nations. **36:7** So this

is what the sovereign LORD says: I vow⁶ that the nations around you will endure insults as well.

36:8 “But you, mountains of Israel, will grow your branches, and bear your fruit for my people Israel; for they will arrive soon.”⁷ **36:9** For indeed, I am on your side;⁸ I will turn to you, and you will be plowed and planted. **36:10** I will multiply your people⁹ – the whole house of Israel, all of it. The cities will be populated and the ruins rebuilt. **36:11** I will increase the number of people and animals on you; they will increase and be fruitful.¹⁰ I will cause you to be inhabited as in ancient times, and will do more good for you than at the beginning of your history.¹¹ Then you will know that I am the LORD. **36:12** I will lead people, my people Israel, across you; they will possess you and you will become their inheritance. No longer will you bereave them of their children.

36:13 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: Because they are saying to you, “You are a devourer of men, and bereave your nation of children,” **36:14** therefore you will no longer devour people and no longer bereave your nation of children, declares the sovereign LORD. **36:15** I will no longer subject you to¹² the nations’ insults; no longer will you bear the shame of the peoples, and no longer will you bereave¹³ your nation, declares the sovereign LORD.”

36:16 The word of the LORD came to me: **36:17** “Son of man, when the house of Israel was living on their own land, they defiled it by their behavior¹⁴ and their deeds. In my sight their behavior was like the uncleanness of a woman having her monthly period. **36:18** So I poured my anger on them¹⁵ because of the blood they shed on the land and because of the idols with which they defiled it.¹⁶ **36:19** I scattered them among the nations; they were dispersed throughout foreign countries. In accordance with their behavior and their deeds I judged them. **36:20** But when they arrived in the nations where they went, they profaned my holy name. It was said of them, ‘These are the people of the LORD, yet they have departed from his land.’ **36:21** I was concerned for my

⁶ **tn** Heb “I lifted up my hand.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “they draw near to arrive.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “I (am) toward you.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “I will multiply on you human(s).”

¹⁰ **sn** These verbs occur together in Gen 1:22, 28; 9:1.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “your beginning.”

¹² **tn** Heb “cause you to hear.”

¹³ **tc** The MT reads תִּכְשִׁילֶיךָ (*takhshilyi*), a metathesis from תִּשְׁכַּחֲלֶיךָ (*tashkhilyi*) from the root שָׁכַח (*shakhal*) which is used in each of the previous verses.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “way.”

¹⁵ **sn** See Ezek 7:8; 9:8; 14:19; 20:8, 13, 21; 22:22; 30:15.

¹⁶ **sn** For the concept of defiling the land in legal literature, see Lev 18:28; Deut 21:23.

¹ **tn** Heb “it.”

² **tn** Heb “your mouth.”

³ **tn** Heb “and you multiplied against me your words.” The Hebrew verb occurs only here and in Prov 27:6, where it refers to the “excessive” kisses of an enemy. The basic idea of the verb appears to be “to be abundant.” Here it occurs in the causative (Hiphil) stem.

⁴ **tn** Or “high places.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “lip of the tongue.”

holy reputation¹ which the house of Israel profaned among the nations where they went.

36:22 “Therefore say to the house of Israel, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: It is not for your sake that I am about to act, O house of Israel, but for the sake of my holy reputation² which you profaned among the nations where you went. **36:23** I will magnify³ my great name that has been profaned among the nations, that you have profaned among them. The nations will know that I am the LORD, declares the sovereign LORD, when I magnify myself among you in their sight.

36:24 “I will take you from the nations and gather you from all the countries; then I will bring you to your land. **36:25** I will sprinkle you with pure water⁴ and you will be clean from all your impurities. I will purify you from all your idols. **36:26** I will give you a new heart, and I will put a new spirit within you. I will remove the heart of stone⁵ from your body and give you a heart of flesh.⁶ **36:27** I will put my Spirit within you;⁷ I will take the initiative and you will obey my statutes⁸ and carefully observe my regulations.⁹ **36:28** Then you will live in the land I gave to your fathers; you will be my people, and I will be your God.¹⁰ **36:29** I will save you from all your uncleanness. I will call for the grain and multiply it; I will not bring a famine on you. **36:30** I will multiply the fruit of the trees and the produce of the fields, so that you will never again suffer the disgrace of famine among the nations. **36:31** Then you will remember your evil behavior¹¹ and your deeds which were not good; you will loathe yourselves on account of your sins and your abominable deeds. **36:32** Understand that¹² it is not for your sake I am about to act, declares the sover-

eign LORD. Be ashamed and embarrassed by your behavior, O house of Israel.

36:33 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: In the day I cleanse you from all your sins, I will populate the cities and the ruins will be rebuilt. **36:34** The desolate land will be plowed, instead of being desolate in the sight of everyone who passes by. **36:35** They will say, “This desolate land has become like the garden of Eden; the ruined, desolate, and destroyed cities are now fortified and inhabited.” **36:36** Then the nations which remain around you will know that I, the LORD, have rebuilt the ruins and replanted what was desolate. I, the LORD, have spoken – and I will do it!”

36:37 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: I will allow the house of Israel to ask me to do this for them:¹³ I will multiply their people like sheep.¹⁴ **36:38** Like the sheep for offerings, like the sheep of Jerusalem¹⁵ during her appointed feasts, so will the ruined cities be filled with flocks of people. Then they will know that I am the LORD.”

The Valley of Dry Bones

37:1 The hand¹⁶ of the LORD was on me, and he brought me out by the Spirit of the LORD and placed¹⁷ me in the midst of the valley, and it was full of bones. **37:2** He made me walk all around among them.¹⁸ I realized¹⁹ there were a great many bones in the valley and they were very dry. **37:3** He said to me, “Son of man, can these bones live?” I said to him, “Sovereign Lord, you know.” **37:4** Then he said to me, “Prophecy over these bones, and tell them: ‘Dry bones, hear the word of the LORD. **37:5** This is what the sovereign LORD says to these bones: Look, I am about to infuse breath²⁰ into you and you will live. **37:6** I will put tendons²¹ on you and muscles over you and will

¹ **tn** Heb “name.”

² **sn** In Ezek 20:22 God refrained from punishment for the sake of his holy name. Here God’s reputation is the basis for Israel’s restoration.

³ **tn** Or “sanctify,” Heb “make holy.”

⁴ **sn** The Lord here uses a metaphor from the realm of ritual purification. For the use of water in ritual cleansing, see Exod 30:19-20; Lev 14:51; Num 19:18; Heb 10:22.

⁵ **sn** That is, a heart which symbolizes a will that is stubborn and unresponsive (see 1 Sam 25:37). In Rabbinic literature a “stone” was associated with an evil inclination (*b. Sukkah* 52a).

⁶ **sn** That is, a heart which symbolizes a will that is responsive and obedient to God.

⁷ **tn** Or “in the midst of you.” The word “you” is plural.

⁸ **tn** Heb “and I will do that which in my statutes you will walk.” The awkward syntax (verb “to do, act” + accusative sign + relative clause + prepositional phrase + second person verb) is unique, though Eccl 3:14 contains a similar construction. In the last line of that verse we read that “God acts so that (relative pronoun) they fear before him.” However, unlike Ezek 36:27, the statement has no accusative sign before the relative pronoun.

⁹ **tn** Heb “and my laws you will guard and you will do them.” Jer 31:31-34 is parallel to this passage.

¹⁰ **sn** This promise reflects the ancient covenantal ideal (see Exod 6:7).

¹¹ **tn** Heb “ways.”

¹² **tn** Heb “Let it be known.”

¹³ **tn** The Niphal verb may have a tolerative function here, “Again (for) this I will allow myself to be sought by the house of Israel to act for them.” Or it may be reflexive: “I will reveal myself to the house of Israel by doing this also.”

¹⁴ **sn** Heb “I will multiply them like sheep, human(s).”

¹⁵ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁶ **tn** Or “power.”

sn *Hand* in the OT can refer metaphorically to power, authority, or influence. In Ezekiel God’s *hand* being on the prophet is regularly associated with communication or a vision from God (3:14, 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “caused me to rest.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “and he made me pass over them, around, around.”

¹⁹ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and is here translated as “I realized” because it results from Ezekiel’s recognition of the situation around him. In Hebrew, the exclamation is repeated in the following sentence.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “I am about to bring a spirit.”

²¹ **tn** The exact anatomical referent of the term is uncertain. In addition to v. 8, the term occurs only in Gen 32:33 HT (32:32 ET); Job 10:11; 40:17; and Jer 48:4.

cover you with skin; I will put breath¹ in you and you will live. Then you will know that I am the LORD.”

37:7 So I prophesied as I was commanded. There was a sound when I prophesied – I heard² a rattling, and the bones came together, bone to bone. **37:8** As I watched, I saw³ tendons on them, then muscles appeared,⁴ and skin covered over them from above, but there was no breath⁵ in them.

37:9 He said to me, “Prophesy to the breath,⁶ – prophesy, son of man – and say to the breath: ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe on these corpses so that they may live.’” **37:10** So I prophesied as I was commanded, and the breath came into them; they lived and stood on their feet, an extremely great army.

37:11 Then he said to me, “Son of man, these bones are all the house of Israel. Look, they are saying, ‘Our bones are dry, our hope has perished; we are cut off.’” **37:12** Therefore prophesy, and tell them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am about to open your graves and will raise you from your graves, my people. I will bring you to the land of Israel. **37:13** Then you will know that I am the LORD, when I open your graves and raise you from your graves, my people. **37:14** I will place my breath⁷ in you and you will live; I will give you rest in your own land. Then you will know that I am the LORD – I have spoken and I will act, declares the LORD.”

37:15 The word of the LORD came to me: **37:16** “As for you, son of man, take one branch, and write on it, ‘For Judah, and for the Israelites associated with him.’ Then take another branch and write on it, ‘For Joseph, the branch of Ephraim and all the house of Israel associated with him.’ **37:17** Join⁸ them as one stick;⁹ they will be as one in your hand. **37:18** When your people¹⁰ say to you, ‘Will you not tell us what these things mean?’ **37:19** tell them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am about to take the branch of Joseph which is in the hand of Ephraim and the tribes of Israel associated with him, and I will place them on

the stick of Judah,¹¹ and make them into one stick – they will be one in my hand.’” **37:20** The sticks you write on will be in your hand in front of them. **37:21** Then tell them, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am about to take the Israelites from among the nations where they have gone. I will gather them from round about and bring them to their land. **37:22** I will make them one nation in the land, on the mountains of Israel, and one king will rule over them all. They will never again be two nations and never again be divided into two kingdoms.’” **37:23** They will not defile themselves with their idols, their detestable things, and all their rebellious deeds. I will save them from all their unfaithfulness¹² by which they sinned. I will purify them; they will become my people and I will become their God.

37:24 “My servant David will be king over them; there will be one shepherd for all of them. They will follow¹³ my regulations and carefully observe my statutes.¹⁴ **37:25** They will live in the land I gave to my servant Jacob, in which your fathers lived; they will live in it – they and their children and their grandchildren forever. David my servant will be prince over them forever. **37:26** I will make a covenant of peace with them; it will be a perpetual covenant with them.¹⁵ I will establish them,¹⁶ increase their numbers, and place my sanctuary among them forever. **37:27** My dwelling place will be with them; I will be their God, and they will be my people. **37:28** Then, when my sanctuary is among them forever, the nations will know that I, the LORD, sanctify Israel.”¹⁷

A Prophecy Against Gog

38:1 The word of the LORD came to me: **38:2** “Son of man, turn toward²⁰ Gog,²¹ of

¹ **tn** Or “a spirit.”

² **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinnēh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

³ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinnēh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “came up.”

⁵ **tn** Or “spirit.”

⁶ **tn** Or “spirit,” and several times in this verse.

⁷ **tn** Or “spirit.” This is likely an allusion to Gen 2 and God’s breath which creates life.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “bring near.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “one to one for you for one stick.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the sons of your people.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “I will place them on it, that is, on the stick of Judah.”

¹² **sn** The reunification of Israel and Judah is envisioned as well in Ezek 33:23, 29; Jer 3:18; 23:5-6; Hos 1:11; Amos 9:11.

¹³ **sn** Jeremiah also attested to the reuniting of the northern and southern kingdoms (Jer 3:12, 14; 31:2-6).

¹⁴ **tc** *Heb* “their dwellings.” The text as it stands does not make sense. Based on the LXX, a slight emendation of two vowels, including a *mater*, yields the reading “from their turning,” a reference here to their turning from God and deviating from his commandments. See BDB 1000 s.v. מָוֹךְ, and D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:407.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “walk [in].”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and my statutes they will guard and they will do them.”

¹⁷ **sn** See Isa 24:5; 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 16:60, for other references to perpetual covenants.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “give them.”

¹⁹ **sn** The sanctuary of Israel becomes the main focus of Ezek 40-48.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “set your face against.”

²¹ **sn** This may refer to a Lydian king in western Asia Minor in the seventh century B.C. Apart from Ezek 38-39, the only other biblical reference to this king/nation is in Rev 20:8. For a study of the names appearing in this verse, see E. Yamauchi, *Foes From the Northern Frontier*, 19-27.

the land of Magog,¹ the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal.² Prophecy against him **38:3** and say: ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look,³ I am against you, Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. **38:4** I will turn you around, put hooks into your jaws, and bring you out with all your army, horses and horsemen, all of them fully armed, a great company with shields of different types,⁴ all of them armed with swords. **38:5** Persia,⁵ Ethiopia, and Put⁶ are with them, all of them with shields and helmets. **38:6** They are joined by⁷ Gomer with all its troops, and by Beth Togarmah from the remote parts of the north with all its troops – many peoples are with you.⁸

38:7 “Be ready and stay ready, you and all your companies assembled around you, and be a guard for them.⁹ **38:8** After many days you will be summoned; in the latter years you will come to a land restored from the ravages of war,¹⁰ with many peoples gathered on the mountains of Israel that had long been in ruins. Its people¹¹ were brought out from the peoples, and all of them will be living securely. **38:9** You will advance;¹² you will come like a storm. You will be like a cloud covering the earth, you, all your troops, and the many other peoples with you.

38:10 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: On that day thoughts will come into your

mind,¹³ and you will devise an evil plan. **38:11** You will say, “I will invade¹⁴ a land of unwalled towns; I will advance against¹⁵ those living quietly in security – all of them living without walls and barred gates – **38:12** to loot and plunder, to attack¹⁶ the inhabited ruins and the people gathered from the nations, who are acquiring cattle and goods, who live at the center¹⁷ of the earth.” **38:13** Sheba and Dedan and the traders of Tarshish with all its young warriors¹⁸ will say to you, “Have you come to loot? Have you assembled your armies to plunder, to carry away silver and gold, to take away cattle and goods, to haul away a great amount of spoils?”

38:14 “Therefore, prophecy, son of man, and say to Gog: ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: On that day when my people Israel are living securely, you will take notice¹⁹ **38:15** and come from your place, from the remote parts of the north, you and many peoples with you, all of them riding on horses, a great company and a vast army. **38:16** You will advance²⁰ against my people Israel like a cloud covering the earth. In the latter days I will bring you against my land so that the nations may acknowledge me, when before their eyes I magnify myself²¹ through you, O Gog.

38:17 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: Are you the one of whom I spoke in former days by my servants²² the prophets of Israel, who prophesied in those days²³ that I would bring you against them? **38:18** On that day, when Gog invades²⁴ the land of Israel, declares the sovereign LORD, my rage will mount up in my anger. **38:19** In my zeal, in the fire of my fury,²⁵ I declare that on that day there will be a great earthquake²⁶ in the land of Israel. **38:20** The fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the wild beasts, all the things that creep on the ground, and all people who live on the face of the earth will shake²⁷ at my presence. The mountains will topple, the cliffs²⁸ will fall, and

¹ **sn** One of the sons of Japheth according to Gen 10:2; 1 Chr 1:5.

² **tn** *Heb* “the prince, the chief of Meshech and Tubal.” Some translate “the prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal,” but it is more likely that the Hebrew noun in question is a common noun in apposition to “prince,” rather than a proper name. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:434–35. As Block demonstrates, attempts by some popular writers to identify these proper names with later geographical sites in Russia are anachronistic. See as well E. Yamauchi, *Foes From the Northern Frontier*, 19–27.

sn Meshech and Tubal were two nations in Cappadocia of Asia Minor. They were also sons of Japheth (Gen 10:2; 1 Chr 1:5).

³ **tn** Or “I challenge you.” The phrase “I am against you” may be a formula for challenging someone to combat or a duel. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 1:201–2, and P. Humbert, “Die Herausforderungsformel ‘hinnen’-êlêhâ,” *ZAW* 45 (1933): 101–8.

⁴ **sn** The Hebrew text mentions two different types of shields here.

⁵ **tn** D. I. Block prefers to see the Hebrew word as referring here to a western ally of Egypt or as an alternative spelling for Pathros, that is, Upper Egypt. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:439–40.

⁶ **sn** That is, Lybia.

⁷ **tn** The words “they are joined by” are added in the translation for purposes of English style.

⁸ **sn** The seven-nation coalition represents the north (Meshech, Tubal, Gomer, Beth-Togarmah), the south/west (Ethiopia, Put) and the east (Persia). The use of the sevenfold list suggests completeness. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:441.

⁹ **tn** The second person singular verbal and pronominal forms in the Hebrew text indicate that Gog is addressed here.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “from the sword.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “it.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “go up.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “words will go up upon your heart.”

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “go up against.”

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “come (to).”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “to turn your hand against.”

¹⁷ **tn** The Hebrew term occurs elsewhere only in Judg 9:37. Perhaps it means “high point, top.”

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “young lions.”

¹⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text is framed as a rhetorical question: “will you not take notice?”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “come up.”

²¹ **tn** Or “reveal my holiness.”

²² **tn** *Heb* “by the hand of my servants.”

²³ **tn** The Hebrew text adds “years” here, but this is probably a scribal gloss on the preceding phrase. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:201.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “goes up against.”

²⁵ **sn** The phrase “in the fire of my fury” occurs in Ezek 21:31; 22:21, 31.

²⁶ **tn** Or “shaking.”

²⁷ **tn** Or “tremble.”

²⁸ **tn** The term occurs only here and in Song of Songs 2:14.

every wall will fall to the ground. **38:21** I will call for a sword to attack¹ Gog² on all my mountains, declares the sovereign LORD; every man's sword will be against his brother. **38:22** I will judge him with plague and bloodshed. I will rain down on him, his troops and the many peoples who are with him a torrential downpour, hailstones, fire, and brimstone. **38:23** I will exalt and magnify myself; I will reveal myself before many nations. Then they will know that I am the LORD.³

39:1 "As for you, son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say: 'This is what the sovereign LORD says: Look, I am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal! **39:2** I will turn you around and drag you along,³ I will lead you up from the remotest parts of the north and bring you against the mountains of Israel. **39:3** I will knock your bow out of your left hand and make your arrows fall from your right hand. **39:4** You will fall dead on the mountains of Israel, you and all your troops and the people who are with you. I give you as food to every kind of bird and every wild beast. **39:5** You will fall dead in the open field; for I have spoken, declares the sovereign LORD. **39:6** I will send fire on Magog and those who live securely in the coastlands; then they will know that I am the LORD.

39:7 "I will make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel; I will not let my holy name be profaned anymore. Then the nations will know that I am the LORD, the Holy One of Israel.⁴ **39:8** Realize that it is coming and it will be done, declares the sovereign LORD. It is the day I have spoken about.

39:9 "Then those who live in the cities of Israel will go out and use the weapons for kindling⁵ – the shields,⁶ bows and arrows, war clubs and spears – they will burn them for seven years. **39:10** They will not need to take⁷ wood from the field or cut down trees from the forests, because they will make fires with the weapons. They will take the loot from those who looted them and seize the plunder of those

who plundered them,⁸ declares the sovereign LORD.

39:11 "On that day I will assign Gog a grave in Israel. It will be the valley of those who travel east of the sea; it will block the way of the travelers. There they will bury Gog and all his horde; they will call it the valley of Hamon-Gog.⁹ **39:12** For seven months Israel¹⁰ will bury them, in order to cleanse the land. **39:13** All the people of the land will bury them, and it will be a memorial¹¹ for them on the day I magnify myself, declares the sovereign LORD. **39:14** They will designate men to scout continually¹² through the land, burying those who remain on the surface of the ground,¹³ in order to cleanse it. They will search for seven full months. **39:15** When the scouts survey¹⁴ the land and see a human bone, they will place a sign by it, until those assigned to burial duty have buried it¹⁵ in the valley of Hamon-Gog. **39:16** (A city by the name of Hamonah¹⁶ will also be there.) They will cleanse the land.¹⁷

39:17 "As for you, son of man, this is what the sovereign LORD says: Tell every kind of bird and every wild beast: 'Assemble and come! Gather from all around to my slaughter¹⁷ which I am going to make for you, a great slaughter on the mountains of Israel! You will eat flesh and drink blood. **39:18** You will eat the flesh of warriors¹⁸ and drink the blood of the princes of the earth – the rams, lambs, goats, and bulls, all of them fattened animals of Bashan. **39:19** You will eat fat until you are full, and drink blood until you are drunk,¹⁹ at my slaughter²⁰ which I have made for you. **39:20** You will fill up at my table with horses and charioteers,²¹ with warriors and all the soldiers,' declares the sovereign LORD.

39:21 "I will display my majesty²² among the nations. All the nations will witness the judgment I have executed, and the power I have exhibited²³ among them. **39:22** Then the

¹ *tn* Heb "against."

² *tn* Heb "him"; the referent (Gog, cf. v. 18) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

³ *tn* The Hebrew root occurs only here in the OT. An apparent cognate in the Ethiopic language means "walk along." For a discussion of the research on this verb, see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:460.

⁴ *sn* The basic sense of the word "holy" is "set apart from that which is commonplace, special, unique." The LORD's holiness is first and foremost his transcendent sovereignty as the ruler of the world. He is "set apart" from the world over which he rules. At the same time his holiness encompasses his moral authority, which derives from his royal position. As king he has the right to dictate to his subjects how they are to live; indeed his very own character sets the standard for proper behavior. This expression is a common title for the LORD in the book of Isaiah.

⁵ *tn* Heb "burn and kindle the weapons."

⁶ *tn* Two different types of shields are specified in the Hebrew text.

⁷ *tn* Heb "they will not carry."

⁸ *tn* Heb "loot their looters and plunder their plunderers."

⁹ *tn* The name means "horde of Gog."

¹⁰ *tn* Heb "the house of Israel."

¹¹ *tn* Heb "name."

¹² *tn* Heb "men of perpetuity."

¹³ *tn* Heb "and bury the travelers and those who remain on the surface of the ground." The reference to "travelers" seems odd and is omitted in the LXX. It is probably an accidental duplication (see v. 11).

¹⁴ *tn* Heb "as the scouts scout."

¹⁵ *tn* That is, the aforementioned bone.

¹⁶ *tn* This name appears to be a feminine form of the word "horde," used in the name Hamon-Gog.

¹⁷ *tn* Or "sacrifice" (so also in the rest of this verse).

¹⁸ *sn* See Rev 19:17-18.

¹⁹ *sn* Eating the fat and drinking blood were God's exclusive rights in Israelite sacrifices (Lev 3:17).

²⁰ *tn* Or "sacrifice" (so also in the rest of this verse).

²¹ *tn* Heb "chariots."

²² *tn* Or "my glory."

²³ *tn* Heb "my hand which I have placed."

house of Israel will know that I am the LORD their God, from that day forward. **39:23** The nations will know that the house of Israel went into exile due to their iniquity,¹ for they were unfaithful to me. So I hid my face from them and handed them over to their enemies; all of them died by the sword. **39:24** According to their uncleanness and rebellion I have dealt with them, and I hid my face from them.

39:25 “Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: Now I will restore² the fortunes of Jacob, and I will have mercy on the entire house of Israel. I will be zealous for my holy name. **39:26** They will bear their shame for all their unfaithful acts against me, when they live securely on their land with no one to make them afraid. **39:27** When I have brought them back from the peoples and gathered them from the countries of their enemies, I will magnify myself among them in the sight of many nations. **39:28** Then they will know that I am the LORD their God, because I sent them into exile among the nations, and then gathered them into their own land. I will not leave any of them in exile³ any longer. **39:29** I will no longer hide my face from them, when I pour out my Spirit on the house of Israel,⁴ declares the sovereign LORD.”

Vision of the New Temple

40:1 In the twenty-fifth year of our exile, at the beginning of the year, on the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after the city⁵ was struck down, on this very day,⁶ the hand⁷ of the LORD was on me, and he brought me there.⁸ **40:2** By means of divine visions⁹ he brought me to the land of Israel and placed me on a very high mountain,¹⁰ and on it was a structure like a city, to the south. **40:3** When he brought me there, I saw¹¹ a man whose appearance was like bronze, with a linen cord and a

measuring stick in his hand. He was standing in the gateway. **40:4** The man said to me, “Son of man, watch closely, listen carefully, and pay attention¹² to everything I show you, for you have been brought here so that I can show it to you.¹³ Tell the house of Israel everything you see.”

40:5 I saw¹⁴ a wall all around the outside of the temple.¹⁵ In the man’s hand was a measuring stick 10½ feet¹⁶ long. He measured the thickness of the wall¹⁷ as 10½ feet,¹⁸ and its height as 10½ feet. **40:6** Then he went to the gate facing east. He climbed its steps and measured the threshold of the gate as 10½ feet deep.¹⁹ **40:7** The alcoves were 10½ feet long and 10½ feet wide; between the alcoves were 8¾ feet.²⁰ The threshold of the gate by the porch of the gate facing inward was 10½ feet. **40:8** Then he measured the porch of the gate facing inward as 10½ feet. **40:9** He measured the porch of the gate as 14 feet,²¹ and its jambs as 3½ feet;²² the porch of the gate faced inward. **40:10** There were three alcoves on each side of the east gate; the three had the same measurement, and the jambs on either side had the same measurement.²³ **40:11** He measured the width of the entrance of the gateway as 17½ feet,²⁴ and the length of the gateway as 22¾ feet.²⁵ **40:12** There was a barrier in front of the alcoves, 1¾ feet²⁶ on either side; the alcoves were 10½ feet²⁷ on either side. **40:13** He measured the

¹ **tn** Or “in their punishment.” The phrase “in/for [a person’s] iniquity/punishment” occurs fourteen times in Ezekiel: here; 3:18, 19; 4:17; 7:13, 16; 18: 17, 18, 19, 20; 24:23; 33:6, 8, 9. The Hebrew word for “iniquity” may also mean the “punishment” for iniquity or “guilt” of iniquity.

² **tn** Heb “cause to return.”

³ **tn** Heb “there,” referring to the foreign nations to which they were exiled. The translation makes the referent clear.

⁴ **sn** See Ezek 11:19; 37:14.

⁵ **sn** That is, Jerusalem.

⁶ **tn** April 19, 573 B.C.

⁷ **tn** Or “power.”

sn *Hand* in the OT can refer metaphorically to power, authority, or influence. In Ezekiel God’s *hand* being on the prophet is regularly associated with communication or a vision from God (3:14, 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1).

⁸ **sn** That is, to the land of Israel (see v. 2).

⁹ **tn** The expression introduces the three major visions of Ezekiel (1:1; 8:3; 40:2).

¹⁰ **tn** The reference to a very high mountain is harmonious with Isa 2:2.

¹¹ **tn** The word *הִינֵה* (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹² **tn** Heb “look with your eyes, hear with your ears, and set your mind on.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “in order to show (it) to you.”

¹⁴ **tn** The word *הִינֵה* (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “house.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “a measuring stick of six cubits, [each] a cubit and a handbreadth.” The measuring units here and in the remainder of this section are the Hebrew “long” cubit, consisting of a cubit (about 18 inches or 45 cm) and a handbreadth (about 3 inches or 7.5 cm), for a total of 21 inches (52.5 cm). Therefore the measuring stick in the man’s hand was 10.5 feet (3.15 meters) long. Because modern readers are not familiar with the cubit as a unit of measurement, and due to the additional complication of the “long” cubit as opposed to the regular cubit, all measurements have been converted to American standard feet and inches, with the Hebrew measurements and the metric equivalents given in the notes.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “building.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “one rod [or “reed”]” (also a second time in this verse, twice in v. 6, three times in v. 7, and once in v. 8).

¹⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text adds “the one threshold 10½ feet deep.” This is probably an accidental duplication of what precedes. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:517.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “five cubits” (i.e., 2.625 meters) according to the “long” cubit. See the note on the first occurrence of the phrase “10½ feet” in v. 5.

²¹ **tn** Heb “eight cubits” (i.e., 4.2 meters).

²² **tn** Heb “two cubits” (i.e., 1.05 meters).

²³ **sn** The three alcoves are parallel to the city gates found at Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer.

²⁴ **tn** Heb “ten cubits” (i.e., 5.25 meters).

²⁵ **tn** Heb “thirteen cubits” (i.e., 6.825 meters).

²⁶ **tn** Heb “one cubit” (i.e., 52.5 cm).

²⁷ **tn** Heb “six cubits” (i.e., 3.15 meters).

gateway from the roof of one alcove to the roof of the other, a width of $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet¹ from one entrance to the opposite one. **40:14** He measured² the porch³ at 105 feet⁴ high;⁵ the gateway went all around to the jamb of the courtyard. **40:15** From the front of the entrance gate to the porch of the inner gate was $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet.⁶ **40:16** There were closed windows toward the alcoves and toward their jambs within the gate all around, and likewise for the porches. There were windows all around the inside, and on each jamb were decorative palm trees.⁷

40:17 Then he brought me to the outer court. I saw⁸ chambers there, and a pavement made for the court all around; thirty chambers faced the pavement. **40:18** The pavement was beside the gates, corresponding to the length of the gates; this was the lower pavement. **40:19** Then he measured the width from before the lower gate to the front of the exterior of the inner court as 175 feet⁹ on the east and on the north.

40:20 He measured the length and width of the gate of the outer court which faces north. **40:21** Its alcoves, three on each side, and its jambs and porches had the same measurement as the first gate; $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet¹⁰ long and $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet¹¹ wide. **40:22** Its windows, its porches, and its decorative palm trees had the same measurement as the gate which faced east. Seven steps led up to it, and its porch was in front of them. **40:23** Opposite the gate on the north and the east was a gate of the inner court; he measured the distance from gate to gate at 175 feet.¹²

40:24 Then he led me toward the south. I saw¹³ a gate on the south. He measured its jambs and its porches; they had the same dimensions as the others. **40:25** There were windows all around it and its porches, like the windows of the others;¹⁴ $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet¹⁵ long and $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet¹⁶ wide. **40:26** There were seven steps going

up to it; its porches were in front of them. It had decorative palm trees on its jambs, one on either side. **40:27** The inner court had a gate toward the south; he measured it from gate to gate toward the south as 175 feet.¹⁷

40:28 Then he brought me to the inner court by the south gate. He measured the south gate; it had the same dimensions as the others. **40:29** Its alcoves, its jambs, and its porches had the same dimensions as the others, and there were windows all around it and its porches; its length was $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet¹⁸ and its width $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet.¹⁹ **40:30** There were porches all around, $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet²⁰ long and $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet²¹ wide. **40:31** Its porches faced the outer court, and decorative palm trees were on its jambs, and its stairway had eight steps.

40:32 Then he brought me to the inner court on the east side. He measured the gate; it had the same dimensions as the others. **40:33** Its alcoves, its jambs, and its porches had the same dimensions as the others, and there were windows all around it and its porches; its length was $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet²² and its width $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet.²³ **40:34** Its porches faced the outer court, it had decorative palm trees on its jambs, and its stairway had eight steps.

40:35 Then he brought me to the north gate, and he measured it; it had the same dimensions as the others – **40:36** its alcoves, its jambs, and its porches. It had windows all around it; its length was $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet²⁴ and its width $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet.²⁵ **40:37** Its jambs²⁶ faced the outer court, and it had decorative palm trees on its jambs, on either side, and its stairway had eight steps.

40:38 There was a chamber with its door by the porch of the gate;²⁷ there they washed the burnt offering. **40:39** In the porch of the gate were two tables on either side on which to slaughter the burnt offering, the sin offering, and the guilt offering. **40:40** On the outside of the porch as one goes up at the entrance of the north gate were two tables, and on the other side of the porch of the gate were two tables. **40:41** Four tables were on each side of the gate, eight tables on which the sacrifices were to be slaughtered. **40:42** The four tables for the burnt offering were of carved stone, 32 inches²⁸ long, 32 inches²⁹ wide, and 21 inches³⁰ high. They

¹ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

² tn Heb “made.”

³ tc The MT reads “jambs” which does not make sense in context. Supposing a confusion of *yod* for *vav*, the text may be emended to read “porch.” See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:518.

⁴ tn Heb “sixty cubits” (i.e., 31.5 meters).

⁵ tn The word “high” is not in the Hebrew text but is supplied for sense.

⁶ tn Heb “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

⁷ sn Decorative palm trees were also a part of Solomon’s temple (1 Kgs 6:29, 32, 35).

⁸ tn The word *hinneh* (traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁹ tn Heb “one hundred cubits” (i.e., 52.5 meters).

¹⁰ tn Heb “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

¹¹ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

¹² tn Heb “one hundred cubits” (i.e., 52.5 meters).

¹³ tn The word *hinneh* (traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹⁴ tn Heb “as these windows.”

¹⁵ tn Heb “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

¹⁶ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

¹⁷ tn Heb “one hundred cubits” (i.e., 52.5 meters).

¹⁸ tn Heb “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

¹⁹ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

²⁰ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

²¹ tn Heb “five cubits” (i.e., 2.625 meters).

²² tn Heb “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

²³ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

²⁴ tn Heb “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

²⁵ tn Heb “twenty-five cubits” (i.e., 13.125 meters).

²⁶ tc The LXX reads “porches.”

²⁷ tc The MT reads “jambs of the gates” which does not make sense in a context discussing one chamber. The emendation to “porch” is similar to v. 14. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:530.

²⁸ tn Heb “one and a half cubits” (i.e., 78.75 cm).

²⁹ tn Heb “one and a half cubits” (i.e., 78.75 cm).

³⁰ tn Heb “one cubit” (i.e., 52.5 cm).

would put the instruments which they used to slaughter the burnt offering and the sacrifice on them. **40:43** There were hooks¹ three inches² long, fastened in the house all around, and on the tables was the flesh of the offering.

40:44 On the outside of the inner gate were chambers for the singers of the inner court, one³ at the side of the north gate facing south, and the other at the side of the south⁴ gate facing north. **40:45** He said to me, "This chamber which faces south is for the priests who keep charge of the temple,⁵ **40:46** and the chamber which faces north is for the priests who keep charge of the altar. These are the descendants of Zadok, from the descendants of Levi, who may approach the LORD to minister to him." **40:47** He measured the court as a square 175 feet long and 175 feet wide;⁶ the altar was in front of the temple.

40:48 Then he brought me to the porch of the temple and measured the jambs of the porch as 8¾ feet⁷ on either side, and the width of the gate was 24½ feet⁸ and the sides⁹ were 5¼ feet¹⁰ on each side. **40:49** The length of the porch was 35 feet¹¹ and the width 19¼ feet;¹² steps¹³ led up to it, and there were pillars beside the jambs on either side.

The Inner Temple

41:1 Then he brought me to the outer sanctuary, and measured the jambs; the jambs were 10½ feet¹⁴ wide on each side. **41:2** The width of the entrance was 17½ feet,¹⁵ and the sides¹⁶ of the entrance were 8¾ feet¹⁷ on each side. He measured the length of the outer sanctuary as 70 feet,¹⁸ and its width as 35 feet.¹⁹

41:3 Then he went into the inner sanctuary and measured the jambs of the entrance as 3½ feet,²⁰ the entrance as 10½ feet,²¹ and the width of the entrance as 12¼ feet²² **41:4** Then he measured its length as 35 feet,²³ and its width as 35 feet,²⁴ before the outer sanctuary. He said to me, "This is the most holy place."

41:5 Then he measured the wall of the temple²⁵ as 10½ feet,²⁶ and the width of the side chambers as 7 feet,²⁷ all around the temple. **41:6** The side chambers were in three stories, one above the other, thirty in each story. There were offsets in the wall all around to serve as supports for the side chambers, so that the supports were not in the wall of the temple. **41:7** The side chambers surrounding the temple were wider at each successive story;²⁸ for the structure²⁹ surrounding the temple went up story by story all around the temple. For this reason the width of the temple increased as it went up, and one went up from the lowest story to the highest by the way of the middle story.

41:8 I saw that the temple had a raised platform all around; the foundations of the side chambers were a full measuring stick³⁰ of 10½ feet³¹ high. **41:9** The width of the outer wall of the side chambers was 8¾ feet,³² and the open area between the side chambers of the temple **41:10** and the chambers of the court was 35 feet³³ in width all around the temple on every side. **41:11** There were entrances from the side chambers toward the open area, one entrance toward the north, and another entrance toward the south; the width of the open area was 8¾ feet³⁴ all around.

41:12 The building that was facing the temple courtyard at the west side was 122½ feet³⁵ wide; the wall of the building was 8¾ feet³⁶ all around, and its length 157½ feet.³⁷

41:13 Then he measured the temple as 175 feet³⁸ long, the courtyard of the temple and the

¹ **tc** This reading is supported by the Aramaic Targum. The LXX, Vulgate, and Syriac read "shelves" or some type of projection.

² **tn** *Heb* "one handbreadth" (7.5 cm).

³ **tn** "One" is not in the Hebrew text but is supplied for clarity in the translation.

⁴ **tc** This reading is supported by the LXX; the MT reads "east."

⁵ **tn** *Heb* "the house."

⁶ **tn** *Heb* "one hundred cubits long and one hundred cubits wide, a square" (i.e., 52.5 meters by 52.5 meters).

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "five cubits" (i.e., 2.625 meters).

⁸ **tn** The LXX reads "fourteen cubits" (i.e., 7.35 meters). See following note.

⁹ **tc** The translation follows the LXX. The MT reads "the width of the gate was three cubits," the omission due to haplography.

tn Or "sidewalls."

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* "three cubits" (i.e., 1.575 meters).

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "twenty cubits" (i.e., 10.5 meters).

¹² **tn** *Heb* "eleven cubits" (i.e., 5.775 meters).

¹³ **tc** The LXX reads "ten steps."

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* "six cubits" (i.e., 3.15 meters).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "ten cubits" (i.e., 5.25 meters).

¹⁶ **tc** The translation follows the LXX. The MT reads "the width of the gate was three cubits," the omission due to haplography.

tn Or "sidewalls."

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "five cubits" (i.e., 2.625 meters).

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "forty cubits" (i.e., 21 meters).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "twenty cubits" (i.e., 10.5 meters).

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "two cubits" (i.e., 1.05 meters).

²¹ **tn** *Heb* "six cubits" (i.e., 3.15 meters).

²² **tn** *Heb* "seven cubits" (i.e., 3.675 meters).

²³ **tn** *Heb* "twenty cubits" (i.e., 10.5 meters).

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "twenty cubits" (i.e., 10.5 meters).

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* "house" throughout Ezek 41.

²⁶ **tn** *Heb* "six cubits" (i.e., 3.15 meters).

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* "four cubits" (2.1 meters).

²⁸ **tc** The Hebrew is difficult here. The Targum envisions a winding ramp or set of stairs, which entails reading the first word as a noun rather than a verb and reading the second word also not as a verb, supposing that an initial *mem* has been read as *vav* and *nun*. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:549.

²⁹ **tn** The Hebrew term occurs only here in the OT.

³⁰ **tn** *Heb* "reed."

³¹ **tn** *Heb* "six cubits" (i.e., 3.15 meters).

³² **tn** *Heb* "five cubits" (i.e., 2.625 meters).

³³ **tn** *Heb* "twenty cubits" (i.e., 10.5 meters).

³⁴ **tn** *Heb* "five cubits" (i.e., 2.625 meters).

³⁵ **tn** *Heb* "seventy cubits" (36.75 meters).

³⁶ **tn** *Heb* "five cubits" (i.e., 2.625 meters).

³⁷ **tn** *Heb* "ninety cubits" (i.e., 47.25 meters).

³⁸ **tn** *Heb* "one hundred cubits" (i.e., 52.5 meters).

building and its walls as 175 feet¹ long, 41:14 and also the width of the front of the temple and the courtyard on the east as 175 feet.²

41:15 Then he measured the length of the building facing the courtyard at the rear of the temple, with its galleries on either side as 175 feet.³

The interior of the outer sanctuary and the porch of the court,⁴ 41:16 as well as the thresholds, narrow windows and galleries all around on three sides facing the threshold were paneled with wood all around, from the ground up to the windows (now the windows were covered), 41:17 to the space above the entrance, to the inner room, and on the outside, and on all the walls in the inner room and outside, by measurement.⁵ 41:18 It was made with cherubim and decorative palm trees, with a palm tree between each cherub. Each cherub had two faces: 41:19 a human face toward the palm tree on one side and a lion's face toward the palm tree on the other side. They were carved on the whole temple all around; 41:20 from the ground to the area above the entrance, cherubim and decorative palm trees were carved on the wall of the outer sanctuary. 41:21 The doorposts of the outer sanctuary were square. In front of the sanctuary one doorpost looked just like the other. 41:22 The altar was of wood, 5¼ feet⁶ high, with its length 3½ feet;⁷ its corners, its length,⁸ and its walls were of wood. He said to me, "This is the table that is before the LORD." 41:23 The outer sanctuary and the inner sanctuary each had a double door. 41:24 Each of the doors had two leaves, two swinging⁹ leaves; two leaves for one door and two leaves for the other. 41:25 On the doors of the outer sanctuary were carved cherubim and palm trees, like those carved on the walls, and there was a canopy¹⁰ of wood on the front of the outside porch. 41:26 There were narrow windows and decorative palm trees on either side of the side walls of the porch; this is what the side chambers of the temple and the canopies were like.

Chambers for the Temple

42:1 Then he led me out to the outer court, toward the north, and brought me to the chamber which was opposite the courtyard and opposite the building on the north. 42:2 Its length

was 175 feet¹¹ on the north side,¹² and its width 87½ feet.¹³ 42:3 Opposite the 35 feet¹⁴ that belonged to the inner court, and opposite the pavement which belonged to the outer court, gallery faced gallery in the three stories. 42:4 In front of the chambers was a walkway on the inner side, 17½ feet¹⁵ wide at a distance of 1¾ feet,¹⁶ and their entrances were on the north. 42:5 Now the upper chambers were narrower, because the galleries took more space from them than from the lower and middle chambers of the building. 42:6 For they were in three stories and had no pillars like the pillars of the courts; therefore the upper chambers¹⁷ were set back from the ground more than the lower and upper ones. 42:7 As for the outer wall by the side of the chambers, toward the outer court facing the chambers, it was 87½ feet¹⁸ long. 42:8 For the chambers on the outer court were 87½ feet¹⁹ long, while those facing the temple were 175 feet²⁰ long. 42:9 Below these chambers was a passage on the east side as one enters from the outer court.

42:10 At the beginning²¹ of the wall of the court toward the south,²² facing the courtyard and the building, were chambers 42:11 with a passage in front of them. They looked like the chambers on the north. Of the same length and width, and all their exits according to their arrangements and entrances 42:12 were the chambers²³ which were toward the south. There was an opening at the head of the passage, the passage in front of the corresponding wall toward the east when one enters.

42:13 Then he said to me, "The north chambers and the south chambers which face the courtyard are holy chambers where the priests²⁴ who approach the LORD will eat the most holy offerings. There they will place the most holy offerings – the grain offering, the sin offering, and the guilt offering, because the place is holy. 42:14 When the priests enter, then they will not go out from the sanctuary to the outer court without taking off their garments in which they minister, for these are holy; they

¹¹ **tn** Heb "one hundred cubits" (i.e., 52.5 meters).

¹² **tn** Heb "the door of the north."

¹³ **tn** Heb "fifty cubits" (i.e., 26.25 meters).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "twenty cubits" (i.e., 10.5 meters).

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "ten cubits" (i.e., 5.25 meters).

¹⁶ **tc** Heb "one cubit" (i.e., 52.5 cm). The LXX and the Syriac read "one hundred cubits" (= 175 feet).

¹⁷ **tn** The phrase "upper chambers" is not in the Hebrew text but is supplied from the context.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "fifty cubits" (i.e., 26.25 meters).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "fifty cubits" (i.e., 26.25 meters).

²⁰ **tn** Heb "one hundred cubits" (i.e., 52.5 meters).

²¹ **tc** The reading is supported by the LXX.

²² **tc** This reading is supported by the LXX; the MT reads "east."

²³ **tc** The MT apparently evidences dittography, repeating most of the last word of the previous verse: "and like the openings of."

²⁴ **sn** The priests are from the Zadokite family (Ezek 40:6; 44:15).

¹ **tn** Heb "one hundred cubits" (i.e., 52.5 meters).

² **tn** Heb "one hundred cubits" (i.e., 52.5 meters).

³ **tn** Heb "one hundred cubits" (i.e., 52.5 meters).

⁴ **tc** Some Hebrew MSS read "and its outer court."

⁵ **tc** The LXX does not have the word "by measurements." The word may be a technical term referring to carpentry technique, the exact meaning of which is unclear.

⁶ **tn** Heb "three cubits" (i.e., 1.575 meters).

⁷ **tn** Heb "two cubits" (i.e., 1.05 meters).

⁸ **tc** So the Masoretic text. The LXX reads "base."

⁹ **tn** Heb "turning" leaves.

¹⁰ **tn** Or "railings." See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:218.

will put on other garments, then they will go near the places where the people are.”

42:15 Now when he had finished measuring the interior of the temple, he led me out by the gate which faces east and measured all around. **42:16** He measured the east side with the measuring stick¹ as 875 feet² by the measuring stick. **42:17** He measured the north side as 875 feet by the measuring stick. **42:18** He measured the south side as 875 feet by the measuring stick. **42:19** He turned to the west side and measured 875 feet by the measuring stick. **42:20** He measured it on all four sides. It had a wall around it, 875 feet long and 875 feet wide, to separate the holy and common places.

The Glory Returns to the Temple

43:1 Then he brought me to the gate that faced toward the east. **43:2** I saw³ the glory of the God of Israel⁴ coming from the east;⁵ the sound was like that of rushing water;⁶ and the earth radiated⁷ his glory. **43:3** It was like the vision I saw when he⁸ came to destroy the city, and the vision I saw by the Kebar River. I threw myself face down. **43:4** The glory of the LORD came into the temple by way of the gate that faces east. **43:5** Then a wind⁹ lifted me up and brought me to the inner court; I watched¹⁰ the glory of the LORD filling the temple.¹¹

43:6 I heard someone speaking to me from the temple, while the man was standing beside me. **43:7** He said to me: “Son of man, this is the place of my throne¹² and the place for the soles of my feet,¹³ where I will live among the people of Israel forever. The house of Israel will no longer profane my holy name, neither they nor their kings, by their spiritual prostitution or by the pillars of their kings set up when they die.¹⁴

43:8 When they placed their threshold by my threshold and their doorpost by my doorpost, with only the wall between me and them, they profaned my holy name by the abominable deeds they committed. So I consumed them in my anger. **43:9** Now they must put away their spiritual prostitution and the pillars of their kings far from me, and then I will live among them forever.

43:10 “As for you, son of man, describe the temple to the house of Israel, so that they will be ashamed of their sins and measure the pattern. **43:11** When they are ashamed of all that they have done, make known to them the design of the temple, its pattern, its exits and entrances, and its whole design – all its statutes, its entire design, and all its laws; write it all down in their sight, so that they may observe its entire design and all its statutes and do them.

43:12 “This is the law of the temple: The entire area on top of the mountain all around will be most holy. Indeed, this is the law of the temple.

The Altar

43:13 “And these are the measurements of the altar:¹⁵ Its base¹⁶ is 1½ feet¹⁷ high,¹⁸ and 1½ feet¹⁹ wide, and its border nine inches²⁰ on its edge. This is to be the height²¹ of the altar. **43:14** From the base of the ground to the lower edge is 3½ feet,²² and the width 1¼ feet,²³ and from the smaller ledge to the larger edge, 7 feet,²⁴ and the width 1¼ feet; **43:15** and the altar hearth, 7 feet, and from the altar

¹ **tn** Heb “reed” (also in the following verses).

² **tn** Heb “five hundred cubits” (i.e., 262.5 meters).

³ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁴ **sn** This same title appears in 8:4; 9:3; 10:19; and 11:22.

⁵ **sn** Earlier Ezekiel had observed God leaving the temple to the east (11:23).

⁶ **sn** See Ezek 1:24; Rev 1:15; 14:2; 19:6.

⁷ **tn** Heb “shone from.”

⁸ **tc** Heb “I.” The reading is due to the confusion of *yod* (י, indicating a first person pronoun) and *vav* (ו, indicating a third person pronoun). A few medieval Hebrew MSS, Theodotion’s Greek version, and the Latin Vulgate support a third person pronoun here.

⁹ **tn** See note on “wind” in 2:2.

¹⁰ **tn** The word הִנֵּה (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹¹ **sn** In 1 Kgs 8:10-11 we find a similar event with regard to Solomon’s temple. See also Exod 40:34-35, and Isa 6:4.

¹² **sn** God’s throne is mentioned in Isa 6:1; Jer 3:17.

¹³ **sn** See 1 Chr 28:2; Ps 99:5; 132:7; Isa 60:13; Lam 2:1.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “by their corpses in their death.” But the term normally translated “corpses” is better understood here as a reference to funeral pillars or funerary offerings. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:583-85, and L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:257.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “the measurements of the altar by cubits, the cubit being a cubit and a handbreadth.” The measuring units here and in the remainder of this section are the Hebrew “long” cubit, consisting of a cubit (about 18 inches or 45 cm) and a handbreadth (about 3 inches or 7.5 cm), for a total of 21 inches (52.5 cm). Because modern readers are not familiar with the cubit as a unit of measurement, and due to the additional complication of the “long” cubit as opposed to the regular cubit, all measurements have been converted to American standard feet and inches, with the Hebrew measurements and the metric equivalents given in the notes. On the altar see Ezek 40:47.

¹⁶ **tn** The Hebrew term normally means “bosom.” Here it refers to a hollow in the ground.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “one cubit” (i.e., 52.5 cm).

¹⁸ **tn** The word “high” is not in the Hebrew text but is supplied in the translation for clarity.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “one cubit” (i.e., 52.5 cm).

²⁰ **tn** Heb “one span.” A span was three handbreadths, or about nine inches (i.e., 22.5 cm).

²¹ **tc** Heb “bulge, protuberance, mound.” The translation follows the LXX.

²² **tn** Heb “two cubits” (i.e., 1.05 meters).

²³ **tn** Heb “one cubit” (i.e., 52.5 cm; the phrase occurs again later in this verse).

²⁴ **tn** Heb “four cubits” (i.e., 2.1 meters; the phrase also occurs in the next verse).

hearth four horns projecting upward. **43:16** Now the altar hearth¹ is a perfect square, 21 feet² long and 21 feet wide. **43:17** The ledge is 24½ feet³ long and 24½ feet wide on four sides; the border around it is 10½ inches,⁴ and its surrounding base 1¾ feet.⁵ Its steps face east.”

43:18 Then he said to me: “Son of man, this is what the sovereign LORD says: These are the statutes of the altar: On the day it is built to offer up burnt offerings on it and to sprinkle blood on it,⁶ **43:19** you will give a young bull for a sin offering to the Levitical priests who are descended from Zadok, who approach me to minister to me, declares the sovereign LORD. **43:20** You will take some of its blood, and place it on the four horns of the altar, on the four corners of the ledge, and on the border all around; you will cleanse it and make atonement for it.⁷ **43:21** You will also take the bull for the sin offering, and it will be burned in the appointed place in the temple, outside the sanctuary.

43:22 “On the second day, you will offer a male goat without blemish for a sin offering. They will purify the altar just as they purified it with the bull. **43:23** When you have finished purifying it, you will offer an unblemished young bull and an unblemished ram from the flock. **43:24** You will present them before the LORD, and the priests will scatter salt on them⁸ and offer them up as a burnt offering to the LORD.

43:25 “For seven days you will provide every day a goat for a sin offering; a young bull and a ram from the flock, both without blemish, will be provided. **43:26** For seven days they will make atonement for the altar and cleanse it, so they will consecrate it.⁹ **43:27** When the prescribed period is over,¹⁰ on the eighth day and thereafter the priests will offer up on the altar your burnt offerings and your peace offerings;¹¹ I will accept you, declares the sovereign LORD.”

The Closed Gate

44:1 Then he brought me back by way of the outer gate of the sanctuary which faces east, but it was shut. **44:2** The LORD said to me: “This gate will be shut; it will not be opened, and no one will enter by it. For the LORD, the God of Israel, has entered by it; therefore it will remain shut. **44:3** Only the prince may sit in it to eat a sacrificial meal¹² before the LORD; he will enter by way of the porch of the gate and will go out by the same way.”

44:4 Then he brought me by way of the north gate to the front of the temple. As I watched, I noticed¹³ the glory of the LORD filling the LORD’s temple, and I threw myself face down. **44:5** The LORD said to me: “Son of man, pay attention,¹⁴ watch closely and listen carefully to¹⁵ everything I tell you concerning all the statutes of the LORD’s house and all its laws. Pay attention to the entrances¹⁶ to the temple with all the exits of the sanctuary. **44:6** Say to the rebellious,¹⁷ to the house of Israel, ‘This is what the sovereign LORD says: Enough of all your abominable practices, O house of Israel! **44:7** When you bring foreigners, those uncircumcised in heart and in flesh, into my sanctuary, you desecrate¹⁸ it – even my house – when you offer my food, the fat and the blood. You¹⁹ have broken my covenant by all your abominable practices. **44:8** You have not kept charge of my holy things, but you have assigned foreigners²⁰ to keep charge of my sanctuary for you. **44:9** This is what the sovereign LORD says: No foreigner, who is uncircumcised in heart and flesh among all the foreigners who are among the people of Israel, will enter into my sanctuary.²¹

44:10 “But the Levites who went far from me, straying off from me after their idols when Israel went astray, will be responsible for²² their sin. **44:11** Yet they will be ministers in my sanctuary, having oversight at the gates of the

¹ **tn** The precise Hebrew word used here to refer to an “altar hearth” occurs only here in the OT.

² **tn** *Heb* “twelve cubits” (i.e., 6.3 meters; the phrase occurs twice in this verse).

³ **tn** *Heb* “fourteen”; the word “cubits” is not in the Hebrew text but is understood from the context; the phrase occurs again later in this verse. Fourteen cubits is about 7.35 meters.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “half a cubit” (i.e., 26.25 cm).

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “one cubit” (i.e., 52.5 cm).

⁶ **sn** For the “sprinkling of blood,” see Lev 1:5, 11; 8:19; 9:12.

⁷ **sn** Note the similar language in Lev 16:18.

⁸ **sn** It is likely that salt was used with sacrificial meals (Num 18:19; 2 Chr 13:5).

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “fill its hands.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “and they will complete the days.”

¹¹ **sn** The people also could partake of the food of the peace offering (Lev 3).

¹² **tn** *Heb* “to eat bread.”

¹³ **tn** The word *הִנֵּה* (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “set your heart” (so also in the latter part of the verse).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “Set your mind, look with your eyes, and with your ears hear.”

¹⁶ **tc** The Syriac, Vulgate, and Targum read the plural. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:618.

¹⁷ **tc** The LXX reads “house of rebellion.”

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “to desecrate.”

¹⁹ **tc** The Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions read “you.” The Masoretic text reads “they.”

²⁰ **tc** Instead of an energetic *nun* (נ), the text may have read a third masculine plural suffix *ם* (*mem*), “them,” which was confused with *ן* (*nun*) in the old script. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:621.

tn This word is not in the Hebrew text but is supplied from the context.

²¹ **sn** Tobiah, an Ammonite (Neh 13:8), was dismissed from the temple.

²² **tn** *Heb* “will bear.”

temple, and serving the temple. They will slaughter the burnt offerings and the sacrifices for the people, and they will stand before them to minister to them. **44:12** Because they used to minister to them before their idols, and became a sinful obstacle¹ to the house of Israel, consequently I have made a vow² concerning them, declares the sovereign LORD, that they will be responsible³ for their sin. **44:13** They will not come near me to serve me as priest, nor will they come near any of my holy things, the things which are most sacred. They will bear the shame of the abominable deeds they have committed. **44:14** Yet I will appoint them to keep charge of the temple, all of its service and all that will be done in it.

The Levitical Priests

44:15 “But the Levitical priests, the descendants of Zadok⁴ who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the people of Israel went astray from me, will approach me to minister to me; they will stand before me to offer me the fat and the blood, declares the sovereign LORD. **44:16** They will enter my sanctuary, and approach my table to minister to me; they will keep my charge.

44:17 “When they enter the gates of the inner court, they must wear linen garments; they must not have any wool on them when they minister in the inner gates of the court and in the temple. **44:18** Linen turbans will be on their heads and linen undergarments will be around their waists; they must not bind themselves with anything that causes sweat. **44:19** When they go out to the outer court to the people, they must remove the garments they were ministering in, and place them in the holy chambers; they must put on other garments so that they will not transmit holiness to the people with their garments.⁵

44:20 “They must not shave their heads⁶ nor let their hair grow long;⁷ they must only trim their heads. **44:21** No priest may drink wine when he enters the inner court. **44:22** They must not marry a widow or a divorcee, but they may marry a virgin from the house of Israel⁸ or a widow who is a priest’s widow. **44:23** More-

over, they will teach my people the difference between the holy and the common, and show them how to distinguish between the ceremonially unclean and the clean.⁹

44:24 “In a controversy they will act as judges;¹⁰ they will judge according to my ordinances. They will keep my laws and my statutes regarding all my appointed festivals and will observe¹¹ my Sabbaths.

44:25 “They must not come near a dead person or they will be defiled;¹² however, for father, mother, son, daughter, brother or sister, they may defile themselves. **44:26** After a priest¹³ has become ceremonially clean, they¹⁴ must count off a period of seven days for him. **44:27** On the day he enters the sanctuary, into the inner court to serve in the sanctuary, he must offer his sin offering, declares the sovereign LORD.

44:28 “This will be their inheritance: I am their inheritance, and you must give them no property in Israel; I am their property.¹⁵ **44:29** They may eat the grain offering, the sin offering, and the guilt offering, and every devoted thing in Israel will be theirs. **44:30** The first of all the first fruits and all contributions of any kind¹⁶ will be for the priests; you will also give to the priest the first portion of your dough, so that a blessing may rest on your house. **44:31** The priests will not eat any bird or animal that has died a natural death or was torn to pieces by a wild animal.¹⁷

The Lord’s Portion of the Land

45:1 “When you allot the land as an inheritance, you will offer an allotment¹⁸ to the LORD, a holy portion from the land; the length will be eight and a quarter miles¹⁹ and the

¹ *tn* Heb “a stumbling block of iniquity.” This is a unique phrase of the prophet Ezekiel (cf. also Ezek 7:19; 14:3, 4, 7; 18:30).

² *tn* Heb “I lifted up my hand.”

³ *tn* Heb “will bear.”

⁴ *sn* Zadok was a descendant of Aaron through Eleazar (1 Chr 6:50-53), who served as a priest during David’s reign (2 Sam 8:17).

⁵ *sn* For a similar concept of the transmitting of holiness, see Exod 19:12-14; Lev 10:1-2; 2 Sam 6:7. Similar laws concerning the priest are found in Lev 10 and 21.

⁶ *sn* The shaving of the head was associated with mourning (Ezek 7:18).

⁷ *sn* Letting the hair grow was associated with the taking of a vow (Num 6:5; Acts 21:23-26).

⁸ *tn* Heb “from the offspring of the house of Israel.”

⁹ *sn* This task was a fundamental role of the priest (Lev 10:10).

¹⁰ *sn* For a historical illustration of the priest carrying out this function, see 2 Chr 19:9-11.

¹¹ *tn* Heb “sanctify, set apart.”

¹² *sn* This law was part of the legal code for priests (Lev 21:1-3).

¹³ *tn* Heb “he”; the referent (the priest) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁴ *tc* One medieval Hebrew ms, the LXX, and the Syriac along with Lev 15:13, 28 read the verb as singular.

¹⁵ *sn* See Num 18:20; Deut 10:9; 18:2; Josh 13:33; 18:7.

¹⁶ *tn* Heb has in addition “from your contributions,” a repetition unnecessary in English.

¹⁷ *tn* The words “by a wild animal” are not in the Hebrew text, but have been supplied in the translation as a clarification of the circumstances.

¹⁸ *sn* For this law, see Lev 7:24; 17:15.

¹⁹ *tn* Heb “a contribution.”

¹⁹ *tn* Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers). The measuring units here are the Hebrew “long” cubit, consisting of a cubit (about 18 inches or 45 cm) and a handbreadth (about 3 inches or 7.5 cm), for a total of 21 inches (52.5 cm). Because modern readers are not familiar with the cubit as a unit of measurement, and due to the additional complication of the “long” cubit as opposed to the regular cubit, all measurements have been converted to American standard miles (one mile = 5,280 feet), with the Hebrew measurements and the metric equivalents given in the notes.

width three and one-third miles.¹ This entire area will be holy.² **45:2** Of this area a square 875 feet³ by 875 feet will be designated for the sanctuary, with 87½ feet⁴ set aside for its open space round about. **45:3** From this measured area you will measure a length of eight and a quarter miles⁵ and a width of three and one-third miles;⁶ in it will be the sanctuary, the most holy place. **45:4** It will be a holy portion of the land; it will be for the priests, the ministers of the sanctuary who approach the LORD to minister to him. It will be a place for their houses and a holy place for the sanctuary.⁷ **45:5** An area eight and a quarter miles⁸ in length and three and one-third miles⁹ in width will be for the Levites, who minister at the temple, as the place for the cities¹⁰ in which they will live.

45:6 “Alongside the portion set apart as the holy allotment, you will allot for the city an area one and two-thirds miles¹¹ wide and eight and a quarter miles¹² long; it will be for the whole house of Israel.

45:7 “For the prince there will be land on both sides of the holy allotment and the allotted city, alongside the holy allotment and the allotted city, on the west side and on the east side; it will be comparable in length to one of the portions, from the west border to the east border **45:8** of the land. This will be his property in Israel. My princes will no longer oppress my people, but the land will be allotted to the house of Israel according to their tribes.

45:9 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: Enough, you princes of Israel! Put away violence and destruction, and do what is just and right. Put an end to your evictions of my people,¹³ declares the sovereign LORD. **45:10** You must use just balances,¹⁴ a just dry meas-

ure (an ephah),¹⁵ and a just liquid measure (a bath).¹⁶ **45:11** The dry and liquid measures will be the same, the bath will contain a tenth of a homer,¹⁷ and the ephah a tenth of a homer; the homer will be the standard measure. **45:12** The shekel will be twenty gerahs. Sixty shekels¹⁸ will be a mina for you.

45:13 “This is the offering you must offer: a sixth of an ephah from a homer of wheat; a sixth of an ephah from a homer of barley, **45:14** and as the prescribed portion of olive oil, one tenth of a bath from each cor (which is ten baths or a homer, for ten baths make a homer); **45:15** and one sheep from each flock of two hundred, from the watered places of Israel, for a grain offering, burnt offering, and peace offering, to make atonement for them, declares the sovereign LORD. **45:16** All the people of the land will contribute¹⁹ to this offering for the prince of Israel. **45:17** It will be the duty of the prince to provide the burnt offerings, the grain offering, and the drink offering at festivals, on the new moons and Sabbaths, at all the appointed feasts of the house of Israel; he will provide the sin offering, the grain offering, the burnt offering, and the peace offerings to make atonement for the house of Israel.

45:18 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: In the first month, on the first day of the month, you must take an unblemished young bull and purify the sanctuary. **45:19** The priest will take some of the blood of the sin offering and place it on the doorpost of the temple, on the four corners of the ledge of the altar, and on the doorpost of the gate of the inner court. **45:20** This is what you must do on the seventh day of the month for anyone who sins inadvertently or through ignorance; so you will make atonement for the temple.

45:21 “In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, you will celebrate the Passover, and for seven days bread made without yeast will be eaten. **45:22** On that day the prince will provide for himself and for all the people of the land a bull for a sin offering. **45:23** And during the seven days of the feast he will provide as a burnt offering to the LORD seven bulls and seven rams, all without blemish, on each of the seven days, and a male goat daily for a sin offering. **45:24** He will provide as a grain offering an ephah for each bull, an ephah for each ram, and a gallon²⁰ of olive oil for each ephah

¹ **tc** The LXX reads “twenty thousand cubits.”

² **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

³ **tn** *Heb* “holy it is in all its territory round about.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “five hundred cubits” (i.e., 262.5 meters); the phrase occurs twice in this verse.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “fifty cubits” (i.e., 26.25 meters).

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹² **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “ephah,” which was 1/2 bushel.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “bath,” a liquid measure, was 5 1/2 gallons.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “homer” was about 5 bushels as a dry measure and 55 gallons as a liquid measure.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “twenty shekels, twenty-five shekels, fifteen shekels.”

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “will be.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “a hin of oil.” A hin was about 1/16 of a bath. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:266, and O. R. Sellers, “Weights,” *IDB* 4:835 g.

of grain.¹ **45:25** In the seventh month, on the fifteenth day of the month, at the feast,² he will make the same provisions for the sin offering, burnt offering, and grain offering, and for the olive oil, for the seven days.

The Prince's Offerings

46:1 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: The gate of the inner court that faces east³ will be closed six working days, but on the Sabbath day it will be opened and on the day of the new moon it will be opened. **46:2** The prince will enter by way of the porch of the gate from the outside, and will stand by the doorpost of the gate. The priests will provide his burnt offering and his peace offerings, and he will bow down at the threshold of the gate and then go out. But the gate will not be closed until evening. **46:3** The people of the land will bow down at the entrance of that gate before the LORD on the Sabbaths and on the new moons. **46:4** The burnt offering which the prince will offer to the LORD on the Sabbath day will be six unblemished lambs and one unblemished ram. **46:5** The grain offering will be an ephah with the ram, and the grain offering with the lambs will be as much as he is able to give,⁴ and a gallon⁵ of olive oil with an ephah. **46:6** On the day of the new moon he will offer⁶ an unblemished young bull, and six lambs and a ram, all without blemish. **46:7** He will provide a grain offering: an ephah with the bull and an ephah with the ram, and with the lambs as much as he wishes,⁷ and a gallon⁸ of olive oil with each ephah of grain.⁹ **46:8** When the prince enters, he will come by way of the porch of the gate and will go out the same way.

46:9 “When the people of the land come before the LORD at the appointed feasts, whoever enters by way of the north gate to worship will go out by way of the south gate; whoever enters by way of the south gate will go out by way of the north gate. No one will return by way of the gate they entered but will go out straight ahead. **46:10** When they come in, the

prince will come in with them, and when they go out, he will go out.

46:11 “At the festivals and at the appointed feasts the grain offering will be an ephah with the bull and an ephah with the ram, and with the lambs as much as one is able,¹⁰ and a gallon¹¹ of olive oil with each ephah of grain.¹² **46:12** When the prince provides a freewill offering, a burnt offering, or peace offerings as a voluntary offering to the LORD, the gate facing east will be opened for him, and he will provide his burnt offering and his peace offerings just as he did on the Sabbath. Then he will go out, and the gate will be closed after he goes out.¹³

46:13 “You¹⁴ will provide a lamb a year old without blemish for a burnt offering daily to the LORD; morning by morning he will provide it. **46:14** And you¹⁵ will provide a grain offering with it morning by morning, a sixth of an ephah, and a third of a gallon¹⁶ of olive oil to moisten the choice flour, as a grain offering to the LORD; this is a perpetual statute. **46:15** Thus they will provide the lamb, the grain offering, and the olive oil morning by morning, as a perpetual burnt offering.

46:16 “This is what the sovereign LORD says: If the prince should give a gift to one of his sons as¹⁷ his inheritance, it will belong to his sons, it is their property by inheritance. **46:17** But if he gives a gift from his inheritance to one of his servants, it will be his until the year of liberty;¹⁸ then it will revert to the prince. His inheritance will only remain with his sons. **46:18** The prince will not take away any of the people's inheritance by oppressively removing them from their property. He will give his sons an inheritance from his own possessions so that my people will not be scattered, each from his own property.”

46:19 Then he brought me through the entrance, which was at the side of the gate, into the holy chambers for the priests which faced north. There I saw¹⁹ a place at the extreme western end. **46:20** He said to me, “This is the

¹ **tn** Heb “ephah.” The words “of grain” are supplied in the translation as a clarification.

² **sn** That is, the Feast of Temporary Shelters, traditionally known as the Feast of Tabernacles (Exod 23:16; 34:22; Deut 16:16).

³ **sn** The east gate of the outer court was permanently closed (Ezek 44:2).

⁴ **tn** Or “as much as he wishes.” Heb “a gift of his hand.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “a hin of oil.” A hin was about 1/16 of a bath. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:266, and O. R. Sellers, “Weights,” *IDB* 4:835 g.

⁶ **tn** The phrase “he will offer” is not in the Hebrew text but is warranted from the context.

⁷ **tn** Heb “with the lambs as his hand can reach.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “a hin of oil.” A hin was about 1/16 of a bath. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:266, and O. R. Sellers, “Weights,” *IDB* 4:835 g.

⁹ **tn** Heb “ephah.” The words “of grain” are supplied in the translation as a clarification.

¹⁰ **tn** Or “as much as he wishes.” Heb “a gift of his hand.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “a hin of oil.” A hin was about 1/16 of a bath. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:266, and O. R. Sellers, “Weights,” *IDB* 4:835 g.

¹² **tn** Heb “ephah.” The words “of grain” are supplied in the translation as a clarification.

¹³ **tn** Heb “he shall shut the gate after he goes out.”

¹⁴ **tc** A few Hebrew MSS, the LXX, and the Vulgate read the verb as third person singular (referring to the prince), both here and later in the verse.

¹⁵ **tc** Two medieval Hebrew MSS, the LXX, the Syriac, and the Vulgate read the verb as third person singular.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “a hin of oil.” A hin was about 1/16 of a bath. See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:266, and O. R. Sellers, “Weights,” *IDB* 4:835 g.

¹⁷ **tn** The Hebrew text has no preposition; the LXX reads “from” (see v. 17).

¹⁸ **sn** That is, the year of Jubilee (Lev 25:8-15).

¹⁹ **tn** The word *hinneh* (הִנֵּה), traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

place where the priests will boil the guilt offering and the sin offering, and where they will bake the grain offering, so that they do not bring them out to the outer court to transmit holiness to the people.”

46:21 Then he brought me out to the outer court and led me past the four corners of the court, and I noticed¹ that in every corner of the court there was a court. **46:22** In the four corners of the court were small² courts, 70 feet³ in length and 52½ feet⁴ in width; the four were all the same size. **46:23** There was a row of masonry around each of the four courts, and places for boiling offerings were made under the rows all around. **46:24** Then he said to me, “These are the houses for boiling, where the ministers of the temple boil the sacrifices of the people.”

Water from the Temple

47:1 Then he brought me back to the entrance of the temple. I noticed⁵ that water was flowing from under the threshold of the temple toward the east (for the temple faced east). The water was flowing down from under the right side of the temple, from south of the altar. **47:2** He led me out by way of the north gate and brought me around the outside of the outer gate that faces toward the east; I noticed⁶ that the water was trickling out from the south side.

47:3 When the man went out toward the east with a measuring line in his hand, he measured 1,750 feet,⁷ and then he led me through water, which was ankle deep. **47:4** Again he measured 1,750 feet and led me through the water, which was now knee deep. Once more he measured 1,750 feet and led me through the water, which was waist deep. **47:5** Again he measured 1,750 feet and it was a river I could not cross, for the water had risen; it was deep enough to swim in, a river that could not be crossed. **47:6** He said to me, “Son of man, have you seen this?”

Then he led me back to the bank of the river. **47:7** When I had returned, I noticed⁸ a vast number of trees on the banks of the river,

on both sides. **47:8** He said to me, “These waters go out toward the eastern region and flow down into the Arabah; when they enter the Dead Sea,⁹ where the sea is stagnant,¹⁰ the waters become fresh.¹¹ **47:9** Every living creature which swarms where the river¹² flows will live; there will be many fish, for these waters flow there. It will become fresh¹³ and everything will live where the river flows. **47:10** Fishermen will stand beside it, from Engedi to En-eglain they will spread nets. They will catch many kinds of fish, like the fish of the Great Sea.¹⁴ **47:11** But its swamps and its marshes will not become fresh; they will remain salty. **47:12** On both sides of the river’s banks, every kind of tree will grow for food. Their leaves will not wither nor will their fruit fail, but they will bear fruit every month, because their water source flows from the sanctuary. Their fruit will be for food and their leaves for healing.”¹⁵

Boundaries for the Land

47:13 This is what the sovereign LORD says: “Here¹⁶ are the borders¹⁷ you will observe as you allot the land to the twelve tribes of Israel. (Joseph will have two portions.)¹⁸ **47:14** You must divide it equally just as I vowed to give it to your forefathers;¹⁹ this land will be assigned as your inheritance.”²⁰

47:15 “This will be the border of the land:²¹ On the north side, from the Great Sea by way of Hethlon to the entrance of Zedad; **47:16** Hamath, Berotah, Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath, as far as Hazer-hattikon, which is on the border of Hauran. **47:17** The border will run from the sea to Hazar-enan, at the border of Damascus, and on the north is the border of Hamath. This is the north side. **47:18** On the east side, be-

⁹ **tn** Heb “the sea,” referring to the Dead Sea. This has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “to the sea, those which are brought out.” The reading makes no sense. The text is best emended to read “filthy” (i.e., stagnant). See L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC), 2:273.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “the waters become healed.”

¹² **tn** Heb “two rivers,” perhaps under the influence of Zech 14:8. The translation follows the LXX and other ancient versions in reading the singular, which is demanded by the context (see vv. 5-7, 9b, 12).

¹³ **tn** Heb “will be healed.”

¹⁴ **sn** The Great Sea refers to the Mediterranean Sea (also in vv. 15, 19, 20).

¹⁵ **sn** See Rev 22:1-2.

¹⁶ **tc** This translation follows the reading **הַ** (*zeh*) instead of **גֵּ** (*geh*), a nonexistent word, as supported by the LXX.

¹⁷ **tn** Or “territory”; see D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* (NICOT), 2:715.

¹⁸ **tc** The grammar is awkward, though the presence of these words is supported by the versions. L. C. Allen (*Ezekiel* [WBC], 2:274) suggests that it is an explanatory gloss.

¹⁹ **sn** One portion for Ephraim, the other for Manasseh (Gen 48:17-20).

²⁰ **sn** Gen 15:9-21.

²¹ **tn** Heb “will fall to you as an inheritance.”

²² **sn** The measurements resemble those in Num 34:1-2.

¹ **tn** The word **הִנֵּה** (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

² **tc** The meaning of the Hebrew term is unclear. The LXX and Syriac render “small.”

³ **tn** Heb “forty cubits” (i.e., 21 meters).

⁴ **tn** Heb “thirty cubits” (i.e., 15.75 meters).

⁵ **tn** The word **הִנֵּה** (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁶ **tn** The word **הִנֵּה** (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

⁷ **tn** Heb “one thousand cubits” (i.e., 525 meters); this phrase occurs three times in the next two verses.

⁸ **tn** The word **הִנֵּה** (*hinneh*, traditionally “behold”) indicates becoming aware of something and has been translated here as a verb.

tween Hauran and Damascus, and between Gilead and the land of Israel, will be the Jordan. You will measure from the border to the eastern sea. This is the east side. **47:19** On the south side it will run from Tamar to the waters of Meribath Kadesh, the river,¹ to the Great Sea. This is the south side. **47:20** On the west side the Great Sea will be the boundary to a point opposite Lebo Hamath. This is the west side.

47:21 “This is how you will divide this land for yourselves among the tribes of Israel. **47:22** You must allot it as an inheritance among yourselves and for the foreigners who reside among you, who have fathered sons among you. You must treat them as native-born among the people of Israel; they will be allotted an inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel.” **47:23** In whatever tribe the foreigner resides, there you will give him his inheritance,” declares the sovereign LORD.

The Tribal Portions

48:1 “These are the names of the tribes: From the northern end beside the road of Hethlon to Lebo Hamath, as far as Hazar-enan (which is on the border of Damascus, toward the north beside Hamath), extending from the east side to the west, Dan will have one portion. **48:2** Next to the border of Dan, from the east side to the west, Asher³ will have one portion. **48:3** Next to the border of Asher from the east side to the west, Naphtali will have one portion. **48:4** Next to the border of Naphtali from the east side to the west, Manasseh will have one portion. **48:5** Next to the border of Manasseh from the east side to the west, Ephraim will have one portion. **48:6** Next to the border of Ephraim from the east side to the west, Reuben will have one portion. **48:7** Next to the border of Reuben from the east side to the west, Judah⁴ will have one portion.

48:8 “Next to the border of Judah from the east side to the west will be the allotment you must set apart. It is to be eight and a quarter miles⁵ wide, and the same length as one of the tribal portions, from the east side to the west; the sanctuary will be in the middle of it. **48:9** The allotment you set apart to the LORD will be eight and a quarter miles⁶ in length and three

and one-third miles⁷ in width. **48:10** These will be the allotments for the holy portion: for the priests, toward the north eight and a quarter miles⁸ in length, toward the west three and one-third miles⁹ in width, toward the east three and one-third miles¹⁰ in width, and toward the south eight and a quarter miles¹¹ in length; the sanctuary of the LORD will be in the middle. **48:11** This will be for the priests who are set apart from the descendants of Zadok who kept my charge and did not go astray when the people of Israel strayed off, like the Levites did.¹² **48:12** It will be their portion from the allotment of the land, a most holy place, next to the border of the Levites.

48:13 “Alongside the border of the priests, the Levites will have an allotment eight and a quarter miles¹³ in length and three and one-third miles¹⁴ in width. The whole length will be eight and a quarter miles¹⁵ and the width three and one-third miles.¹⁶ **48:14** They must not sell or exchange any of it; they must not transfer this choice portion of land, for it is set apart¹⁷ to the LORD.

48:15 “The remainder, one and two-thirds miles¹⁸ in width and eight and a quarter miles¹⁹ in length, will be for common use by the city, for houses and for open space. The city will be in the middle of it; **48:16** these will be its measurements: The north side will be one and one-half miles,²⁰ the south side one and one-half miles, the east side one and one-half miles, and the west side one and one-half miles. **48:17** The city will have open spaces: On the north there will be 437½ feet,²¹ on the south 437½ feet, on the east 437½ feet, and on the west 437½ feet. **48:18** The remainder of the length alongside the

¹ **tn** Or “valley.” The syntax is difficult. Some translate “to the river,” others “from the river”; in either case the preposition is supplied for the sake of English.

² **sn** A similar attitude toward non-Israelites is found in Isa 56:3-8.

³ **sn** The tribes descended from Jacob’s maidservants are placed farthest from the sanctuary. See Gen 30.

⁴ **sn** The tribe from which the Davidic prince would come is given the most prestigious allotment (see Gen 49:8-12).

⁵ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

⁶ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

⁷ **tn** Heb “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

⁸ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

⁹ **tn** Heb “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹¹ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

¹² **tn** Heb “strayed off.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers).

¹⁷ **tn** Or “holy.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “five thousand cubits” (i.e., 2.625 kilometers).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

²⁰ **tn** Heb “four thousand five hundred cubits” (i.e., 2.36 kilometers); the phrase occurs three more times in this verse.

²¹ **tn** Heb “two hundred fifty cubits” (i.e., 131.25 meters); the phrase occurs three more times in this verse.

holy allotment will be three and one-third miles¹ to the east and three and one-third miles toward the west, and it will be beside the holy allotment. Its produce will be for food for the workers of the city. **48:19** The workers of the city from all the tribes of Israel will cultivate it. **48:20** The whole allotment will be eight and a quarter miles² square, you must set apart the holy allotment with the possession of the city.

48:21 “The rest, on both sides of the holy allotment and the property of the city, will belong to the prince. Extending from the eight and a quarter miles³ of the holy allotment to the east border, and westward from the eight and a quarter miles⁴ to the west border, alongside the portions, it will belong to the prince. The holy allotment and the sanctuary of the temple will be in the middle of it. **48:22** The property of the Levites and of the city will be in the middle of that which belongs to the prince. The portion between the border of Judah and the border of Benjamin will be for the prince.

48:23 “As for the rest of the tribes: From the east side to the west side, Benjamin will have one portion. **48:24** Next to the border of Benjamin, from the east side to the west side, Simeon will have one portion. **48:25** Next to the border of Simeon, from the east side to the west side, Issachar will have one portion. **48:26** Next to the border of Issachar, from the east side to the

west side, Zebulun will have one portion. **48:27** Next to the border of Zebulun, from the east side to the west side, Gad will have one portion. **48:28** Next to the border of Gad, at the south side, the border will run from Tamar to the waters of Meribath Kadesh, to the Stream of Egypt⁵ and on to the Great Sea. **48:29** This is the land which you will allot to the tribes of Israel, and these are their portions, declares the sovereign LORD.

48:30 “These are the exits of the city: On the north side, one and one-half miles⁶ by measure, **48:31** the gates of the city⁷ will be named for the tribes of Israel; there will be three gates to the north: one gate for Reuben, one gate for Judah, and one gate for Levi. **48:32** On the east side, one and one-half miles in length, there will be three gates: one gate for Joseph, one gate for Benjamin, and one gate for Dan. **48:33** On the south side, one and one-half miles by measure, there will be three gates: one gate for Simeon, one gate for Issachar, and one gate for Zebulun. **48:34** On the west side, one and one-half miles in length, there will be three gates: one gate for Gad, one gate for Asher, and one gate for Naphtali. **48:35** The circumference of the city will be six miles.⁸ The name of the city from that day forward will be: ‘The LORD Is There.’”⁹

¹ **tn** *Heb* “ten thousand cubits” (i.e., 5.25 kilometers); the phrase occurs again later in this verse.

² **tn** *Heb* “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

³ **tn** *Heb* “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “twenty-five thousand cubits” (i.e., 13.125 kilometers).

⁵ **tn** Traditionally “the Brook of Egypt,” although a number of recent translations have “the Wadi of Egypt” (cf. NAB, NIV, NRSV). The word “Egypt” is not in the Hebrew text, but is implied.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “four thousand five hundred cubits” (i.e., 2.36 kilometers); the phrase occurs again in vv. 32-34.

⁷ **sn** See Rev 21:12-14.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “eighteen thousand cubits” (i.e., 9.45 kilometers).

⁹ **sn** See Rev 21:12-21.

Isaiah

Heading

1:1 Here is the message about Judah and Jerusalem¹ that was revealed to Isaiah son of Amoz during the time when Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah reigned over Judah.²

Obedience, not Sacrifice

1:2 Listen, O heavens,
pay attention, O earth!³
For the LORD speaks:
“I raised children,⁴ I brought them up,⁵
but⁶ they have rebelled⁷ against me!
1:3 An ox recognizes its owner,
a donkey recognizes where its owner puts
its food;⁸
but Israel does not recognize me,⁹

my people do not understand.”

1:4¹⁰ The sinful nation is as good as
dead,¹¹

the people weighed down by evil deeds.
They are offspring who do wrong,
children¹² who do wicked things.

They have abandoned the LORD,
and rejected the Holy One of Israel.¹³
They are alienated from him.¹⁴

1:5¹⁵ Why do you insist on being battered?

Why do you continue to rebel?¹⁶

Your head has a massive wound,¹⁷
your whole body is weak.¹⁸

1:6 From the soles of your feet to your
head,

there is no spot that is unharmed.¹⁹

There are only bruises, cuts,
and open wounds.

They have not been cleansed²⁰ or banded,

¹ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

² **tn** *Heb* “The vision of Isaiah son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, [and] Hezekiah, kings of Judah.”

sn Isaiah’s prophetic career probably began in the final year of Uzziah’s reign (ca. 740 B.C., see Isa 6:1) and extended into the later years of Hezekiah’s reign, which ended in 686 B.C.

³ **sn** The personified *heavens* and *earth* are summoned to God’s courtroom as witnesses against God’s covenant people. Long before this Moses warned the people that the heavens and earth would be watching their actions (see Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28; 32:1).

⁴ **tn** Or “sons” (NAB, NASB).

sn “Father” and “son” occur as common terms in ancient Near Eastern treaties and covenants, delineating the suzerain and vassal as participants in the covenant relationship. The prophet uses these terms, the reference to heavens and earth as witnesses, and allusions to deuteronomistic covenant curses (1:7-9, 19-20) to set his prophecy firmly against the backdrop of Israel’s covenantal relationship with Yahweh.

⁵ **sn** The normal word pair for giving birth to and raising children is יָלַד (*yalad*, “to give birth to”) and גָּדַל (*gadal*, “to grow, raise”). The pair יָלַד וָרָם (*rum*, “to raise up”) probably occur here to highlight the fact that Yahweh made something important of Israel (cf. R. Mosis, *TDOT* 2:403).

⁶ **sn** Against the backdrop of Yahweh’s care for his chosen people, Israel’s rebellion represents abhorrent treachery. The conjunction prefixed to a nonverbal element highlights the sad contrast between Yahweh’s compassionate care for His people and Israel’s thankless rebellion.

⁷ **sn** To rebel carries the idea of “covenant treachery.” Although an act of פָּשַׁע (*pesha*, “rebellion”) often signifies a breach of the law, the legal offense also represents a violation of an existing covenantal relationship (E. Carpenter and M. Grisanti, *NIDOTTE* 3:707).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “and the donkey the feeding trough of its owner.” The verb in the first line does double duty in the parallelism.

⁹ **tn** Although both verbs have no object, the parallelism suggests that Israel fails to recognize the LORD as the one who provides for their needs. In both clauses, the placement of “Israel” and “my people” at the head of the clause focuses the reader’s attention on the rebellious nation (C. van der Merwe, J. Naudé, J. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, 346-47).

¹⁰ **sn** Having summoned the witnesses and announced the LORD’s accusation against Israel, Isaiah mourns the nation’s impending doom. The third person references to the LORD in the second half of the verse suggest that the quotation from the LORD (cf. vv. 2-3) has concluded.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “Woe [to the] sinful nation.” The Hebrew term רָוַח (*hoy*, “woe, ah”) was used in funeral laments (see 1 Kgs 13:30; Jer 22:18; 34:5) and carries the connotation of death. In highly dramatic fashion the prophet acts out Israel’s funeral in advance, emphasizing that their demise is inevitable if they do not repent soon.

¹² **tn** Or “sons” (NASB). The prophet contrasts four terms of privilege – nation, people, offspring, children – with four terms that depict Israel’s sinful condition in Isaiah’s day – sinful, evil, wrong, wicked (see J. A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah*, 43).

¹³ **sn** *Holy One of Israel* is one of Isaiah’s favorite divine titles for God. It pictures the LORD as the sovereign king who rules over his covenant people and exercises moral authority over them.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “they are estranged backward.” The LXX omits this statement, which presents syntactical problems and seems to be outside the synonymous parallelistic structure of the verse.

¹⁵ **sn** In vv. 5-9 Isaiah addresses the battered nation (5-8) and speaks as their representative (9).

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “Why are you still beaten? [Why] do you continue rebellion?” The rhetorical questions express the prophet’s disbelief over Israel’s apparent masochism and obsession with sin. The interrogative construction in the first line does double duty in the parallelism. H. Wildberger (*Isaiah*, 1:18) offers another alternative by translating the two statements with one question: “Why do you still wish to be struck that you persist in revolt?”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “all the head is ill”; NRSV “the whole head is sick”; CEV “Your head is badly bruised.”

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “and all the heart is faint.” The “heart” here stands for bodily strength and energy, as suggested by the context and usage elsewhere (see Jer 8:18; Lam 1:22).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “there is not in it health”; NAB “there is no sound spot.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “pressed out.”

nor have they been treated¹ with olive oil.²

1:7 Your land is devastated, your cities burned with fire. Right before your eyes your crops are being destroyed by foreign invaders.³ They leave behind devastation and destruction.⁴

1:8 Daughter Zion⁵ is left isolated, like a hut in a vineyard, or a shelter in a cucumber field; she is a besieged city.⁶

1:9 If the LORD who commands armies⁷ had not left us a few survivors, we would have quickly become like Sodom.⁸

we would have become like Gomorrah.

1:10 Listen to the LORD's word, you leaders of Sodom!⁹

¹ **tn** Heb "softened" (so NASB, NRSV); NIV "soothed."

² **sn** This verse describes wounds like those one would receive in battle. These wounds are comprehensive and without remedy.

³ **tn** Heb "As for your land, before you foreigners are devouring it."

⁴ **tn** Heb "and [there is] devastation like an overthrow by foreigners." The comparative preposition כִּי (*ke*, "like, as") has here the rhetorical nuance, "in every way like." The point is that the land has all the earmarks of a destructive foreign invasion because that is what has indeed happened. One could paraphrase, "it is desolate as it can only be when foreigners destroy." On this use of the preposition in general, see GKC 376 §118.x. Many also prefer to emend "foreigners" here to "Sodom," though there is no external attestation for such a reading in the MSS or ancient versions. Such an emendation finds support from the following context (vv. 9-10) and usage of the preceding noun מַהֲפֶקְהָה (*mahpekkeh*, "overthrow"). In its five other uses, this noun is associated with the destruction of Sodom. If one accepts the emendation, then one might translate, "the devastation resembles the destruction of Sodom."

⁵ **tn** Heb "daughter of Zion" (so KJV, NASB, NIV). The genitive is appositional, identifying precisely which daughter is in view. By picturing Zion as a daughter, the prophet emphasizes her helplessness and vulnerability before the enemy.

⁶ **tn** Heb "like a city besieged." Unlike the preceding two comparisons, which are purely metaphorical, this third one identifies the reality of Israel's condition. In this case the comparative preposition, as in v. 7b, has the force, "in every way like," indicating that all the earmarks of a siege are visible because that is indeed what is taking place. The verb form in MT is Qal passive participle of נָצַר (*natsar*, "guard"), but since this verb is not often used of a siege (see BDB 666 s.v. נָצַר), some prefer to repoint the form as a Niphal participle from II נָצַר (*natsar*, "besiege"). However, the latter is not attested elsewhere in the Niphal (see BDB 848 s.v. II נָצַר).

⁷ **tn** Traditionally, "the LORD of hosts." The title pictures God as the sovereign king who has at his disposal a multitude of attendants, messengers, and warriors to do his bidding. In some contexts, like this one, the military dimension of his rulership is highlighted. In this case, the title pictures him as one who leads armies into battle against his enemies.

⁸ **tc** The translation assumes that כִּימָ'ת (*kim'at*, "quickly," literally, "like a little") goes with what follows, contrary to the MT accents, which take it with what precedes. In this case, one could translate the preceding line, "If the LORD who commands armies had not left us a few survivors." If כִּימָ'ת goes with the preceding line (following the MT accents), this expression highlights the idea that there would only be a few survivors (H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:20; H. Zobel, *JDOT* 8:456). Israel would not be almost like Sodom but exactly like Sodom.

⁹ **sn** Building on the simile of v. 9, the prophet sarcastically addresses the leaders and people of Jerusalem as if they

Pay attention to our God's rebuke,¹⁰ people of Gomorrah!

1:11 "Of what importance to me are your many sacrifices?"¹¹ says the LORD.

"I am stuffed with¹² burnt sacrifices of rams and the fat from steers.

The blood of bulls, lambs, and goats I do not want.¹³

1:12 When you enter my presence, do you actually think I want this – animals trampling on my courtyards?¹⁴

1:13 Do not bring any more meaningless¹⁵ offerings;

I consider your incense detestable!¹⁶

You observe new moon festivals, Sabbaths, and convocations,

but I cannot tolerate sin-stained celebrations!¹⁷

1:14 I hate your new moon festivals and assemblies;

were leaders and residents of ancient Sodom and Gomorrah. The sarcasm is appropriate, for if the judgment is comparable to Sodom's, that must mean that the sin which prompted the judgment is comparable as well.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "to the instruction of our God." In this context, which is highly accusatory and threatening, תּוֹרָה (*torah*, "law, instruction") does not refer to mere teaching, but to corrective teaching and rebuke.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "Why to me the multitude of your sacrifices?" The sarcastic rhetorical question suggests that their many sacrifices are of no importance to the LORD. This phrase answers the possible objection that an Israelite could raise in response to God's indictment: "But we are offering the sacrifices you commanded!"

sn In this section the LORD refutes a potential objection that his sinful people might offer in their defense. He has charged them with rebellion (vv. 2-3), but they might respond that they have brought him many sacrifices. So he points out that he requires social justice first and foremost, not empty ritual.

¹² **tn** The verb שָׂבַע (*sava*, "be satisfied, full") is often used of eating and/or drinking one's fill. See BDB 959 s.v. שָׂבַע. Here sacrifices are viewed, in typical ancient Near Eastern fashion, as food for the deity. God here declares that he has eaten and drunk, as it were, his fill.

¹³ **sn** In the chiasmic structure of the verse, the verbs at the beginning and end highlight God's displeasure, while the heaping up of references to animals, fat, and blood in the middle lines hints at why God wants no more of their sacrifices. They have, as it were, piled the food on his table and he needs no more.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "When you come to appear before me, who requires this from your hand, trampling of my courtyards?" The rhetorical question sarcastically makes the point that God does not require this parade of livestock. The verb "trample" probably refers to the eager worshipers and their sacrificial animals walking around in the temple area.

¹⁵ **tn** Or "worthless" (NASB, NCV, CEV); KJV, ASV "vain."

¹⁶ **sn** Notice some of the other practices that Yahweh regards as "detestable": homosexuality (Lev 18:22-30; 20:13), idolatry (Deut 7:25; 13:15), human sacrifice (Deut 12:31), eating ritually unclean animals (Deut 14:3-8), sacrificing defective animals (Deut 17:1), engaging in occult activities (Deut 18:9-14), and practicing ritual prostitution (1 Kgs 14:23).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "sin and assembly" (these two nouns probably represent a hendiadys). The point is that their attempts at worship are unacceptable to God because the people's everyday actions in the socio-economic realm prove they have no genuine devotion to God (see vv. 16-17).

they are a burden
that I am tired of carrying.

1:15 When you spread out your hands in
prayer,

I look the other way;¹

when you offer your many prayers,

I do not listen,

because your hands are covered with
blood.²

1:16³ Wash! Cleanse yourselves!

Remove your sinful deeds⁴
from my sight.

Stop sinning!

1:17 Learn to do what is right!

Promote justice!

Give the oppressed reason to celebrate!⁵

Take up the cause of the orphan!

Defend the rights of the widow!⁶

1:18⁷ Come, let's consider your options,⁸
says the LORD.

¹ **tn** *Heb* "I close my eyes from you."

² **sn** This does not just refer to the blood of sacrificial animals, but also the blood, as it were, of their innocent victims. By depriving the poor and destitute of proper legal recourse and adequate access to the economic system, the oppressors have, for all intents and purposes, "killed" their victims.

³ **sn** Having demonstrated the people's guilt, the LORD calls them to repentance, which will involve concrete action in the socio-economic realm, not mere emotion.

⁴ **sn** This phrase refers to Israel's covenant treachery (cf. Deut 28:10; Jer 4:4; 21:12; 23:2, 22; 25:5; 26:3; 44:22; Hos 9:15; Ps 28:4). In general, the noun *מַעַלְלֵיכֶם* (*ma'alleykhem*) can simply be a reference to deeds, whether good or bad. However, Isaiah always uses it with a negative connotation (cf. 3:8, 10).

⁵ **tn** The precise meaning of this line is uncertain. The translation assumes an emendation of *הַמִּצִּיז* (*khamuts*, "oppressor" [?]) to *הַמִּצִּיז* (*khamuts*, "oppressed"), a passive participle from *לְמִצִּיז* (*khamats*, "oppress"; HALOT 329 s.v. *לְמִצִּיז*) and takes the verb *לְמִצִּיז* (*ashar*) in the sense of "make happy" (the delocutive Piel, meaning "call/pronounce happy," is metonymic here, referring to actually effecting happiness). The parallelism favors this interpretation, for the next two lines speak of positive actions on behalf of the destitute. The other option is to retain the MT pointing and translate, "set right the oppressor," but the nuance "set right" is not clearly attested elsewhere for the verb *אַשַׁר*. This verb does appear as a participle in Isa 3:12 and 9:16 with the meaning "to lead or guide." If it can mean to "lead" or "rebuke/redirect" in this verse, the prophet could be contrasting this appeal for societal reformation (v. 17c) with a command to reorder their personal lives (v. 17a-b). J. A. Motyer (*The Prophecy of Isaiah*, 47) suggests that these three statements (v. 17a-c) provide "the contrast between the two ends of imperfect society, the oppressor and the needy, the one inflicting and the other suffering the hurt. Isaiah looks for a transformed society wherever it needs transforming."

⁶ **tn** This word refers to a woman who has lost her husband, by death or divorce. The orphan and widow are often mentioned in the OT as epitomizing the helpless and impoverished who have been left without the necessities of life due to the loss of a family provider.

⁷ **sn** The LORD concludes his case against Israel by offering them the opportunity to be forgiven and by setting before them the alternatives of renewed blessing (as a reward for repentance) and final judgment (as punishment for persistence in sin).

⁸ **tn** Traditionally, "let us reason together," but the context suggests a judicial nuance. The LORD is giving the nation its options for the future.

"Though your sins have stained you like
the color red,
you can become⁹ white like snow;
though they are as easy to see as the color
scarlet,

you can become¹⁰ white like wool.¹¹

1:19 If you have a willing attitude and
obey,¹²

then you will again eat the good crops of
the land.

1:20 But if you refuse and rebel,
you will be devoured¹³ by the sword."

Know for certain that the LORD has
spoken.¹⁴

Purifying Judgment

1:21 How tragic that the once-faithful city
has become a prostitute!¹⁵

She was once a center of¹⁶ justice,
fairness resided in her,

but now only murderers.¹⁷

1:22 Your¹⁸ silver has become scum,¹⁹

⁹ **tn** The imperfects must be translated as modal (indicating capability or possibility) to bring out the conditional nature of the offer. This purification will only occur if the people repent and change their ways.

¹⁰ **tn** The imperfects must be translated as modal (indicating capability or possibility) to bring out the conditional nature of the offer. This purification will only occur if the people repent and change their ways.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "though your sins are like red, they will become white like snow; though they are red like scarlet, they will be like wool." The point is not that the sins will be covered up, though still retained. The metaphorical language must be allowed some flexibility and should not be pressed into a rigid literalistic mold. The people's sins will be removed and replaced by ethical purity. The sins that are now as obvious as the color red will be washed away and the ones who are sinful will be transformed.

¹² **tn** *Heb* "listen"; KJV "obedient"; NASB "If you consent and obey."

¹³ **sn** The wordplay in the Hebrew draws attention to the options. The people can obey, in which case they will "eat" v. 19 *אָכַל* [*to'khelu*], Qal active participle of *אָכַל* God's blessing, or they can disobey, in which case they will be devoured (*Heb* "eaten," *אָכַל*, [*e'ukkelu*], Qal passive/Pual of *אָכַל*) by God's judgment.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* "for the mouth of the LORD has spoken." The introductory *כִּי* (*ki*) may be asservative (as reflected in the translation) or causal/explanatory, explaining why the option chosen by the people will become reality (it is guaranteed by the divine word).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "How she has become a prostitute, the faithful city!" The exclamatory *אֵיכָה* (*ekhah*, "how!") is used several times as the beginning of a lament (see Lam 1:1; 2:1; 4:1-2). Unlike a number of other OT passages that link references to Israel's harlotry to idolatry, Isaiah here makes the connection with social and moral violations.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "filled with."

¹⁷ **tn** Or "assassins." This refers to the oppressive rich and/or their henchmen. R. Ortlund (*Whoredom*, 78) posits that it serves as a synecdoche for all varieties of criminals, the worst being mentioned to imply all lesser ones. Since Isaiah often addressed his strongest rebuke to the rulers and leaders of Israel, he may have in mind the officials who bore the responsibility to uphold justice and righteousness.

¹⁸ **tn** The pronoun is feminine singular; personified Jerusalem (see v. 21) is addressed.

¹⁹ **tn** Or "dross." The word refers to the scum or impurities floating on the top of melted metal.

your beer is diluted with water.¹
1:23 Your officials are rebels,²
 they associate with³ thieves.
 All of them love bribery,
 and look for⁴ payoffs.⁵
 They do not take up the cause of the
 orphan,⁶
 or defend the rights of the widow.⁷
1:24 Therefore, the sovereign LORD who
 commands armies,⁸
 the powerful Ruler of Israel,⁹ says this:
 “Ah, I will seek vengeance¹⁰ against my
 adversaries,
 I will take revenge against my enemies.¹¹
1:25 I will attack you;¹²
 I will purify your metal with flux.¹³
 I will remove all your slag.¹⁴
1:26 I will reestablish honest judges as in
 former times,
 wise advisers as in earlier days.¹⁵

¹ **sn** The metaphors of silver becoming impure and beer being watered down picture the moral and ethical degeneration that had occurred in Jerusalem.

² **tn** Or “stubborn”; CEV “have rejected me.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “and companions of” (so KJV, NASB); CEV “friends of crooks.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “pursue”; NIV “chase after gifts.”

⁵ **sn** Isaiah may have chosen the word for gifts (שְׁלֹמִימִין, *shalmoniim*; a hapax legomena here), as a sarcastic pun on what these rulers should have been doing. Instead of attending to peace and wholeness (שָׁלוֹם, *shalom*), they sought after payoffs (שְׁלֹמִימִין).

⁶ **sn** See the note at v. 17.

⁷ **sn** The rich oppressors referred to in Isaiah and the other eighth century prophets were not rich capitalists in the modern sense of the word. They were members of the royal military and judicial bureaucracies in Israel and Judah. As these bureaucracies grew, they acquired more and more land and gradually commandeered the economy and legal system. At various administrative levels bribery and graft become commonplace. The common people outside the urban administrative centers were vulnerable to exploitation in such a system, especially those, like widows and orphans, who had lost their family provider through death. Through confiscatory taxation, conscription, excessive interest rates, and other oppressive governmental measures and policies, they were gradually disenfranchised and lost their landed property, and with it, their rights as citizens. The socio-economic equilibrium envisioned in the law of Moses was radically disturbed.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “the master, the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts].” On the title “the LORD who commands armies,” see the note at v. 9.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the powerful [one] of Israel.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “console myself” (i.e., by getting revenge); NRSV “pour out my wrath on.”

¹¹ **sn** The LORD here identifies with the oppressed and comes as their defender and vindicator.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “turn my hand against you.” The second person pronouns in vv. 25-26 are feminine singular. Personified Jerusalem is addressed. The idiom “turn the hand against” has the nuance of “strike with the hand, attack,” in Ps 81:15 HT (81:14 ET); Ezek 38:12; Am 1:8; Zech 13:7. In Jer 6:9 it is used of gleaning grapes.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “I will purify your dross as [with] flux.” “Flux” refers here to minerals added to the metals in the furnace to prevent oxides from forming. For this interpretation of בֹּר (bor), see HALOT 153 s.v. בֹּר ו 750 s.v. בֹּר.

¹⁴ **sn** The metaphor comes from metallurgy; slag is the substance left over after the metallic ore has been refined.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “I will restore your judges as in the beginning; and your counselors as in the beginning.” In this context, where social injustice and legal corruption are denounced (see v.

Then you will be called, ‘The Just City,
 Faithful Town.’”

1:27¹⁶ Zion will be freed by justice,¹⁷
 and her returnees by righteousness.¹⁸

1:28 All rebellious sinners will be shattered,¹⁹

those who abandon the LORD will perish.

1:29 Indeed, they²⁰ will be ashamed of the

23), the “judges” are probably government officials responsible for making legal decisions, while the “advisers” are probably officials who helped the king establish policies. Both offices are also mentioned in 3:2.

¹⁶ **sn** The third person reference to the LORD in v. 28 indicates that the prophet is again (see vv. 21-24a) speaking. Since v. 27 is connected to v. 28 by a conjunction, it is likely that the prophet’s words begin with v. 27.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “Zion will be ransomed with justice.” Both cola in this verse end with similar terms: justice and righteousness (and both are preceded by a ב [ber] preposition). At issue is whether these virtues describe the means or result of the deliverance and whether they delineate God’s justice/righteousness or that of the covenant people. If the righteousness of Israelite returnees is in view, the point seems to be that the reestablishment of Zion as a center of justice (God’s people living in conformity with God’s demand for equity and justice) will deliver the city from its past humiliation and restore it to a place of prominence (see 2:2-4; cf. E. Kissane, *Isaiah*, 1:19). Most scholars conclude that “righteousness and “justice” refers to God alone (J. Ridderbos, *Isaiah* [BSC], 50; J. Watts, *Isaiah* [WBC], 1:25; E. J. Young, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:89; cf. NLT, TEV) or serves as a double reference to both divine and human justice and righteousness (J. A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah*, 51; J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:10; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:72). If it refers to both sides of the coin, these terms highlight the objective divine work of redemption and the subjective human response of penitence (Motyer, 51).

¹⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text has, “her repentant ones/returnees with righteousness.” The form שְׁבִיחָה (*shaveha*, “her repentant ones”), as pointed in MT, is a masculine plural Qal participle from שָׁבַח (*shuv*, “return”). Used substantively, it refers to the “returning (i.e., repentant) ones.” It is possible that the parallel line (with its allusion to being freed by a ransom payment) suggests that the form be repointed to שְׁבִיחָה (*shivyah*, “her captivity”), a reading that has support from the LXX. Some slightly emend the form to read שְׁבִיחָה (*shavah*, “and will return”). According to this view, the verb from the first line applies to the second line as well with the following translation as a result: “she will be released when fairness is restored.” Regardless, it makes best sense in the context to regard this as a reference to repentant Israelites returning to the land of promise. This understanding provides a better contrast with the rebels and sinners in 1:28.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “and [there will be] a shattering of rebels and sinners together.”

²⁰ **tc** The Hebrew text (and the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a) has the third person here, though a few Hebrew MSS (and Targums) read the second person, which is certainly more consistent with the following context. The third person form is the more difficult reading and probably original. This disagreement in person has caused some to emend the first verb (3rd plural) to a 2nd plural form (followed by most English translations). The BHS textual apparatus suggests that the 2nd plural form be read even though there is only sparse textual evidence. LXX, Syriac, and the Vulgate change all the 2nd person verbs in 1:29-31 to 3rd person verbs. It is likely that the change to a 2nd person form represents an attempt at syntactical harmonization (J. de Waard, *Isaiah*, 10). The abrupt change from 3rd person to 2nd person may have been intentional for rhetorical impact (GKC 462 §144.p). The rapid change from exclamation (they did!) to reproach (you desired!) might be regarded as a rhetorical figure focusing attention on the addressees and their conditions (de Waard, 10; E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, 239). This use of the 3rd person could also be understood as an impersonal third person: “one will be ashamed” (de Waard, 10). In v. 29 the prophet contin-

sacred trees
 you¹ find so desirable;
 you will be embarrassed because of the
 sacred orchards²
 where you choose to worship.
1:30 For you will be like a tree whose
 leaves wither,
 like an orchard³ that is unwatered.
1:31 The powerful will be like⁴ a thread
 of yarn,
 their deeds like a spark;
 both will burn together,
 and no one will put out the fire.

The Future Glory of Jerusalem

2:1 Here is the message about Judah and Jerusalem⁵ that was revealed to Isaiah son of Amoz.⁶

2:2 In the future⁷
 the mountain of the LORD's temple will
 endure⁸
 as the most important of mountains,
 and will be the most prominent of hills.⁹
 All the nations will stream to it,
2:3 many peoples will come and say,
 "Come, let us go up to the LORD's mountain,
 to the temple of the God of Jacob,
 so¹⁰ he can teach us his requirements,¹¹
 and¹² we can follow his standards."¹³

ues his description of the sinners (v. 28), but then suddenly makes a transition to direct address (switching from 3rd to 2nd person) in the middle of his sentence.

1 tn The second person pronouns in vv. 29-30 are masculine plural, indicating that the rebellious sinners (v. 28) are addressed.

2 tn Or "gardens" (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NAB "groves."

3 tn Or "a garden" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

4 tn Heb "will become" (so NASB, NIV).

5 map For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

6 tn Heb "the word which Isaiah son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem."

7 tn Heb "in the end of the days." This phrase may refer generally to the future, or more technically to the final period of history. See BDB 31 s.v. אַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים. The verse begins with a verb that functions as a "discourse particle" and is not translated. In numerous places throughout the OT, the "to be" verb with a prefixed conjunction (וַיְהִי־וַיִּהְיֶה *vay'hiy*) and וַיְהִי־וַיִּהְיֶה (*vay'hiy*) occurs in this fashion to introduce a circumstantial clause and does not require translation.

8 tn Or "be established" (KJV, NIV, NRSV).

9 tn Heb "as the chief of the mountains, and will be lifted up above the hills." The image of Mount Zion being elevated above other mountains and hills pictures the prominence it will attain in the future.

10 tn The prefixed verb form with simple *vav* (ו) introduces a purpose/result clause after the preceding prefixed verb form (probably to be taken as a cohortative; see IBHS 650 §39.2.2a).

11 tn Heb "his ways." In this context God's "ways" are the standards of moral conduct he decrees that people should live by.

12 tn The cohortative with *vav* (ו) after the prefixed verb form indicates the ultimate purpose/goal of their action.

13 tn Heb "walk in his ways."

For Zion will be the center for moral instruction;¹⁴
 the LORD will issue edicts from Jerusalem.¹⁵
2:4 He will judge disputes between nations;
 he will settle cases for many peoples.
 They will beat their swords into plowshares,¹⁶
 and their spears into pruning hooks.¹⁷
 Nations will not take up the sword
 against other nations,
 and they will no longer train for war.
2:5 O descendants¹⁸ of Jacob,
 come, let us walk in the LORD's guiding light.¹⁹

The Lord's Day of Judgment

2:6 Indeed, O LORD,²⁰ you have abandoned your people,
 the descendants of Jacob.
 For diviners from the east are everywhere;²¹
 they consult omen readers like the Philistines do.²²
 Plenty of foreigners are around.²³

14 tn Heb "for out of Zion will go instruction."

15 tn Heb "the word of the LORD from Jerusalem."

16 sn Instead of referring to the large plow as a whole, the plowshare is simply the metal tip which actually breaks the earth and cuts the furrow.

17 sn This implement was used to prune the vines, i.e., to cut off extra leaves and young shoots (H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:93; M. Klingbeil, *NIDOTTE* 1:1117-18). It was a short knife with a curved hook at the end sharpened on the inside like a sickle. Breaking weapons and fashioning agricultural implements indicates a transition from fear and stress to peace and security.

18 tn Heb "house," referring to the family line or descendants (likewise in v. 6).

19 tn Heb "let's walk in the light of the LORD." In this context, which speaks of the LORD's instruction and commands, the "light of the LORD" refers to his moral standards by which he seeks to guide his people. One could paraphrase, "let's obey the LORD's commands."

20 tn The words "O LORD" are supplied in the translation for clarification. Isaiah addresses the LORD in prayer.

21 tc Heb "they are full from the east." Various scholars retain the BHS reading and suggest that the prophet makes a general statement concerning Israel's reliance on foreign customs (J. Watts, *Isaiah* [WBC], 1:32; J. de Waard, *Isaiah*, 12-13). Nevertheless, it appears that a word is missing. Based on the parallelism (note "omen readers" in 5:6c), many suggest that קְסָמִים (*qos'mim*, "diviners") or מִקְסָם (*miqsam*, "divination") has been accidentally omitted. Homoioteleuton could account for the omission of an original קְסָמִים (note how this word and the following מִקְדָּם [*miqqedem*, "from the east"] both end in *mem*); an original מִקְסָם could have fallen out by homoioteleuton (note how this word and the following מִקְדָּם both begin with *mem*).

22 tn Heb "and omen readers like the Philistines." Through this line and the preceding, the prophet contends that Israel has heavily borrowed the pagan practices of the east and west (in violation of Lev 19:26; Deut 18:9-14).

23 tn Heb "and with the children of foreigners they [?]." The precise meaning of the final word is uncertain. Some take this verb (לִשְׁפָּק, *safaq*) to mean "slap," supply the object "hands," and translate, "they slap [hands] with foreigners"; HALOT 1349 s.v. לִשְׁפָּק. This could be a reference to foreign alliances. This translation has two disadvantages: It requires the conjectural insertion of "hands" and the use of this verb with its

2:7 Their land is full of gold and silver;
there is no end to their wealth.¹

Their land is full of horses;
there is no end to their chariots.²

2:8 Their land is full of worthless idols;
they worship³ the product of their own
hands,

what their own fingers have fashioned.

2:9 Men bow down to them in homage,
they lie flat on the ground in worship.⁴

Don't spare them!⁵

2:10 Go up into the rocky cliffs,
hide in the ground.

Get away from the dreadful judgment of
the LORD,⁶

from his royal splendor!

2:11 Proud men will be brought low,
arrogant men will be humiliated;⁷

the LORD alone will be exalted⁸
in that day.

2:12 Indeed, the LORD who commands
armies has planned a day of judgment,⁹

for¹⁰ all the high and mighty,
for all who are proud – they will be hu-
miliated;

2:13 for all the cedars of Lebanon,

that are so high and mighty,
for all the oaks of Bashan;¹¹

2:14 for all the tall mountains,
for all the high hills,¹²

2:15 for every high tower,
for every fortified wall,

2:16 for all the large ships,¹³
for all the impressive¹⁴ ships.¹⁵

2:17 Proud men will be humiliated,
arrogant men will be brought low;¹⁶
the LORD alone will be exalted¹⁷
in that day.

2:18 The worthless idols will be complete-
ly eliminated.¹⁸

2:19 They¹⁹ will go into caves in the rocky
cliffs

and into holes in the ground,²⁰
trying to escape the dreadful judgment of
the LORD²¹

and his royal splendor,
when he rises up to terrify the earth.²²

object prefixed with a *bet* (*bet*) preposition with this meaning does not occur elsewhere. The other uses of this verb refer to clapping at someone, an indication of hostility. The translation above assumes the verb is derived from *לִשְׂכַּח* ("to suffice," attested in the Qal in 1 Kgs 20:10; HALOT 1349 s.v. *לִשְׂכַּח*). In this case the point is that a sufficient number of foreigners (in this case, too many!) live in the land. The disadvantage of this option is that the preposition prefixed to "the children of foreigners" does not occur with this verb elsewhere. The chosen translation is preferred since it continues the idea of abundant foreign influence and does not require a conjectural insertion or emendation.

¹ *tn* Or "treasuries"; KJV "treasures."

² *sn* Judah's royal bureaucracy had accumulated great wealth and military might, in violation of Deut 17:16-17.

³ *tn* Or "bow down to" (NIV, NRSV).

⁴ *tn* *Heb* "men bow down, men are low." Since the verbs *שָׁחָה* (*shakhakh*) and *שָׁפַל* (*shafal*) are used later in this discourse to describe how God will humiliate proud men (see vv. 11, 17), some understand v. 9a as a prediction of judgment, "men will be brought down, men will be humiliated." However, these prefixed verbal forms with *vav* (h) consecutive appear to carry on the description that precedes and are better taken with the accusation. They draw attention to the fact that human beings actually bow down and worship before the lifeless products of their own hands.

⁵ *tn* *Heb* "don't lift them up." The idiom "lift up" (*נָסָה* with *ל*, *nasa'* with preposition *lamed*) can mean "spare, forgive" (see Gen 18:24, 26). Here the idiom plays on the preceding verbs. The idolaters are bowed low as they worship their false gods; the prophet asks God not to "lift them up."

⁶ *tn* *Heb* "from the dread of the LORD," that is, from the dread that he produces in the objects of his judgment." The words "get away" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

⁷ *tn* *Heb* "and the eyes of the pride of men will be brought low, and the arrogance of men will be brought down." The repetition of the verbs *שָׁפַל* (*shafal*) and *שָׁחָה* (*shakhakh*) from v. 9 draws attention to the appropriate nature of the judgment. Those proud men who "bow low" before idols will be forced to "bow low" before God when he judges their sin.

⁸ *tn* Or "elevated"; CEV "honored."

⁹ *tn* *Heb* "indeed [or "for"] the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] has a day."

¹⁰ *tn* Or "against" (NAB, NASB, NRSV).

¹¹ *sn* The cedars of Lebanon and oaks of Bashan were well-known for their size and prominence. They make apt symbols here for powerful men who think of themselves as prominent and secure.

¹² *sn* The high mountains and hills symbolize the apparent security of proud men, as do the high tower and fortified wall of v. 15.

¹³ *tn* *Heb* "the ships of Tarshish." This probably refers to large ships either made in or capable of traveling to the distant western port of Tarshish.

¹⁴ *tn* *Heb* "desirable"; NAB, NIV "stately"; NRSV "beautiful."

¹⁵ *tn* On the meaning of this word, which appears only here in the Hebrew Bible, see H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena* (SBLDS), 41-42.

sn The ships mentioned in this verse were the best of their class, and therefore an apt metaphor for the proud men being denounced in this speech.

¹⁶ *tn* *Heb* "and the pride of men will be brought down, and the arrogance of men will be brought low." As in v. 11, the repetition of the verbs *שָׁפַל* (*shafal*) and *שָׁחָה* (*shakhakh*) from v. 9 draws attention to the appropriate nature of the judgment. Those proud men who "bow low" before idols will be forced to "bow low" before God when he judges their sin.

¹⁷ *tn* Or "elevated"; NCV "praised"; CEV "honored."

¹⁸ *tc* The verb "pass away" is singular in the Hebrew text, despite the plural subject ("worthless idols") that precedes. The verb should be emended to a plural; the final *vav* (h) has been accidentally omitted by haplography (note the *vav* at the beginning of the immediately following form).

tn *Heb* "will completely pass away"; ASV "shall utterly pass away."

¹⁹ *tn* The identity of the grammatical subject is unclear. The "idols" could be the subject; they will "go" into the caves and holes when the idolaters throw them there in their haste to escape God's judgment (see vv. 20-21). The picture of the idols, which represent the foreign deities worshiped by the people, fleeing from the LORD would be highly polemical and fit the overall mood of the chapter. However it seems more likely that the idolaters themselves are the subject, for v. 10 uses similar language in sarcastically urging them to run from judgment.

²⁰ *tn* *Heb* "dust"; ASV "into the holes of the earth."

²¹ *tn* *Heb* "from the dread of the LORD," that is, from the dread that he produces in the objects of his judgment." The words "trying to escape" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

²² *tn* Or "land." It is not certain if these verses are describing the judgment of Judah (see vv. 6-9) or a more universal judgment on all proud men.

2:20 At that time¹ men will throw their silver and gold idols, which they made for themselves to worship,² into the caves where rodents and bats live,³ 2:21 so they themselves can go into the crevices of the rocky cliffs and the openings under the rocky overhangs,⁴ trying to escape the dreadful judgment of the LORD⁵ and his royal splendor, when he rises up to terrify the earth.⁶ 2:22 Stop trusting in human beings, whose life's breath is in their nostrils. For why should they be given special consideration?

A Coming Leadership Crisis

3:1 Look, the sovereign LORD who commands armies⁷ is about to remove from Jerusalem⁸ and Judah every source of security, including⁹ all the food and water,¹⁰ 3:2 the mighty men and warriors, judges and prophets, omen readers and leaders,¹¹ 3:3 captains of groups of fifty, the respected citizens,¹² advisers and those skilled in magical arts,¹³

¹ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

² **tn** Or "bow down to."

³ **tn** *Heb* "to the shrews and to the bats." On the meaning of *הַפְּרָפְרָה* (*khafarparah*, "shrew"), see HALOT 341 s.v. *הַפְּרָפְרָה*. The BHS text as it stands (*פְּרוֹת לַחֲפֹר*, *perot lakhpor*), makes no sense. Based on Theodotion's transliteration and a similar reading in the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a, most scholars suggest that the MT mistakenly divided a noun (a *hapax legomenon*) that should be translated "moles," "shrews," or "rodents."

⁴ **sn** The precise point of vv. 20-21 is not entirely clear. Are they taking the idols into their hiding places with them, because they are so attached to their man-made images? Or are they discarding the idols along the way as they retreat into the darkest places they can find? In either case it is obvious that the gods are incapable of helping them.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* "from the dread of the LORD," that is, from the dread that he produces in the objects of his judgment." The words "trying to escape" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

⁶ **tn** Or "land." It is not certain if these verses are describing the judgment of Judah (see vv. 6-9) or a more universal judgment on all proud men. Almost all English versions translate "earth," taking this to refer to universal judgment.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "the master, the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts]." On the title "the LORD who commands armies," see the note at 1:9.

⁸ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "support and support." The masculine and feminine forms of the noun are placed side-by-side to emphasize completeness. See GKC 394 §122.v.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* "all the support of food, and all the support of water."

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "elder" (so ASV, NAB, NIV, NRSV); NCV "older leaders."

¹² **tn** *Heb* "the ones lifted up with respect to the face." For another example of the Hebrew idiom, see 2 Kgs 5:1.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "and the wise with respect to magic." On the

and those who know incantations.

3:4 The LORD says,¹⁴ "I will make youths their officials; malicious young men¹⁵ will rule over them.

3:5 The people will treat each other harshly; men will oppose each other; neighbors will fight.¹⁶ Youths will proudly defy the elderly and ruffians will challenge those who were once respected.¹⁷

3:6 Indeed, a man will grab his brother right in his father's house¹⁸ and say,¹⁹ 'You own a coat – you be our leader!

This heap of ruins will be under your control.'²⁰

3:7 At that time²¹ the brother will shout,²² 'I am no doctor,²³

I have no food or coat in my house; don't make me a leader of the people!'"

3:8 Jerusalem certainly stumbles, Judah falls, for their words and their actions offend the LORD;²⁴

meaning of *הַרְשָׁשִׁים* (*kharashim*, "magic"), see HALOT 358 s.v. *הַרְשָׁשִׁים*. Some understand here a homonym, meaning "craftsmen." In this case, one could translate, "skilled craftsmen" (cf. NIV, NASB).

¹⁴ **tn** The words "the LORD says" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The prophet speaks in vv. 1-3 (note the third person reference to the LORD in v. 1), but here the LORD himself announces that he will intervene in judgment. It is unclear where the LORD's words end and the prophet's pick up again. The prophet is apparently speaking again by v. 8, where the LORD is referred to in the third person. Since vv. 4-7 comprise a thematic unity, the quotation probably extends through v. 7.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* *הַתְּלִילִים* (*ta'alulim*) is often understood as an abstract plural meaning "wantonness, cruelty" (cf. NLT). In this case the chief characteristic of these leaders is substituted for the leaders themselves. However, several translations make the parallelism tighter by emending the form to *תְּלִילִים* (*'ol'lim*, "children"; cf. ESV, NASB, NCV, NIV, NKJV, NRSV). This emendation is unnecessary for at least two reasons. The word in the MT highlights the cruelty or malice of the "leaders" who are left behind in the wake of God's judgment. The immediate context makes clear the fact that they are mere youths. The coming judgment will sweep away the leaders, leaving a vacuum which will be filled by incompetent, inexperienced youths.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "man against man, and a man against his neighbor."

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "and those lightly esteemed those who are respected." The verb *רָהַב* (*rahav*) does double duty in the parallelism.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "[in] the house of his father" (so ASV); NIV "at his father's home."

¹⁹ **tn** The words "and say" are supplied for stylistic reasons.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "your hand"; NASB "under your charge."

²¹ **tn** The man's motives are selfish. He tells his brother to assume leadership because he thinks he has some wealth to give away.

²² **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

²³ **tn** *Heb* "he will lift up [his voice]."

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "wrapper [of wounds]"; KJV, ASV, NRSV "healer."

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* "for their tongue and their deeds [are] to the LORD."

they rebel against his royal authority.¹
3:9 The look on their faces² testifies to their guilt;³
 like the people of Sodom they openly boast of their sin.⁴
 Too bad for them!⁵
 For they bring disaster on themselves.
3:10 Tell the innocent⁶ it will go well with them,⁷
 for they will be rewarded for what they have done.⁸
3:11 Too bad for the wicked sinners!
 For they will get exactly what they deserve.⁹
3:12 Oppressors treat my¹⁰ people cruelly; creditors rule over them.¹¹
 My people's leaders misled them; they give you confusing directions.¹²
3:13 The LORD takes his position to judge; he stands up to pass sentence on his people.¹³
3:14 The LORD comes to pronounce judgment

on the leaders of his people and their officials.
 He says,¹⁴ "It is you¹⁵ who have ruined¹⁶ the vineyard!¹⁷
 You have stashed in your houses what you have stolen from the poor.¹⁸
3:15 Why do you crush my people and grind the faces of the poor?"¹⁹
 The sovereign LORD who commands armies²⁰ has spoken.

Washing Away Impurity

3:16 The LORD says,
 "The women²¹ of Zion are proud. They walk with their heads high²² and flirt with their eyes.
 They skip along²³ and the jewelry on their ankles jingles.²⁴
3:17 So²⁵ the sovereign master²⁶ will afflict the foreheads of Zion's women²⁷ with skin diseases,²⁸
 the LORD will make the front of their heads bald."²⁹

¹ **tn** Heb "to rebel [against] the eyes of his majesty." The word *כבוד* (*kavod*) frequently refers to the LORD's royal splendor that is an outward manifestation of his authority as king.

² **sn** This refers to their proud, arrogant demeanor.

³ **tn** Heb "answers against them"; NRSV "bears witness against them."

⁴ **tn** Heb "their sin, like Sodom, they declare, they do not conceal [it]."

⁵ **tn** Heb "woe to their soul."

⁶ **tn** Or "the righteous" (KJV, NASB, NIV, TEV); NLT "those who are godly."

⁷ **tn** Heb "that it is good."

⁸ **tn** Heb "for the fruit of their deeds they will eat."

⁹ **tn** Heb "for the work of his hands will be done to him."

¹⁰ **sn** This may refer to the prophet or to the LORD.

¹¹ **tc** The Hebrew text appears to read literally, "My people, his oppressors, he deals severely, and women rule over them." The correct text and precise meaning of the verse are debated. The translation above assumes (1) an emendation of *גֹּשְׁמֵי* (*gosh'mey*, "his oppressors") to *גֹּשְׁשִׁים* (*gosh'shim*, "oppressors") by moving the *mem* (ם) on the following form to the end of the word and dropping the *vav* (ו) as virtually dittographic; (2) an emendation of *מְעִילֵל* (*m'e'olel*, a singular participle that does not agree with the preceding plural subject) to *עֲלִילֵי* (*al'ilei*), a third plural Poel perfect from *עָלַל* (*alal*, "deal severely"); note that the following form begins with a *vav* [ו]; the text may be haplographic or misdivided; and (3) an emendation (with support from the LXX) of *נָשִׁים* (*nashim*, "women") to *נֹשְׁשִׁים* (*noshim*, "creditors"); a participle from *נָשָׂא* (*nasa'*). Another option is to emend *עֲלִילֵי* to *עֲלִילִים* (*al'elim*, "children") and read, "My people's oppressors are children; women rule over them." In this case the point is the same as in v. 4; the leadership void left by the judgment will be filled by those incompetent to lead the community – children and women. (The text reflects the ancient Israelite patriarchal mindset.)

¹² **tn** Heb "and the way of your paths they confuse." The verb *בָּלַע* (*bala'*, "confuse"; HALOT 135 s.v. *בלע*) is a homonym of the more common *בָּלַע* ("swallow"; see HALOT 134 s.v. *בלע*).

¹³ **tc** The Hebrew text has "nations," but the preceding and following contexts make it clear that the LORD is judging his covenant people. *אֲנִים* (*animim*) should be changed (with support from the LXX) to *עַמִּי*. The final *mem* (ם) on the form in the Hebrew is either dittographic or enclitic. When the *mem* was added or read as a plural ending, the *vav* (ו) was then misread as a *yod* (י).

¹⁴ **tn** The words "he says" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁵ **tn** The pronominal element is masculine plural; the leaders are addressed.

¹⁶ **tn** The verb *בָּעַר* (*ba'ar*, "graze, ruin"; HALOT 146 s.v. *בער*) is a homonym of the more common *בָּעַר* (*ba'ar*, "burn"; see HALOT 145 s.v. *בער*).

¹⁷ **sn** The vineyard is a metaphor for the nation here. See 5:1-7.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "the plunder of the poor [is] in your houses" (so NASB).

¹⁹ **sn** The rhetorical question expresses the LORD's outrage at what the leaders have done to the poor. He finds it almost unbelievable that they would have the audacity to treat his people in this manner.

²⁰ **tn** Heb "the master, the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts]." On the title "the LORD who commands armies," see the note at 1:9.

sn The use of this title, which also appears in v. 1, forms an inclusio around vv. 1-15. The speech begins and ends with a reference to "the master, the LORD who commands armies."

²¹ **tn** Heb "daughters" (so KJV, NAB, NRSV).

²² **tn** Heb "with an outstretched neck." They proudly hold their heads high so that others can see the jewelry around their necks.

²³ **tn** Heb "walking and skipping, they walk."

²⁴ **tn** Heb "and with their feet they jingle."

²⁵ **tn** In the Hebrew text vv. 16-17 and one long sentence, "Because the daughters of Zion are proud and walk... the sovereign master will afflict..." In v. 17 the LORD refers to himself in the third person.

²⁶ **tn** The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here and in v. 18 is *אֲדֹנָי* (*adonay*).

²⁷ **tn** Heb "the daughters of Zion."

²⁸ **tn** Or "a scab" (KJV, ASV); NIV, NCV, CEV "sores."

²⁹ **tn** The precise meaning of this line is unclear because of the presence of the rare word *פֹּת* (*pot*). Since the verb in the line means "lay bare, make naked," some take *פֹּת* as a reference to the genitals (cf. KJV, ASV, NRSV, CEV). (In 1 Kgs 7:50 a noun *פֹּת* appears, with the apparent meaning "socket.") J. N. Oswalt (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:139, n. 2), basing his argument on alleged Akkadian evidence and the parallelism of the verse, takes *פֹּת* as "forehead."

3:18¹ At that time² the sovereign master will remove their beautiful ankle jewelry,³ neck ornaments, crescent shaped ornaments, 3:19 earrings, bracelets, veils, 3:20 headdresses, ankle ornaments, sashes, sachets,⁴ amulets, 3:21 rings, nose rings, 3:22 festive dresses, robes, shawls, purses, 3:23 garments, vests, head coverings, and gowns.⁵

3:24 A putrid stench will replace the smell of spices,⁶
a rope will replace a belt,
baldness will replace braided locks of hair,
a sackcloth garment will replace a fine robe,
and a prisoner's brand will replace beauty.

3:25 Your⁷ men will fall by the sword,
your strong men will die in battle.⁸

3:26 Her gates will mourn and lament;
deprived of her people, she will sit on the ground.⁹

4:1 Seven women will grab hold of one man at that time.¹⁰
They will say, "We will provide¹¹ our own food,
we will provide¹² our own clothes;
but let us belong to you!¹³ —
take away our shame!"¹⁴

¹sn The translation assumes that the direct quotation ends with v. 17. The introductory formula "in that day" and the shift from a poetic to prosaic style indicate that a new speech unit begins in v. 18.

²tn Or "in that day" (KJV).

³tn Or "the beauty of [their] ankle jewelry."

⁴tn Heb "houses of breath." HALOT 124 s.v. בִּית defines them as "scent-bottles"; cf. NAB, NRSV "perfume boxes."

⁵tn The precise meaning of many of the words in this list is uncertain.

sn The rhetorical purpose for such a lengthy list is to impress on the audience the guilt of these women with their proud, materialistic attitude, whose husbands and fathers have profited at the expense of the poor.

⁶tn Heb "and it will be in place of spices there will be a stench." The nouns for "spices" and "stench" are right next to each other in the MT for emphatic contrast. The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

⁷tn The pronoun is feminine singular, suggesting personified Zion, as representative of its women, is the addressee. The reference to "her gates" in v. 26 makes this identification almost certain.

⁸tn Heb "your strength in battle." The verb in the first clause provides the verbal idea for the second clause.

⁹tn Heb "she will be empty, on the ground she will sit." Jerusalem is personified as a destitute woman who sits mourning the empty city.

¹⁰tn Or "in that day" (ASV).

sn The seven to one ratio emphasizes the great disparity that will exist in the population due to the death of so many men in battle.

¹¹tn Heb "eat" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV); CEV "buy."

¹²tn Heb "wear" (so NASB, NRSV); NCV "make."

¹³tn Heb "only let your name be called over us." The Hebrew idiom "call the name over" indicates ownership. See 2 Sam 12:28, and BDB 896 s.v. קָרָא, Niph. 2.d.(4). The language reflects the cultural reality of ancient Israel, where women were legally the property of their husbands.

¹⁴sn This refers to the humiliation of being unmarried and childless. The women's words reflect the cultural standards of ancient Israel, where a woman's primary duties were to be

The Branch of the Lord

4:2 At that time¹⁵

the crops given by the LORD will bring admiration and honor;¹⁶
the produce of the land will be a source of pride and delight

to those who remain in Israel.¹⁷

4:3 Those remaining in Zion,¹⁸ those left in Jerusalem,¹⁹

will be called "holy,"²⁰

all in Jerusalem who are destined to live.²¹

4:4 At that time²² the sovereign master²³
will wash the excrement²⁴ from Zion's women,

he will rinse the bloodstains from Jerusalem's midst,²⁵

as he comes to judge

and to bring devastation.²⁶

a wife and mother.

¹⁵tn Or "in that day" (KJV).

¹⁶tn Heb "and the vegetation of the LORD will become beauty and honor." Many English versions understand the phrase יִדְּהָ (tsemakh y^hlvah) as a messianic reference and render it, "the Branch of the LORD" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT, and others). Though צֶמַח (tsemakh) is used by later prophets of a royal descendant (Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:8; 6:12), those passages contain clear contextual indicators that a human ruler is in view and that the word is being used in a metaphorical way of offspring. However, in Isa 4:2 there are no such contextual indicators. To the contrary, in the parallel structure of the verse צֶמַח יִדְּהָ corresponds to "produce of the land," a phrase that refers elsewhere exclusively to literal agricultural produce (see Num 13:20, 26; Deut 1:25). In the majority of its uses צֶמַח refers to literal crops or vegetation (in Ps 65:10 the LORD is the source of this vegetation). A reference to the LORD restoring crops would make excellent sense in Isa 4 and the prophets frequently included this theme in their visions of the future age (see Isa 30:23-24; 32:20; Jer 31:12; Ezek 34:26-29; and Amos 9:13-14).

¹⁷tn Heb "and the fruit of the land will become pride and beauty for the remnant of Israel."

¹⁸tn The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

¹⁹map For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

²⁰tn Or "set apart," cf. CEV "special."

²¹tn Heb "all who are written down for life in Jerusalem." A city register is envisioned; everyone whose name appears on the roll will be spared. This group comprises the remnant of the city referred to earlier in the verse.

²²tn Heb "when" (so KJV, NAB, NASB); CEV "after"; NRSV "once."

²³tn The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here is אֲדֹנָי (ʾadonai).

²⁴tn The word refers elsewhere to vomit (Isa 28:8) and fecal material (Isa 36:12). Many English versions render this somewhat euphemistically as "filth" (e.g., NAB, NIV, NRSV). Ironically in God's sight the beautiful jewelry described earlier is nothing but vomit and feces, for it symbolizes the moral decay of the city's residents (cf. NLT "moral filth").

²⁵sn See 1:21 for a related concept.

²⁶tn Heb "by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning." The precise meaning of the second half of the verse is uncertain. רוּחַ (ruakh) can be understood as "wind" in which case the passage pictures the LORD using a destructive wind as an instrument of judgment. However, this would create a mixed metaphor, for the first half of the verse uses the imagery of washing and rinsing to depict judgment. Perhaps the image would be that of a windstorm accompanied by heavy rain. רוּחַ can also mean "spirit," in which case the verse may be referring to the LORD's Spirit or, more likely, to a disposition

4:5 Then the LORD will create
over all of Mount Zion¹
and over its convocations
a cloud and smoke by day
and a bright flame of fire by night;²
indeed a canopy will accompany the
LORD's glorious presence.³
4:6 By day it will be a shelter to provide
shade from the heat,
as well as safety and protection from the
heavy downpour.⁴

A Love Song Gone Sour

5:1 I⁵ will sing to my love –
a song to my lover about his vineyard.⁶
My love had a vineyard
on a fertile hill.⁷
5:2 He built a hedge around it,⁸ removed
its stones,
and planted a vine.
He built a tower in the middle of it,
and constructed a winepress.
He waited for it to produce edible grapes,
but it produced sour ones instead.⁹

that the LORD brings to the task of judgment. It is also uncertain if *בָּעֵר* (*ba'ar*) here means “burning” or “sweeping away, devastating.”

¹ **tn** *Heb* “over all the place, Mount Zion.” Cf. NLT “Jerusalem”; CEV “the whole city.”

² **tn** *Heb* “a cloud by day, and smoke, and brightness of fire, a flame by night.” Though the accents in the Hebrew text suggest otherwise, it might be preferable to take “smoke” with what follows, since one would expect smoke to accompany fire.

sn The imagery of the cloud by day and fire by night recalls the days of Moses, when a cloud and fire were tangible reminders that the LORD was guiding and protecting his people (Exod 13:21-22; 14:19, 24). In the future age envisioned in Isa 4, the LORD's protective presence will be a reality.

³ **tn** *Heb* “indeed (or “for”) over all the glory, a canopy.” This may allude to Exod 40:34-35, where a cloud overshadows the meeting tent as it is filled with God's glory.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “a shelter it will be for shade by day from heat, and for a place of refuge and for a hiding place from cloudburst and rain.” Since both of the last nouns of this verse can mean rain, they can either refer to the rain storm and the rain as distinct items or together refer to a heavy downpour. Regardless, they do not represent unrelated phenomena.

⁵ **tn** It is uncertain who is speaking here. Possibly the prophet, taking the role of best man, composes a love song for his friend on the occasion of his wedding. If so, *יָדִיד* (*yadid*) should be translated “my friend.” The present translation assumes that Israel is singing to the LORD. The word *יָדִיד* (*dod*, “lover”) used in the second line is frequently used by the woman in the Song of Solomon to describe her lover.

⁶ **sn** Israel, viewing herself as the LORD's lover, refers to herself as his vineyard. The metaphor has sexual connotations, for it pictures her capacity to satisfy his appetite and to produce children. See Song 8:12.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “on a horn, a son of oil.” Apparently *קֶרֶן* (*qeren*, “horn”) here refers to the horn-shaped peak of a hill (BDB 902 s.v.) or to a mountain spur, i.e., a ridge that extends laterally from a mountain (HALOT 1145 s.v. *קֶרֶן*; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:180). The expression “son of oil” pictures this hill as one capable of producing olive trees. Isaiah's choice of *קֶרֶן*, a rare word for hill, may have been driven by paronomastic concerns, i.e., because *קֶרֶן* sounds like *כֶּרֶם* (*kerem*, “vineyard”).

⁸ **tn** Or, “dug it up” (so NIV); KJV “fenced it.” See HALOT 810 s.v. *עָקַר*.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “wild grapes,” i.e., sour ones (also in v. 4).

sn At this point the love song turns sour as the LORD himself breaks in and completes the story (see vv. 3-6). In the final

5:3 So now, residents of Jerusalem,¹⁰
people¹¹ of Judah,
you decide between me and my vineyard!
5:4 What more can I do for my vineyard
beyond what I have already done?
When I waited for it to produce edible
grapes,
why did it produce sour ones instead?
5:5 Now I will inform you
what I am about to do to my vineyard:
I will remove its hedge and turn it into
pasture,¹²
I will break its wall and allow animals to
graze there.¹³
5:6 I will make it a wasteland;
no one will prune its vines or hoe its
ground,¹⁴
and thorns and briars will grow there.
I will order the clouds
not to drop any rain on it.
5:7 Indeed¹⁵ Israel¹⁶ is the vineyard of the
LORD who commands armies,
the people¹⁷ of Judah are the cultivated
place in which he took delight.
He waited for justice, but look what he
got – disobedience!¹⁸
He waited for fairness, but look what he
got – cries for help!¹⁹

Disaster is Coming

5:8 Those who accumulate houses are as
good as dead,²⁰
those who also accumulate landed
property²¹

line of v. 2 the love song presented to the LORD becomes a judgment speech by the LORD.

¹⁰ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “men,” but in a generic sense.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “and it will become [a place for] grazing.” *בָּעֵר* (*ba'ar*, “grazing”) is a homonym of the more often used verb “to burn.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “and it will become a trampled place” (NASB “trampled ground”).

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “it will not be pruned or hoed” (so NASB); ASV and NRSV both similar.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “For” (KJV, ASV, NASB, NRSV).

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “the house of Israel” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “men,” but in a generic sense.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “but, look, disobedience.” The precise meaning of *מִשְׁפָּאֵק* (*mishpakah*), which occurs only here in the OT, is uncertain. Some have suggested a meaning “bloodshed.” The term is obviously chosen for its wordplay value; it sounds very much like *מִשְׁפָּט* (*mishpat*, “justice”). The sound play draws attention to the point being made; the people have not met the LORD's expectations.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “but, look, a cry for help.” The verb (“he waited”) does double duty in the parallelism. *צָעָה* (*tsa'qah*) refers to the cries for help made by the oppressed. It sounds very much like *צְדָקָה* (*ts'daqah*, “fairness”). The sound play draws attention to the point being made; the people have not met the LORD's expectations.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “Woe [to] those who make a house touch a house.” The exclamation *הֵי הֵי* (*hoy*, “woe, ah”) was used in funeral laments (see 1 Kgs 13:30; Jer 22:18; 34:5) and carries the connotation of death.

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “[who] bring a field near a field.”

sn This verse does not condemn real estate endeavors per se, but refers to the way in which the rich bureaucrats of Ju-

until there is no land left,¹
 and you are the only landowners remain-
 ing within the land.²
5:9 The LORD who commands armies told
 me this:³
 “Many houses will certainly become
 desolate,
 large, impressive houses will have no one
 living in them.⁴
5:10 Indeed, a large vineyard⁵ will pro-
 duce just a few gallons,⁶
 and enough seed to yield several bushels⁷
 will produce less than a bushel.”⁸
5:11 Those who get up early to drink beer
 are as good as dead,⁹
 those who keep drinking long after dark
 until they are intoxicated with wine.¹⁰
5:12 They have stringed instruments,¹¹
 tambourines, flutes,
 and wine at their parties.
 So they do not recognize what the LORD
 is doing,
 they do not perceive what he is bringing
 about.¹²
5:13 Therefore my¹³ people will be

deported¹⁴
 because of their lack of understanding.
 Their¹⁵ leaders will have nothing to eat,¹⁶
 their¹⁷ masses will have nothing to drink.¹⁸
5:14 So Death¹⁹ will open up its throat,
 and open wide its mouth,²⁰
 Zion’s dignitaries and masses will de-
 scend into it,
 including those who revel and celebrate
 within her.²¹
5:15 Men will be humiliated,
 they will be brought low;
 the proud will be brought low.²²
5:16 The LORD who commands armies
 will be exalted²³ when he punishes,²⁴
 the sovereign God’s authority will be rec-
 ognized when he judges.²⁵

dah accumulated property by exploiting the poor, in violation of the covenantal principle that the land belonged to God and that every family was to have its own portion of land. See the note at 1:23.

¹ **tn** Heb “until the end of the place”; NASB “until there is no more room.”

² **tn** Heb “and you are made to dwell alone in the midst of the land.”

³ **tn** Heb “in my ears, the LORD who commands armies [tra-
 ditionally, the LORD of hosts].”

⁴ **tn** Heb “great and good [houses], without a resident.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “a ten-yoke vineyard.” The Hebrew term *נֵיֶבֶר* (*tseved*, “yoke”) is here a unit of square measure. Apparently a ten-yoke vineyard covered the same amount of land it would take ten teams of oxen to plow in a certain period of time. The exact size is unknown.

⁶ **tn** Heb “one bath.” A bath was a liquid measure. Estimates of its modern equivalent range from approximately six to twelve gallons.

⁷ **tn** Heb “a homer.” A homer was a dry measure, the exact size of which is debated. Cf. NCV “ten bushels”; CEV “five bushels.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “an ephah.” An ephah was a dry measure; there were ten ephahs in a homer. So this verse envisions major crop failure, where only one-tenth of the anticipated harvest is realized.

⁹ **tn** Heb “Woe [to] those who arise early in the morning, [who] chase beer.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “[who] delay until dark, [until] wine enflames them.”

sn This verse does not condemn drinking per se, but refers to the carousing lifestyle of the rich bureaucrats, made possible by wealth taken from the poor. Their carousing is not the fundamental problem, but a disgusting symptom of the real disease – their social injustice.

¹¹ **tn** Two types of stringed instruments are specifically mentioned in the Hebrew text, the *כִּנּוֹר* (*kinnor*, “zither”) and *נָבֶל* (*nevel*, “harp”).

¹² **tn** Heb “the work of the LORD they do not look at, and the work of his hands they do not see.” God’s “work” can sometimes be his creative deeds, but in this context it is the judgment that he is planning to bring upon his people (cf. vv. 19, 26; 10:12; 28:21).

¹³ **sn** It is not certain if the prophet or the LORD is speaking at this point.

¹⁴ **tn** The suffixed (perfect) form of the verb is used; in this way the coming event is described for rhetorical effect as occurring or as already completed.

¹⁵ **tn** The third masculine singular suffix refers back to “my people.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “Their glory will be men of hunger.” *כָּבוֹד* (*kavod*, “glory”) is in opposition to *הָמוֹן* (*hamon*, “masses”) and refers here to the rich and prominent members of the nation. Some prefer to reposit *מִתֵּי* (*mitey*, “men of”) as *מֵתֵי* (*mitey*, “dead ones of”).

¹⁷ **tn** The third masculine singular suffix refers back to “my people.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “and their masses will be parched [by] thirst.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “Sheol” (so ASV, NASB, NRSV); the underworld, the land of the dead, according to the OT world view. Cf. NAB “the nether world”; TEV, CEV “the world of the dead”; NLT “the grave.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “so Sheol will make wide its throat, and open its mouth without limit.”

sn Death is portrayed in both the OT (Prov 1:12; Hab 2:5) and Canaanite myth as voraciously swallowing up its prey. In the myths Death is portrayed as having “a lip to the earth, a lip to the heavens ... and a tongue to the stars.” (G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 69, text 5 ii 2-3.) Death describes his own appetite as follows: “But my appetite is the appetite of lions in the waste...If it is in very truth my desire to consume ‘clay’ [a reference to his human victims], then in truth by the handfuls I must eat it, whether my seven portions [indicating fullness and completeness] are already in the bowl or whether Nahar [the god of the river responsible for ferrying victims from the land of the living to the land of the dead] has to mix the cup.” (Driver, 68-69, text 5 i 14-22).

²¹ **tn** Heb “and her splendor and her masses will go down, and her tumult and the one who exults in her.” The antecedent of the four feminine singular pronominal suffixes used in v. 14b is unclear. The likely referent is personified Zion/Jerusalem (see 3:25-26; 4:4-5).

²² **tn** Heb “men are brought down, men are brought low, the eyes of pride are brought low.”

²³ **tn** Or “elevated”; TEV “the Lord Almighty shows his greatness.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “by judgment/justice.” When God justly punishes the evildoers denounced in the preceding verses, he will be recognized as a mighty warrior.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “The holy God will be set apart by fairness.” In this context God’s holiness is his sovereign royal authority, which implies a commitment to justice (see the note on the phrase “the sovereign king of Israel” in 1:4). When God judges evildoers as they deserve, his sovereignty will be acknowledged.

sn The appearance of *מִשְׁפָּט* (*mishpat*, “justice”) and *צְדָקָה* (*tsedaqah*, “fairness”) here is rhetorically significant, when one recalls v. 7. There God denounces his people for failing to produce a society where “justice” and “fairness” are valued and maintained. God will judge his people for their failure, taking “justice” and “fairness” into his own hands.

5:17 Lambs¹ will graze as if in their pastures,
amid the ruins the rich sojourners will graze.²

5:18 Those who pull evil along using
cords of emptiness are as good as dead,³

who pull sin as with cart ropes.⁴

5:19 They say, "Let him hurry, let him act quickly,⁵

so we can see;

let the plan of the Holy One of Israel⁶
take shape⁷ and come to pass,

¹ **tn** Or "young rams"; NIV, NCV "sheep"; NLT "flocks."

² **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "and ruins, fatlings, resident foreigners, will eat." This part of the verse has occasioned various suggestions of emendation. The parallelism is tighter if the second line refers to animals grazing. The translation, "amid the ruins the fatlings and young sheep graze," assumes an emendation of "resident foreigners" (גֵּרִים) to "young goats/sheep" (גִּזְיִים, *g'zayim*) – confusion of dalet and resh is quite common – and understands "fatlings" and "young sheep" taken as a compound subject or as in apposition as the subject of the verb. However, no emendations are necessary if the above translation is correct. The meaning of מְכֻחִים (*mekhim*) has a significant impact on one's textual decision and translation. The noun can refer to a sacrificial ("fat") animal as it does in its only other occurrence (Ps 66:15). However, it could signify the rich of the earth ("the fat ones of the earth"; Ps 22:29 [MT 30]) using a different word for "fatness" (דָּשֵׁן, *dashen*). If so, it serves a figurative reference to the rich. Consequently, the above translation coheres with the first half of the verse. Just as the sheep are out of place grazing in these places ("as in their pasture"), the sojourners would not have expected to have the chance to eat in these locations. Both animals and itinerant foreigners would eat in places not normal for them.

sn The image completes the picture begun in v. 14 and adds to the irony. When judgment comes, Sheol will eat up the sinners who frequent the feasts; then the banqueting halls will lie in ruins and only sheep will eat there.

³ **sn** See the note at v. 8.

⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "Woe to those who pull evil with the ropes of emptiness, and, as [with] ropes of a cart, sin." Though several textual details are unclear, the basic idea is apparent. The sinners are so attached to their sinful ways (compared here to a heavy load) that they strain to drag them along behind them. If שָׁוִי (*shavi*, "emptiness") is retained, it makes a further comment on their lifestyle, denouncing it as one that is devoid of what is right and destined to lead to nothing but destruction. Because "emptiness" does not form a very tight parallel with "cart" in the next line, some emend שָׁוִי to שֶׁה (*she*, "sheep") and עֵגֶל (*agalah*, "cart") to עֵגֶל (*egel*, "calf"); "Those who pull evil along with a sheep halter are as good as dead who pull sin with a calf rope" (following the lead of the LXX and improving the internal parallelism of the verse). In this case, the verse pictures the sinners pulling sin along behind them as one pulls an animal with a halter. For a discussion of this view, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:163, n. 1. Nevertheless, this emendation is unnecessary. The above translation emphasizes the folly of the Israelites who hold on to their sin (and its punishment) even while they hope for divine intervention.

⁵ **tn** Heb "let his work hurry, let it hasten." The pronoun "his" refers to God, as the parallel line makes clear. The reference to his "work" alludes back to v. 12, which refers to his "work" of judgment. With these words the people challenged the prophet's warning of approaching judgment. They were in essence saying that they saw no evidence that God was about to work in such a way.

⁶ **sn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

⁷ **tn** Heb "draw near" (so NASB); NRSV "hasten to fulfillment."

then we will know it!"

5:20 Those who call evil good and good evil are as good as dead,⁸

who turn darkness into light and light into darkness,
who turn bitter into sweet and sweet into bitter.⁹

5:21 Those who think they are wise are as good as dead,¹⁰

those who think they possess understanding.¹¹

5:22 Those who are champions¹² at drinking wine are as good as dead,¹³
who display great courage when mixing strong drinks.

5:23 They pronounce the guilty innocent for a payoff,
they ignore the just cause of the innocent.¹⁴

5:24 Therefore, as flaming fire¹⁵ devours straw,
and dry grass disintegrates in the flames,
so their root will rot,
and their flower will blow away like dust.¹⁶

⁸ **tn** Heb "Woe [to] those who call." See the note at v. 8.

⁹ **sn** In this verse the prophet denounces the perversion of moral standards. Darkness and bitterness are metaphors for evil; light and sweetness symbolize uprightness.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "Woe [to] the wise in their own eyes." See the note at v. 8.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "[who] before their faces are understanding."

sn Verses 18-21 contain three "woe-sayings" that are purely accusatory and have no formal announcement of judgment attached (as in the "woe-sayings" recorded in vv. 8-17). While this lack of symmetry is odd, it has a clear rhetorical purpose. Having established a pattern in vv. 8-17, the prophet deviates from it in vv. 18-21 to grab his audience's attention. By placing the "woes" in rapid succession and heaping up the accusatory elements, he highlights the people's guilt and introduces an element of tension and anticipation. One is reasonably certain that judgment will come, and when it does, it will be devastating. This anticipated devastation is described in frightening detail after the sixth and final woe (see vv. 22-30).

¹² **tn** The language used here is quite sarcastic and paves the way for the shocking description of the enemy army in vv. 25-30. The rich leaders of Judah are nothing but "party animals" who are totally incapable of withstanding real warriors.

¹³ **tn** Heb "Woe [to]...." See the note at v. 8.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "and the just cause of the innocent ones they turn aside from him."

sn In vv. 22-23 the prophet returns to themes with which he opened his speech. The accusatory elements of vv. 8, 11-12, 18-23 are arranged in a chiasmic manner: (A) social injustice (8), (B) carousing (11-12a), (C) spiritual insensitivity (12b) // (C') spiritual insensitivity (18-21), (B') carousing (22), (A') social injustice (23).

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "a tongue of fire" (so NASB), referring to a tongue-shaped flame.

¹⁶ **sn** They are compared to a flowering plant that withers quickly in a hot, arid climate.

For they have rejected the law of the LORD who commands armies, they have spurned the commands¹ of the Holy One of Israel.²

5:25 So the LORD is furious³ with his people; he lifts⁴ his hand and strikes them. The mountains shake, and corpses lie like manure⁵ in the middle of the streets.

Despite all this, his anger does not subside, and his hand is ready to strike again.⁶

5:26 He lifts a signal flag for a distant nation,⁷ he whistles for it to come from the far regions of the earth.

Look, they⁸ come quickly and swiftly. **5:27** None tire or stumble, they don't stop to nap or sleep.

They don't loosen their belts, or unstrap their sandals to rest.⁹

5:28 Their arrows are sharpened, and all their bows are prepared.¹⁰

The hooves of their horses are hard as flint,¹¹

and their chariot wheels are like a wind-storm.¹²

5:29 Their roar is like a lion's; they roar like young lions.

They growl and seize their prey; they drag it away and no one can come to the rescue.

5:30 At that time¹³ they will growl over their prey,¹⁴ it will sound like sea waves crashing

against rocks.¹⁵

One will look out over the land and see the darkness of disaster; clouds will turn the light into darkness.¹⁶

Isaiah's Commission

6:1 In the year of King Uzziah's death,¹⁷ I saw the sovereign master¹⁸ seated on a high, elevated throne. The hem of his robe filled the temple. **6:2** Seraphs¹⁹ stood over him; each one had six wings. With two wings they covered their faces, with two they covered their feet,²⁰ and they used the remaining two to fly. **6:3** They called out to one another, "Holy, holy, holy"²¹ is the Lord who commands armies!²² His majestic splendor fills the entire earth!" **6:4** The sound of

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "like the growling of the sea."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "and one will gaze toward the land, and look, darkness of distress, and light will grow dark by its [the land's?] clouds."

sn The motif of light turning to darkness is ironic when compared to v. 20. There the sinners turn light (= moral/ethical good) to darkness (= moral/ethical evil). Now ironically the LORD will turn light (= the sinners' sphere of existence and life) into darkness (= the judgment and death).

¹⁷ **sn** That is, approximately 740 B.C.

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here and in vv. 8, 11 is *אֲדֹנָי* (*adonay*).

¹⁹ **tn** Hebrew *סֵרָף* (*saraf*, "seraph") literally means "burning one," perhaps suggesting that these creatures had a fiery appearance (cf. TEV, CEV "flaming creatures"; NCV "heavenly creatures of fire"). Elsewhere in the OT the word "seraph" refers to poisonous snakes (Num 21:6; Deut 8:15; Isa 14:29; 30:6). Perhaps they were called "burning ones" because of their appearance or the effect of their venomous bites, which would cause a victim to burn up with fever. It is possible that the seraphs seen by Isaiah were at least partially serpentine in appearance. Though it might seem strange for a snake-like creature to have wings, two of the texts where "seraphs" are snakes describe them as "flying" (Isa 14:29; 30:6), perhaps referring to their darting movements. See the note at 14:29.

²⁰ **sn** Some understand "feet" here as a euphemistic reference to the genitals.

²¹ **tn** Some have seen a reference to the Trinity in the seraphs' threefold declaration, "holy, holy, holy." This proposal has no linguistic or contextual basis and should be dismissed as allegorical. Hebrew sometimes uses repetition for emphasis. (See *IBHS* 233-34 §12.5a; and *GKC* 431-32 §133.k.) By repeating the word "holy," the seraphs emphasize the degree of the Lord's holiness. For another example of threefold repetition for emphasis, see Ezek 21:27 (Heb. v. 32). (Perhaps Jer 22:29 provides another example.)

sn Or "The Lord who commands armies has absolute sovereign authority!" The basic sense of the word "holy" is "set apart from that which is commonplace, special, unique." In this context the Lord's holiness is first and foremost his transcendent sovereignty as the ruler of the world. He is "set apart" from the world over which he rules. Note the emphasis on the elevated position of his throne in v. 1 and his designation as "the king" in v. 5. At the same time his holiness encompasses his moral authority, which derives from his royal position. As king he has the right to dictate to his subjects how they are to live; indeed his very own character sets the standard for proper behavior. He is "set apart" from his subjects in a moral sense as well. He sets the standard; they fall short of it. Note that in v. 5 Isaiah laments that he is morally unworthy to be in the king's presence.

²² **tn** Perhaps in this context, the title has a less militaristic connotation and pictures the Lord as the ruler of the heavenly assembly. See the note at 1:9.

¹ **tn** Heb "the word."

² **sn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

³ **tn** Heb "the anger of the LORD rages."

⁴ **tn** Or "extends"; KJV, ASV "he hath stretched forth."

⁵ **tn** Or "garbage" (NCV, CEV, NLT); NAB, NASB, NIV "refuse."

⁶ **tn** Heb "in all this his anger is not turned, and still his hand is outstretched."

⁷ **tc** The Hebrew text has literally, "for nations from a distance." The following verses use singular forms to describe this nation, so the final *mem* (ם) לְגוֹיִם (*l'goyim*) may be enclitic or dittographic. In the latter case one could read לְגוֹי מֵרָחוֹק (*l'goy merakhoq*, "for a nation from a distance"; see Deut 28:49; Joel 3:8). Another possibility is to emend the text from לְגוֹיִם מֵרָחוֹק (*l'goyim merakhoq*) לְגוֹי מֵרָחוֹק (*l'goy mimerkhaq*, "for a nation from a distant place") a phrase which occurs in Jer 5:15. In this case an error of misdivision has occurred in MT, the *mem* of the prefixed preposition being accidentally taken as a plural ending on the preceding word.

⁸ **tn** Heb "he." Singular forms are used throughout vv. 26-30 to describe this nation, but for stylistic reasons the translation uses the plural for these collective singulars.

⁹ **tn** Heb "and the belt on his waist is not opened, and the thong of his sandals is not torn in two."

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "bent" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV); NIV "are strung."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "regarded like flint."

¹² **sn** They are like a windstorm in their swift movement and in the way they kick up dust.

¹³ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "over it"; the referent (the prey) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

their voices shook the door frames,¹ and the temple was filled with smoke.

6:5 I said, “Too bad for me! I am destroyed,² for my lips are contaminated by sin,³ and I live among people whose lips are contaminated by sin.⁴ My eyes have seen the king, the LORD who commands armies.”⁵ **6:6** But then one of the seraphs flew toward me. In his hand was a hot coal he had taken from the altar with tongs. **6:7** He touched my mouth with it and said, “Look, this coal has touched your lips. Your evil is removed; your sin is forgiven.”⁶ **6:8** I heard the voice of the sovereign master say, “Whom will I send? Who will go on our behalf?”⁷ I answered, “Here I am, send me!” **6:9** He said, “Go and tell these people:

‘Listen continually, but don’t understand!
Look continually, but don’t perceive!’

6:10 Make the hearts of these people calloused;

make their ears deaf and their eyes blind!
Otherwise they might see with their eyes
and hear with their ears,
their hearts might understand and they
might repent and be healed.”⁸

¹ **tn** On the phrase *אֲמוֹת הַסְּפִימִים* (*‘ammot hassippim*, “pivots of the frames”) see HALOT 763 s.v. סֶפֶר.

² **tn** Isaiah uses the suffixed (perfect) form of the verb for rhetorical purposes. In this way his destruction is described as occurring or as already completed. Rather than understanding the verb as derived from דָּמָה (*damah*, “be destroyed”), some take it from a proposed homonymic root דָּמָה, which would mean “be silent.” In this case, one might translate, “I must be silent.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “a man unclean of lips am I.” Isaiah is not qualified to praise the king. His lips (the instruments of praise) are “unclean” because he has been contaminated by sin.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and among a nation unclean of lips I live.”

⁵ **tn** Perhaps in this context, the title has a less militaristic connotation and pictures the LORD as the ruler of the heavenly assembly. See the note at 1:9.

⁶ **tn** Or “ritually cleansed,” or “atoned for” (NIV).

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “for us.” The plural pronoun refers to the LORD, the seraphs, and the rest of the heavenly assembly.

⁸ **tn** So we take this commission at face value? Does the LORD really want to prevent his people from understanding, repenting, and being healed? Verse 9, which ostensibly records the content of Isaiah’s message, is clearly ironic. As far as we know, Isaiah did not literally proclaim these exact words. The Hebrew imperative forms are employed rhetorically and anticipate the response Isaiah will receive. When all is said and done, Isaiah might as well preface and conclude every message with these ironic words, which, though imperative in form, might be paraphrased as follows: “You continually hear, but don’t understand; you continually see, but don’t perceive.” Isaiah might as well command them to be spiritually insensitive, because, as the preceding and following chapters make clear, the people are bent on that anyway. (This ironic command is comparable to saying to a particularly recalcitrant individual, “Go ahead, be stubborn!”) Verse 10b is also clearly sarcastic. On the surface it seems to indicate Isaiah’s hardening ministry will prevent genuine repentance. But, as the surrounding chapters clearly reveal, the people were hardly ready or willing to repent. Therefore, Isaiah’s preaching was not needed to prevent repentance! Verse 10b reflects the people’s attitude and might be paraphrased accordingly: “Otherwise they might see with their eyes, hear with their ears, understand with their mind, repent, and be restored, and they certainly wouldn’t want that, would they?” Of course, this sarcastic statement may also reveal that the LORD himself is now bent on judgment, not reconciliation. Just as Pharaoh’s rejection

6:11 I replied, “How long, sovereign master?” He said,
“Until cities are in ruins and unpopulated,
and houses are uninhabited,
and the land is ruined and devastated,
6:12 and the LORD has sent the people off
to a distant place,
and the very heart of the land is completely abandoned.”⁹
6:13 Even if only a tenth of the people
remain in the land, it will again be destroyed,¹⁰ like one of the large sacred
trees¹¹ or an Asherah pole, when a
sacred pillar on a high place is thrown
down.¹² That sacred pillar symbolizes

tion of Yahweh’s ultimatum ignited judgment and foreclosed, at least temporarily, any opportunity for repentance, so the LORD may have come to the point where he has decreed to bring judgment before opening the door for repentance once more. The sarcastic statement in verse 10b would be an emphatic way of making this clear. (Perhaps we could expand our paraphrase: “Otherwise they might...repent, and be restored, and they certainly wouldn’t want that, would they? Besides, it’s too late for that!”) Within this sarcastic framework, verse 10a must also be seen as ironic. As in verse 9 the imperative forms should be taken as rhetorical and as anticipating the people’s response. One might paraphrase: “Your preaching will desensitize the minds of these people, make their hearing dull, and blind their eyes.” From the outset the LORD might as well command Isaiah to harden the people, because his preaching will end up having that effect. Despite the use of irony, we should still view this as a genuine, albeit indirect, act of divine hardening. After all, God did not have to send Isaiah. By sending him, he drives the sinful people further from him, for Isaiah’s preaching, which focuses on the LORD’s covenantal demands and impending judgment upon covenantal rebellion, forces the people to confront their sin and then continues to desensitize them as they respond negatively to the message. As in the case of Pharaoh, Yahweh’s hardening is not arbitrarily imposed on a righteous or even morally neutral object. Rather his hardening is an element of his righteous judgment on recalcitrant sinners. Ironically, Israel’s rejection of prophetic preaching in turn expedites disciplinary punishment, and brings the battered people to a point where they might be ready for reconciliation. The prophesied judgment (cf. 6:11-13) was fulfilled by 701 B.C. when the Assyrians devastated the land (a situation presupposed by Isa 1:2-20; see especially vv. 4-9). At that time the divine hardening had run its course and Isaiah is able to issue an ultimatum (1:19-20), one which Hezekiah apparently took to heart, resulting in the sparing of Jerusalem (see Isa 36-39 and cf. Jer 26:18-19 with Mic 3:12). This interpretation, which holds in balance both Israel’s moral responsibility and the LORD’s sovereign work among his people, is consistent with other pertinent texts both within and outside the Book of Isaiah. Isa 3:9 declares that the people of Judah “have brought disaster upon themselves,” but Isa 29:9-10 indicates that the LORD was involved to some degree in desensitizing the people. Zech 7:11-12 looks back to the pre-exilic era (cf. v. 7) and observes that the earlier generations stubbornly hardened their hearts, but Ps 81:11-12, recalling this same period, states that the LORD “gave them over to their stubborn hearts.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “and great is the abandonment in the midst of the land.”

¹⁰ **tn** Or “be burned” (NRSV); NIV “laid waste.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “like a massive tree or like a big tree” (perhaps, “like a terebinth or like an oak”).

¹² **tn** The Hebrew text has “which in the felling, a sacred pillar in them.” Some take מַצֵּבֶת (*matsevet*) as “stump,” and translate, “which, when chopped down, have a stump remaining in them.” But elsewhere מַצֵּבֶת refers to a memorial pillar (2 Sam 18:18) and the word resembles מַצֵּבָה (*matsevah*, “sacred pillar”). בָּמָה (*bam*, “in them”) may be a corruption of בָּמָה (*bamah*, “high place”; the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has בָּמָה (*‘ash-*

the special chosen family.”¹

Ahaz Receives a Sign

7:1 During² the reign of Ahaz son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah, King Rezin of Syria and King Pekah son of Remaliah of Israel marched up to Jerusalem³ to do battle, but they were unable to prevail against it.⁴

7:2 It was reported to the family⁵ of David, “Syria has allied with⁶ Ephraim.” They and their people were emotionally shaken, just as the trees of the forest shake before the wind.⁷ **7:3** So the LORD told Isaiah, “Go out with your son Shear-jashub⁸

and meet Ahaz at the end of the conduit of the upper pool which is located on the road to the field where they wash and dry cloth.⁹ **7:4** Tell him, ‘Make sure you stay calm!¹⁰ Don’t be afraid! Don’t be intimidated¹¹ by these two stubs of smoking logs,¹² or by the raging anger of Rezin, Syria, and the son of Remaliah. **7:5** Syria has plotted with Ephraim and the son of Remaliah to bring about your demise.¹³ **7:6** They say, “Let’s attack Judah, terrorize it, and conquer it.”¹⁴ Then we’ll set up the son of Tabeel as its king.”¹⁵ **7:7** For this reason the sovereign master,¹⁶ the LORD, says:

“It will not take place;
it will not happen.

7:8 For Syria’s leader is Damascus,
and the leader of Damascus is Rezin.

Within sixty-five years Ephraim will no
longer exist as a nation.¹⁷

er, “which”) becomes a problem in this case, but one might emend the form to *וּבְאֶשְׁרָה* (*uk^u’asherah*, “or like an Asherah pole”) and translate, “like one of the large sacred trees or an Asherah pole.” Though the text is difficult, the references to sacred trees and a sacred pillar suggest that the destruction of a high place is in view, an apt metaphor for the judgment of idolatrous Judah.

1 *tn* Heb “a holy offspring [is] its sacred pillar.” If *מִצְבֵּת* (*matsevet*) is taken as “stump,” one can see in this statement a brief glimpse of hope. The tree (the nation) is chopped down, but the stump (a righteous remnant) remains from which God can restore the nation. However, if *מִצְבֵּת* is taken as “sacred pillar” (*מִצְבָּה*, *matsevah*; see the previous note), it is much more difficult to take the final statement in a positive sense. In this case “holy offspring” alludes to God’s ideal for his covenant people, the offspring of the patriarchs. Ironically that “holy” nation is more like a “sacred pillar” and it will be thrown down like a sacred pillar from a high place and its land destroyed like the sacred trees located at such shrines. Understood in this way, the ironic statement is entirely negative in tone, just like the rest of the preceding announcement of judgment. It also reminds the people of their failure; they did not oppose pagan religion, instead they embraced it. Now they will be destroyed in the same way they should have destroyed paganism.

2 *tn* The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

3 *map* For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

4 *tn* Or perhaps, “but they were unable to attack it.” This statement sounds like a summary of the whole campaign. The following context explains why they were unable to defeat the southern kingdom. The parallel passage (2 Kgs 16:5; cf. Num 22:11; 1 Sam 17:9 for a similar construction) affirms that Syria and Israel besieged Ahaz. Consequently, the statement that “they were not able to battle against them” must refer to the inability to conquer Ahaz.

5 *tn* Heb “house.” In this context the “house of David” includes King Ahaz, his family, and the royal court. See also Jer 21:12; Zech 12:7-8, 10, 12, for a similar use of the phrase.

6 *tn* Heb “rests upon.” Most understand the verb as *נָח* (*nakh*, “rest”), but HALOT 685 s.v. *נָח* proposes that this is a hapax legomenon which means “stand by.”

7 *tn* Heb “and his heart shook and the heart of his people shook, like the shaking of the trees of the forest before the wind.” The singular pronoun “his” is collective, referring to the Davidic house/family. *לֵבָב* (*levav*, “heart”) here refers to the seat of the emotions.

8 *tn* The name means “a remnant will return.” Perhaps in this context, where the LORD is trying to encourage Ahaz, the name suggests that only a few of the enemy invaders will return home; the rest will be defeated.

9 *tn* Heb “the field of the washer”; traditionally “the fuller’s field” (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV); NIV “the Washerman’s Field.”

10 *tn* Heb “guard yourself and be quiet,” but the two verbs should be coordinated.

11 *tn* Heb “and let not your heart be weak”; ASV “neither let thy heart be faint.”

12 *sn* The derogatory metaphor indicates that the power of Rezin and Pekah is ready to die out.

13 *tn* This sentence opens with the conjunction *יָנִי* (*ya’an ki*, “because”). Consequently some take vv. 5-6 with what precedes, as another reason why Ahaz might be tempted to fear (see v. 4). However, it is more likely that vv. 5-6 give the basis for the LORD’s announcement in vv. 7-9. The conjunction *יָנִי* here introduces the basis for judgment (as in 3:16; 8:6; 29:13), which is then followed by the formal announcement of judgment.

14 *tn* Heb “and let us break it open for ourselves”; NASB “make for ourselves a breach in its walls”; NLT “fight our way into.”

15 *tn* Heb “and we will make the son of Tabeel king in its midst.”

sn The precise identity of this would-be puppet king is unknown. He may have been a Syrian official or the ruler of one of the small neighboring states. See Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 370.

16 *tn* The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here and in vv. 14, 19 is *אֲדֹנָי* (*adonay*).

17 *tn* Heb “Ephraim will be too shattered to be a nation”; NIV “to be a people.”

sn This statement is problematic for several reasons. It seems to intrude stylistically, interrupting the symmetry of the immediately preceding and following lines. Furthermore, such a long range prophecy lacks punch in the midst of the immediate crisis. After all, even if Israel were destroyed sometime within the next 65 years, a lot could still happen during that time, including the conquest of Judah and the demise of the Davidic family. Finally the significance of the time frame is uncertain. Israel became an Assyrian province within the next 15 years and ceased to exist as a nation. For these reasons many regard the statement as a later insertion, but why a later editor would include the reference to “65 years” remains a mystery. Some try to relate the prophecy to the events alluded to in Ezra 4:2, 10, which refers to how the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal settled foreigners in former Israelite territory, perhaps around 670 B.C. However, even if the statement is referring to these events, it lacks rhetorical punch in its immediate context and has the earmarks of a later commentary that has been merged with the text in the process of transmission.

7:9 Ephraim's leader is Samaria, and Samaria's leader is the son of Remaliah. If your faith does not remain firm, then you will not remain secure."¹

7:10 The LORD again spoke to Ahaz: 7:11 "Ask for a confirming sign from the LORD your God. You can even ask for something miraculous."² 7:12 But Ahaz responded, "I don't want to ask; I don't want to put the LORD to a test."³ 7:13 So Isaiah replied,⁴ "Pay attention,⁵ family⁶ of David.⁷ Do you consider it too insignificant to try the patience of men? Is that why you are also trying the patience of my God? 7:14 For this reason the sovereign master himself will give you a confirming sign.⁸ Look, this⁹ young woman¹⁰ is about to

conceive¹¹ and will give birth to a son. You, young woman, will name him¹² Immanuel.¹³ 7:15 He will eat sour milk¹⁴ and honey, which will help him know how¹⁵ to reject evil and choose what is right.

¹ **tn** Heb "if you do not believe, you will not endure." The verb forms are second plural; the LORD here addresses the entire Davidic family and court. (Verse 4 was addressed to the king.) There is a wordplay in the Hebrew text, designed to draw attention to the alternatives set before the king (cf. 1:20). "Believe" (תִּאֱמֵן, *ta'aminu*) is a Hiphil form of the verb אָמַן (*aman*); "endure" (תִּשְׁמֹר, *te'amenu*) is a Niphal form of this same verb.

² **tn** Heb "Make it as deep as Sheol or make it high upwards." These words suggest that Ahaz can feel free to go beyond the bounds of ordinary human experience.

³ **tn** Ahaz uses the verb נָסָה (*nasah*, "test") in its negative sense of "challenge, provoke." However, this is false piety, a smokescreen designed to cover up his lack of faith in the LORD.

⁴ **tn** Heb "and he said." The subject is unexpressed, but the reference to "my God" at the end of the verse indicates the prophet is speaking.

⁵ **tn** The verb is second plural in form, because the prophet addresses the whole family of David. He continues to use the plural in v. 14 (with one exception, see the notes on that verse), but then switches back to the second singular (addressing Ahaz specifically) in vv. 16-17.

⁶ **tn** Heb "house." See the note at v. 2.

⁷ **sn** The address to the "house of David" is designed to remind Ahaz and his royal court of the protection promised to them through the Davidic covenant. The king's refusal to claim God's promise magnifies his lack of faith.

⁸ **tn** The Hebrew term *ot* ("sign") can refer to a miraculous event (see v. 11), but it does not carry this sense inherently. Elsewhere in Isaiah the word usually refers to a natural occurrence or an object/person vested with special significance (see 8:18; 19:20; 20:3; 37:30; 55:13; 66:19). Only in 38:7-8, 22 does it refer to a miraculous deed that involves suspending or overriding natural laws. The sign outlined in vv. 14-17 involves God's providential control over events and their timing, but not necessarily miraculous intervention.

⁹ **tn** Heb "the young woman." The Hebrew article has been rendered as a demonstrative pronoun ("this") in the translation to bring out its force. It is very likely that Isaiah pointed to a woman who was present at the scene of the prophet's interview with Ahaz. Isaiah's address to the "house of David" and his use of second plural forms suggests other people were present, and his use of the second feminine singular verb form ("you will name") later in the verse is best explained if addressed to a woman who is present.

¹⁰ **tn** Traditionally, "virgin." Because this verse from Isaiah is quoted in Matt 1:23 in connection with Jesus' birth, the Isaiah passage has been regarded since the earliest Christian times as a prophecy of Christ's virgin birth. Much debate has taken place over the best way to translate this Hebrew term, although ultimately one's view of the doctrine of the virgin birth of Christ is unaffected. Though the Hebrew word used here (עַלְמָה, *almah*) can sometimes refer to a woman who is a virgin (Gen 24:43), it does not carry this meaning inherently. The word is simply the feminine form of the corresponding masculine noun עֶלֶם (*elem*, "young man"; cf. 1 Sam 17:56; 20:22). The Aramaic and Ugaritic cognate terms

are both used of women who are not virgins. The word seems to pertain to age, not sexual experience, and would normally be translated "young woman." The LXX translator(s) who later translated the Book of Isaiah into Greek sometime between the second and first century B.C., however, rendered the Hebrew term by the more specific Greek word παρθένος (*parthenos*), which does mean "virgin" in a technical sense. This is the Greek term that also appears in the citation of Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23. Therefore, regardless of the meaning of the term in the OT context, in the NT Matthew's usage of the Greek term παρθένος clearly indicates that from his perspective a virgin birth has taken place.

¹¹ **tn** Elsewhere the adjective חָרָה (*harah*), when used predicatively, refers to a past pregnancy (from the narrator's perspective, 1 Sam 4:19), to a present condition (Gen 16:11; 38:24; 2 Sam 11:5), and to a conception that is about to occur in the near future (Judg 13:5, 7). (There is some uncertainty about the interpretation of Judg 13:5, 7, however. See the notes to those verses.) In Isa 7:14 one could translate, "the young woman is pregnant." In this case the woman is probably a member of the royal family. Another option, the one followed in the present translation, takes the adjective in an imminent future sense, "the young woman is about to conceive." In this case the woman could be a member of the royal family, or, more likely, the prophetess with whom Isaiah has sexual relations shortly after this (see 8:3).

¹² **tn** Heb "and you will call his name." The words "young woman" are supplied in the translation to clarify the identity of the addressee. The verb is normally taken as an archaic third feminine singular form here, and translated, "she will call." However the form (קָרָאָה, *qara'a*) is more naturally understood as second feminine singular, in which case the words would be addressed to the young woman mentioned just before this. In the three other occurrences of the third feminine singular perfect of קָרָאָה (*qara'*, "to call"), the form used is קָרָאָה (*qar'ah*; see Gen 29:35; 30:6; 1 Chr 4:9). A third feminine singular perfect קָרָאָה does appear in Deut 31:29 and Jer 44:23, but the verb here is the homonym קָרָא ("to meet, encounter"). The form קָרָאָה (from קָרָא, "to call") appears in three other passages (Gen 16:11; Isa 60:18; Jer 3:4 [Qere]) and in each case is second feminine singular.

¹³ **sn** The name *Immanuel* means "God [is] with us."

¹⁴ **tn** Or, perhaps "cream," frequently, "curds" (NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); KJV, ASV "butter"; CEV "yogurt."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "for his knowing." Traditionally the preposition has been translated in a temporal sense, "when he knows." However, though the preposition לָ (*lamed*) can sometimes have a temporal force, it never carries such a nuance in any of the 40 other passages where it is used with the infinitive construct of יָדַע (*yada'*, "to know"). Most often the construction indicates purpose/result. This sense is preferable here. The following context indicates that sour milk and honey will epitomize the devastation that God's judgment will bring upon the land. Cultivated crops will be gone and the people will be forced to live off the milk produced by their goats and the honey they find in the thickets. As the child is forced to eat a steady diet of this sour milk and honey, he will be reminded of the consequences of sin and motivated to make correct moral decisions in order to avoid further outbreaks of divine discipline.

7:16 Here is why this will be so:¹ Before the child knows how to reject evil and choose what is right, the land² whose two kings you fear will be desolate.³ 7:17 The LORD will bring on you, your people, and your father's family a time⁴ unlike any since Ephraim departed from Judah – the king of Assyria!⁵

7:18 At that time⁶ the LORD will whistle for flies from the distant streams of Egypt and for bees from the land of Assyria.⁷ 7:19 All of them will come and make their home⁸ in the ravines between the cliffs, and in the crevices of the cliffs, in all the thorn bushes, and in all the watering holes.⁹ 7:20 At that time¹⁰ the sovereign master will use a razor hired from the banks of

the Euphrates River,¹¹ the king of Assyria, to shave the head and the pubic hair;¹² it will also shave off the beard. 7:21 At that time¹³ a man will keep alive a young cow from the herd and a couple of goats. 7:22 From the abundance of milk they produce,¹⁴ he will have sour milk for his meals. Indeed, everyone left in the heart of the land will eat sour milk and honey. 7:23 At that time¹⁵ every place where there had been a thousand vines worth a thousand shekels will be overrun¹⁶ with thorns and briers. 7:24 With bow and arrow¹⁷ men will hunt¹⁸ there, for the whole land will be covered¹⁹ with thorns and briers. 7:25 They will stay away from all the hills that were cultivated, for fear of the thorns and briers.²⁰ Cattle will graze there and sheep will trample on them.²¹

A Sign-Child is Born

8:1 The LORD told me, “Take a large tablet²² and inscribe these words²³ on it with an ordinary

¹ **tn** Heb “for, because.” The particle introduces the entire following context (vv. 16-25), which explains why Immanuel will be an appropriate name for the child, why he will eat sour milk and honey, and why experiencing such a diet will contribute to his moral development.

² **sn** Since “two kings” are referred to later in the verse, the “land” must here refer to Syria-Israel.

³ **tn** Heb “the land will be abandoned, which you fear because of its two kings.” After the verb *קִטַּץ* (*quts*, “loathe, dread”) the phrase *מִפְנֵי* (*mipney*, “from before”) introduces the cause of loathing/dread (see Gen 27:46; Exod 1:12; Num 22:3).

⁴ **tn** Heb “days” (so KJV, NAB); NASB, NRSV “such days.”

⁵ **sn** Initially the prophecy appears to be a message of salvation. Immanuel seems to have a positive ring to it, sour milk and honey elsewhere symbolize prosperity and blessing (see Deut 32:13-14; Job 20:17), verse 16 announces the defeat of Judah's enemies, and verse 17a could be taken as predicting a return to the glorious days of David and Solomon. However, the message turns sour in verses 17b-25. God will be with his people in judgment, as well as salvation. The curds and honey will be signs of deprivation, not prosperity, the relief announced in verse 16 will be short-lived, and the new era will be characterized by unprecedented humiliation, not a return to glory. Because of Ahaz's refusal to trust the LORD, potential blessing would be transformed into a curse, just as Isaiah turns an apparent prophecy of salvation into a message of judgment. Because the words “the king of Assyria” are rather awkwardly tacked on to the end of the sentence, some regard them as a later addition. However, the very awkwardness facilitates the prophet's rhetorical strategy here, as he suddenly turns what sounds like a positive message into a judgment speech. Actually, “the king of Assyria,” stands in apposition to the earlier object “days,” and specifies who the main character of these coming “days” will be.

⁶ **tn** Heb “in that day” (so KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

⁷ **sn** Swarming flies are irritating; bees are irritating and especially dangerous because of the pain they inflict with their sting (see Deut 1:44; Ps 118:12). The metaphors are well chosen, for the Assyrians (symbolized by the bees) were much more powerful and dangerous than the Egyptians (symbolized by the flies). Nevertheless both would put pressure on Judah, for Egypt wanted Judah as a buffer state against Assyrian aggression, while Assyrian wanted it as a base for operations against Egypt. Following the reference to sour milk and honey, the metaphor is especially apt, for flies are attracted to dairy products and bees can be found in the vicinity of honey.

⁸ **tn** Heb “and shall rest” (so KJV, ASV); NASB, NIV, NRSV “and settle.”

⁹ **tn** The meaning of this word (*נְהָלוֹל*, *nahalol*) is uncertain; some understand this as referring to another type of thorn bush. For bibliography, see HALOT 676 s.v. *נְהָלוֹל*.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “in that day” (so ASV, NASB); KJV “In the same day.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “the river” (so KJV); NASB “the Euphrates.” The name of the river has been supplied in the present translation for clarity.

¹² **tn** Heb “the hair of the feet.” The translation assumes that the word “feet” is used here as a euphemism for the genitals. See BDB 920 s.v. *רֶגֶל*.

¹³ **tn** Heb “in that day.” The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated, see note on 2:2.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “in that day.” The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “will become” (so NASB); NAB “shall be turned to.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “with arrows and a bow.” The more common English idiom is “bow[s] and arrow[s].”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “go” (so NAB, NIV, NRSV); TEV “go hunting.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “will be” (so NASB, NRSV).

²⁰ **tn** Heb “and all the hills which were hoed with a hoe, you will not go there [for] fear of the thorns and briers.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “and it will become a pasture for cattle and a trampling place for sheep.”

sn At this point one is able to summarize the content of the “sign” (vv. 14-15) as follows: A young woman known to be present when Isaiah delivered this message to Ahaz (perhaps a member of the royal family or the prophetess mentioned in 8:3) would soon give birth to a boy whom the mother would name Immanuel, “God is with us.” Eventually Immanuel would be forced to eat sour milk and honey, which would enable him to make correct moral decisions. How would this situation come about and how would it constitute a sign? Before this situation developed, the Israelites and Syrians would be defeated. But then the LORD would usher in a period of time unlike any since the division of the kingdom almost 200 years before. The Assyrians would overrun the land, destroy the crops, and force the people to subsist on goats' milk and honey. At that time, as the people saw Immanuel eating his sour milk and honey, the Davidic family would be forced to acknowledge that God was indeed with them. He was present with them in the Syrian-Israelite crisis, fully capable of rescuing them, but he was also present with them in judgment, disciplining them for their lack of trust. The moral of the story is quite clear: Failure to appropriate God's promises by faith can turn potential blessing into disciplinary judgment.

²² **sn** Probably made of metal, wood, or leather. See HALOT 193 s.v. *לִפְתָּי*.

²³ **tn** Heb “write” (so KJV, ASV, NIV, NRSV).

stylus.¹ ‘Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz.’² 8:2 Then I will summon³ as my reliable witnesses Uriah the priest and Zechariah son of Jeberechiah.” 8:3 I then had sexual relations with the prophetess; she conceived and gave birth to a son. The LORD told me, “Name him Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz, 8:4 for before the child knows how to cry out, ‘My father’ or ‘My mother,’ the wealth of Damascus and the plunder of Samaria⁴ will be carried off by the king of Assyria.”⁵

8:5 The LORD spoke to me again: 8:6 “These people⁶ have rejected the gently flowing waters of Shiloah⁷ and melt in fear over Rezin and the son of Remaliah.⁸ 8:7 So look, the sovereign master⁹ is bringing up against them the turbulent and mighty waters of the Euphrates River¹⁰ – the

king of Assyria and all his majestic power. It will reach flood stage and overflow its banks.¹¹ 8:8 It will spill into Judah, flooding and engulfing, as it reaches to the necks of its victims. He will spread his wings out over your entire land,¹² O Immanuel.”¹³

8:9 You will be broken,¹⁴ O nations;
you will be shattered!¹⁵
Pay attention, all you distant lands of the earth!

¹ **tn** *Heb* “with the stylus of a man.” The significance of the qualifying genitive “a man” is uncertain. For various interpretations see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:219, n. 1.

² **tn** *Heb* “quickly, [the] plunder; it hurries, [the] loot.” The first word (מָהֵר, *maher*) is either a Piel imperative (“hurry [to]”) or infinitive (“hurrying,” or “quickly”). The third word (רָשָׁה, *krash*) is either a third masculine singular perfect or a masculine singular participle, in either case from the root רוּשׁ (‘*krush*,’ “hurry”). Perhaps it is best to translate, “One hastens to the plunder, one hurries to the loot.” In this case מָהֵר is understood as an infinitive functioning as a verb, the subject of רוּשׁ is taken as indefinite, and the two nouns are understood as adverbial accusatives. As we discover in v. 3, this is the name of the son to be born to Isaiah through the prophetess.

³ **tn** The form in the text is a cohortative with prefixed *vav* (ו), suggesting that the LORD is announcing what he will do. Some prefer to change the verb to an imperative, “and summon as witnesses,” a reading that finds support from the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a. Another option is to point the prefixed conjunction as a *vav* consecutive and translate, “So I summoned as witnesses.” In this case Isaiah is recalling his response to the LORD’s commission. In any case, the reference to witnesses suggests that the name and the child who bears it will function as signs.

⁴ **map** For location see Map2-B1; Map4-D3; Map5-E2; Map6-A4; Map7-C1.

⁵ **sn** The child’s name foreshadows what will happen to Judah’s enemies; when their defeat takes place, the child will be a reminder that God predicted the event and brought it to pass. As such the child will be a reminder of God’s protective presence with his people.

⁶ **tn** The Hebrew text begins with “because.” In the Hebrew text vv. 6-7 are one long sentence, with v. 6 giving the reason for judgment and v. 7 formally announcing it.

⁷ **sn** The phrase “waters of Shiloah” probably refers to a stream that originated at the Gihon Spring and supplied the city of Jerusalem with water. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:225. In this context these waters stand in contrast to the flood waters of Assyria and symbolize God’s presence and blessings.

⁸ **tn** The precise meaning of v. 6 has been debated. The translation above assumes that “these people” are the residents of Judah and that מַסּוֹס (‘*masos*’) is alternate form of מַסּוֹס (‘*masos*,’ “despair, melt”; see HALOT 606 s.v. מַסּוֹס). In this case vv. 7-8 in their entirety announce God’s disciplinary judgment on Judah. However, “these people” could refer to the Israelites and perhaps also the Syrians (cf. v. 4). In this case מַסּוֹס probably means “joy.” One could translate, “and rejoice over Rezin and the son of Remaliah.” In this case v. 7a announces the judgment of Israel, with vv. 7b-8 then shifting the focus to the judgment of Judah.

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדוֹנָי (‘*adonay*’).

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the mighty and abundant waters of the river.” The referent of “the river” here, the Euphrates River, has been specified in the translation for clarity. As the immediately fol-

lowing words indicate, these waters symbolize the Assyrian king and his armies which will, as it were, inundate the land.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “it will go up over all its stream beds and go over all its banks.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “and the spreading out of his wings [will be over] the fullness of the breadth of your land.” The metaphor changes here from raging flood to predatory bird.

¹³ **sn** The appearance of the name Immanuel (“God is with us”) is ironic at this point, for God is present with his people in judgment. Immanuel is addressed here as if he has already been born and will see the judgment occur. This makes excellent sense if his birth has just been recorded. There are several reasons for considering Immanuel and Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz one and the same. 8:3 is a birth account which could easily be understood as recording the fulfillment of the birth prophecy of 7:14. The presence of a formal record/witnesses (8:1-2) suggests a sign function for the child (cf. 7:14). As in 7:14-16, the removal of Judah’s enemies would take place before the child reached a specified age (cf. 8:4). Both 7:17-25 and 8:7-8 speak of an Assyrian invasion of Judah which would follow the defeat of Israel/Syria. The major objection to this view is the fact that different names appear, but such a phenomenon is not without parallel in the OT (cf. Gen 35:18). The name Immanuel may emphasize the basic fact of God’s presence, while the name Maher focuses on the specific nature of God’s involvement. In 7:14 the mother is viewed as naming the child, while in 8:3 Isaiah is instructed to give the child’s name, but one might again point to Gen 35:18 for a precedent. The sign child’s age appears to be different in 8:4 than in 7:15-16, but 7:15-16 pertains to the judgment on Judah, as well as the defeat of Israel/Syria (cf. vv. 17-25), while 8:4 deals only with the downfall of Israel/Syria. Some argue that the suffixed form “your land” in 8:8 points to a royal referent (a child of Ahaz or the Messiah), but usage elsewhere shows that the phrase does not need to be so restricted. While the suffix can refer to the king of a land (cf. Num 20:17; 21:22; Deut 2:27; Judg 11:17, 19; 2 Sam 24:13; 1 Kgs 11:22; Isa 14:20), it can also refer to one who is a native of a particular land (cf. Gen 12:1; 32:9; Jonah 1:8). (See also the use of “his land” in Isa 13:14 [where the suffix refers to a native of a land] and 37:7 [where it refers to a king].)

¹⁴ **tn** The verb רָשָׁה (‘*ru’a*’) is a Qal imperative, masculine plural from רָשָׁה (‘*ru’a*’, “break”). Elsewhere both transitive (Job 34:24; Ps 2:9; Jer 15:12) and intransitive (Prov 25:19; Jer 11:16) senses are attested for the Qal of this verb. Because no object appears here, the form is likely intransitive: “be broken.” In this case the imperative is rhetorical (like “be shattered” later in the verse) and equivalent to a prediction, “you will be broken.” On the rhetorical use of the imperative in general, see IBHS 572 §34.4c; GK 324 §110.c.

¹⁵ **tn** The imperative form (*Heb* “be shattered”) is rhetorical and expresses the speaker’s firm conviction of the outcome of the nations’ attack. See the note on “be broken.”

Get ready for battle, and you will be shattered!
 Get ready for battle, and you will be shattered!¹
8:10 Devise your strategy, but it will be thwarted!
 Issue your orders, but they will not be executed!²
 For God is with us!³

The Lord Encourages Isaiah

8:11 Indeed this is what the LORD told me. He took hold of me firmly and warned me not to act like these people.⁴

1 tn The initial imperative (“get ready for battle”) acknowledges the reality of the nations’ hostility; the concluding imperative (*Heb* “be shattered”) is rhetorical and expresses the speakers’ firm conviction of the outcome of the nations’ attack. (See the note on “be broken.”) One could paraphrase, “Okay, go ahead and prepare for battle since that’s what you want to do, but your actions will backfire and you’ll be shattered.” This rhetorical use of the imperatives is comparable to saying to a child who is bent on climbing a high tree, “Okay, go ahead, climb the tree and break your arm!” What this really means is: “Okay, go ahead and climb the tree since that’s what you really want to do, but your actions will backfire and you’ll break your arm.” The repetition of the statement in the final two lines of the verse gives the challenge the flavor of a taunt (ancient Israelite “trash talking,” as it were).

2 tn *Heb* “speak a word, but it will not stand.”

3 sn In these vv. 9-10 the tone shifts abruptly from judgment to hope. Hostile nations like Assyria may attack God’s people, but eventually they will be destroyed, for God is with his people, sometimes to punish, but ultimately to vindicate. In addition to being a reminder of God’s presence in the immediate crisis faced by Ahaz and Judah, Immanuel (whose name is echoed in this concluding statement) was a guarantee of the nation’s future greatness in fulfillment of God’s covenantal promises. Eventually God would deliver his people from the hostile nations (vv. 9-10) through another child, an ideal Davidic ruler who would embody God’s presence in a special way (see 9:6-7). Jesus the Messiah is the fulfillment of the Davidic ideal prophesied by Isaiah, the one whom Immanuel foreshadowed. Through the miracle of the incarnation he is literally “God with us.” Matthew realized this and applied Isaiah’s ancient prophecy of Immanuel’s birth to Jesus (Matt 1:22-23). The first Immanuel was a reminder to the people of God’s presence and a guarantee of a greater child to come who would manifest God’s presence in an even greater way. The second Immanuel is “God with us” in a heightened and infinitely superior sense. He “fulfills” Isaiah’s Immanuel prophecy by bringing the typology intended by God to realization and by filling out or completing the pattern designed by God. Of course, in the ultimate fulfillment of the type, the incarnate Immanuel’s mother must be a virgin, so Matthew uses a Greek term (*παρθένος, parthenos*), which carries that technical meaning (in contrast to the Hebrew word נְקִימָה [*almah*], which has the more general meaning “young woman”). Matthew draws similar analogies between NT and OT events in 2:15, 18. The linking of these passages by analogy is termed “fulfillment.” In 2:15 God calls Jesus, his perfect Son, out of Egypt, just as he did his son Israel in the days of Moses, an historical event referred to in Hos 11:1. In so doing he makes it clear that Jesus is the ideal Israel prophesied by Isaiah (see Isa 49:3), sent to restore wayward Israel (see Isa 49:5, cf. Matt 1:21). In 2:18 Herod’s slaughter of the infants is another illustration of the oppressive treatment of God’s people by foreign tyrants. Herod’s actions are analogous to those of the Assyrians, who deported the Israelites, causing the personified land to lament as inconsolably as a mother robbed of her little ones (Jer 31:15).

4 tc *Heb* “with strength of hand and he warned me from walking in the way of these people, saying.” Some want to

8:12 “Do not say, ‘Conspiracy,’ every time these people say the word.⁵
 Don’t be afraid of what scares them; don’t be terrified.
8:13 You must recognize the authority of the LORD who commands armies.⁶
 He is the one you must respect; he is the one you must fear.⁷
8:14 He will become a sanctuary,⁸ but a stone that makes a person trip, and a rock that makes one stumble – to the two houses of Israel.⁹
 He will become¹⁰ a trap and a snare to the residents of Jerusalem.¹¹
8:15 Many will stumble over the stone and the rock,¹² and will fall and be seriously injured, and will be ensnared and captured.”
8:16 Tie up the scroll as legal evidence,¹³ seal the official record of God’s instructions and give it to my followers.¹⁴

change the pointing of the suffix and thereby emend the Qal imperfect יִסְרֵנִי (*yiss’reni*, “he was warning me”) to the more common Piel perfect יִסְרֵנִי (*yiss’rani*, “he warned me”). Others follow the lead of the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a and read יִסְרֵנִי (*yis’ireni*, “he was turning me aside,” a Hiphil imperfect from יָסַר, *sur*).

5 tn *Heb* “Do not say, ‘Conspiracy,’ with respect to all which these people say, ‘Conspiracy.’” The verb translated “do not say” is second masculine plural, indicating that this exhortation is directed to Isaiah and other followers of the LORD (see v. 16).

sn The background of this command is uncertain. Perhaps the “conspiracy” in view is the alliance between Israel and Syria. Some of the people may even have thought that individuals in Judah were plotting with Israel and Syria to overthrow the king.

6 tn *Heb* “the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts], him you must set apart.” The word order is emphatic, with the object being placed first.

7 tn *Heb* “he is your [object of] fear, he is your [object of] terror.” The roots יָרָא (*yare’*) and יָרָס (*arats*) are repeated from v. 12b.

8 tn Because the metaphor of protection (“sanctuary”) does not fit the negative mood that follows in vv. 14b-15, some contend that מִקְדָּשׁ (*miqdash*, “sanctuary”) is probably a corruption of an original מִקְשָׁה (*moqesh*, “snare”), a word that appears in the next line (cf. NAB and H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:355-56). If the MT reading is retained (as in the above translation), the fact that Yahweh is a sanctuary wraps up the point of v. 13 and stands in contrast to God’s treatment of those who rebel against him (the rest of v. 14).

9 sn The two “houses” of Israel (= the patriarch Jacob) are the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah.

10 tn These words are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. הָיָה *hayah*, “and he will be”) does double duty in the parallel structure of the verse.

11 map For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

12 tn *Heb* “over them” (so NASB); NCV “over this rock.”

13 tn *Heb* “tie up [the] testimony.” The “testimony” probably refers to the prophetic messages God has given him. When the prophecies are fulfilled, he will be able to produce this official, written record to confirm the authenticity of his ministry and to prove to the people that God is sovereign over events.

14 tn *Heb* “seal [the] instruction among my followers.” The “instruction” probably refers to the prophet’s exhortations and warnings. When the people are judged for the sins, the prophet can produce these earlier messages and essentially say, “I told you so.” In this way he can authenticate his ministry and impress upon the people the reality of God’s authority

8:17 I will wait patiently for the LORD, who has rejected the family of Jacob;¹ I will wait for him.

8:18 Look, I and the sons whom the LORD has given me² are reminders and object lessons³ in Israel, sent from the LORD who commands armies, who lives on Mount Zion.

Darkness Turns to Light as an Ideal King Arrives

8:19⁴ They will say to you, “Seek oracles at the pits used to conjure up underworld spirits, from the magicians who chirp and mutter incantations.⁵ Should people not seek oracles from their gods, by asking the dead about the destiny of the living?”⁶ **8:20** Then you must recall the LORD’s instructions and the prophetic testimony of what would happen.⁷ Certainly they say such things because their minds are spiritually darkened.⁸ **8:21** They will pass through the land⁹

over them.

¹ **tn** Heb “who hides his face from the house of Jacob.”

² **sn** This refers to Shear-jashub (7:3) and Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz (8:1, 3).

³ **tn** Or “signs and portents” (NAB, NRSV). The names of all three individuals has symbolic value. Isaiah’s name (which meant “the LORD delivers”) was a reminder that the LORD was the nation’s only source of protection; Shear-jashub’s name was meant, at least originally, to encourage Ahaz (see the note at 7:3); and Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz’s name was a guarantee that God would defeat Israel and Syria (see the note at 8:4). The word מִוֶּפֶת (*mofoet*, “portent”) can often refer to some miraculous event, but in 20:3 it is used, along with its synonym אִיֶּרֶת (*ot*, “sign”) of Isaiah’s walking around half-naked as an object lesson of what would soon happen to the Egyptians.

⁴ **tn** It is uncertain if the prophet or the LORD is speaking in vv. 19-22. If the latter, then vv. 19-22 resume the speech recorded in vv. 12-15, after the prophet’s response in vv. 16-18.

⁵ **tn** Heb “inquire of the ritual pits and of the magicians who chirp and mutter.” The Hebrew word אוֹב (*ov*, “ritual pit”) refers to a pit used by a magician to conjure up underworld spirits. In 1 Sam 28:7 the witch of Endor is called a בְּעִלְת־אוֹב (*ba’alat-ov*, “owner of a ritual pit”). See H. Hoffner, “Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *’OB*,” *JBL* 86 (1967): 385-401.

⁶ **tn** Heb “Should a nation not inquire of its gods on behalf of the living, (by inquiring) of the dead?” These words appear to be a continuation of the quotation begun in the first part of the verse. אֱלֹהֵי (*elohay*) may be translated “its gods” or “its God.” Some take the second half of the verse as the prophet’s (or the LORD’s) rebuke of the people who advise seeking oracles at the ritual pits, but in this case the words “the dead on behalf of the living” are difficult to explain.

⁷ **tn** Heb “to [the] instruction and to [the] testimony.” The words “then you must recall” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. In the Hebrew text vv. 19-20a are one long sentence, reading literally, “When they say to you...., to the instruction and to the testimony.” On the identity of the “instruction” and “testimony” see the notes at v. 16.

⁸ **tn** Heb “If they do not speak according to this word, [it is] because it has no light of dawn.” The literal translation suggests that “this word” refers to the instruction/testimony. However, it is likely that אִי־לֹא (*im-lo*) is asseverative here, as in 5:9. In this case “this word” refers to the quotation recorded in v. 19. For a discussion of the problem see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 230, n. 9. The singular pronoun in the second half of the verse is collective, referring back to the nation (see v. 19b).

⁹ **tn** Heb “he will pass through it.” The subject of the col-

destitute and starving. Their hunger will make them angry,¹⁰ and they will curse their king and their God¹¹ as they look upward. **8:22** When one looks out over the land, he sees¹² distress and darkness, gloom¹³ and anxiety, darkness and people forced from the land.¹⁴ **9:1** (8:23)¹⁵ The gloom will be dispelled for those who were anxious.¹⁶

In earlier times he¹⁷ humiliated the land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali;¹⁸ but now he brings honor¹⁹ to the way of the sea, the region beyond the Jordan, and Galilee of the nations.²⁰

lective singular verb is the nation. (See the preceding note.) The immediately preceding context supplies no antecedent for “it” (a third feminine singular suffix in the Hebrew text); the suffix may refer to the land, which would be a reasonable referent with a verb of motion. Note also that אֶרֶץ (*erets*, “land”) does appear at the beginning of the next verse.

¹⁰ **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

¹¹ **tn** Or “gods” (NAB, NRSV, CEV).

¹² **tn** Heb “and behold” (so KJV, ASV, NASB).

¹³ **tn** The precise meaning of בְּיָוֶזֶם (*mu’uf*) is uncertain; the word occurs only here. See BDB 734 s.v. בָּעָוָה.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and darkness, pushed.” The word מְנֻדָּךְ (*m’nudakh*) appears to be a Pual participle from נָדַח (“push”), but the Piel is unattested for this verb and the Pual occurs only here.

¹⁵ **sn** In the Hebrew text (*BHS*) the chapter division comes one verse later than in the English Bible; 9:1 (8:23 HT). Thus 9:2-21 in the English Bible = 9:1-20 in the Hebrew text. Beginning with **10:1** the verse numbers in the English Bible and the Hebrew Bible are again the same.

¹⁶ **tn** The Hebrew text reads, “Indeed there is no gloom for the one to whom there was anxiety for her.” The feminine singular pronominal suffix “her” must refer to the land (cf. vv. 22a, 23b). So one could translate, “Indeed there will be no gloom for the land which was anxious.” In this case the statement introduces the positive message to follow. Some assume an emendation of לֹא לֵי (*lo*, “no”) to לֵי (*lo*, “to him”) and of לָהּ (*lah*, “to her”) to לוֹ (*lo*, “to him”), yielding this literal reading: “indeed there is gloom for him, for the one to whom there was anxiety for him.” In this case the statement concludes the preceding description of judgment.

¹⁷ **tn** The LORD must be understood as the subject of the two verbs in this verse.

¹⁸ **sn** The statement probably alludes to the Assyrian conquest of Israel in ca. 734-733 B.C., when Tiglath-pileser III annexed much of Israel’s territory and reduced Samaria to a puppet state.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb Just as in earlier times he humiliated...., [in] the latter times he has brought honor.” The main verbs in vv. 1b-4 are Hebrew perfects. The prophet takes his rhetorical stance in the future age of restoration and describes future events as if they have already occurred. To capture the dramatic effect of the original text, the translation uses the English present or present perfect.

²⁰ **sn** These three geographical designations may refer to provinces established by the Assyrians in 734-733 B.C. The “way of the sea” is the province of Dor, along the Mediterranean coast, the “region beyond the Jordan” is the province of Gilead in Transjordan, and “Galilee of the nations” (a title that alludes to how the territory had been overrun by foreigners) is the province of Megiddo located west of the Sea of Galilee. See Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 374.

9:2 (9:1) The people walking in darkness see a bright light;¹ light shines on those who live in a land of deep darkness.²

9:3 You³ have enlarged the nation; you give them great joy.⁴ They rejoice in your presence as harvesters rejoice; as warriors celebrate⁵ when they divide up the plunder.

9:4 For their oppressive yoke and the club that strikes their shoulders, the cudgel the oppressor uses on them,⁶ you have shattered, as in the day of Midian's defeat.⁷

9:5 Indeed every boot that marches and shakes the earth⁸ and every garment dragged through blood is used as fuel for the fire.

9:6 For a child has been⁹ born to us, a son has been given to us. He shoulders responsibility and is called:¹⁰ Extraordinary Strategist,¹¹ Mighty God,¹²

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew perfect (translated "has been born" and "has been given") is used here as the prophet takes a rhetorical stance in the future. See the note at 9:1.

¹⁰ **tn** Or "and dominion was on his shoulders and he called his name." The prefixed verbs with *vav* (ו) consecutive are used with the same rhetorical sense as the perfects in v. 6a. See the preceding note. There is great debate over the syntactical structure of the verse. No subject is indicated for the verb "he called." If all the titles that follow are ones given to the king, then the subject of the verb must be indefinite, "one calls." However, some have suggested that one to three of the titles that follow refer to God, not the king. For example, the traditional punctuation of the Hebrew text suggests the translation, "and the Extraordinary Strategist, the Mighty God calls his name, 'Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.'"

¹¹ **tn** Some have seen two titles here ("Wonderful" and "Counselor," cf. KJV, ASV). However, the pattern of the following three titles (each contains two elements) and the use of the roots פלא (*pala'*) and יעץ (*ya'ats*) together in Isa 25:1 (cf. בִּי הַפְּלִיא עֲצָה, *hefelia e'ets*) and 28:29 (cf. הַפְּלִיא עֲצָה, *hefelia e'ets*) suggest otherwise. The term יועץ (*yo'ets*) could be taken as appositional (genitive or otherwise) of species ("a wonder, i.e., a wonder as a counselor," cf. NAB "Wonder-Counselor") or as a substantival participle for which פלא provides the direct object ("one who counsels wonders"). יועץ is used as a royal title elsewhere (cf. Mic 4:9). Here it probably refers to the king's ability to devise military strategy, as suggested by the context (cf. vv. 3-4 and the following title גִּבּוֹר, *el gibor*). In Isa 11:2 (also a description of this king) עֲצָה (*'etsah*) is linked with גִּבּוֹרָה (*g'vurah*), the latter being typically used of military might, cf. BDB 150 s.v.). Note also עֲצָה וְגִבּוֹרָה לְמִלְחָמָה in Isa 36:5. פֶּלֶא (*pele'*) is typically used of God (cf. however Lam 1:9). Does this suggest the deity of the messianic ruler? The NT certainly teaches he is God, but did Isaiah necessarily have this in mind over 700 years before his birth? Since Isa 11:2 points out that this king will receive the spirit of the LORD, which will enable him to counsel, it is possible to argue that the king's counsel is "extraordinary" because it finds its source in the divine spirit. Thus this title does not necessarily suggest that the ruler is deity.

¹² **tn** גִּבּוֹר (*gibbor*) is probably an attributive adjective ("mighty God"), though one might translate "God is a warrior" or "God is mighty." Scholars have interpreted this title in two ways. A number of them have argued that the title portrays the king as God's representative on the battlefield, whom God empowers in a supernatural way (see J. H. Hayes and S. A. Irvine, *Isaiah*, 181-82). They contend that this sense seems more likely in the original context of the prophecy. They would suggest that having read the NT, we might in retrospect interpret this title as indicating the coming king's deity, but it is unlikely that Isaiah or his audience would have understood the title in such a bold way. Ps 45:6 addresses the Davidic king as "God" because he ruled and fought as God's representative on earth. Ancient Near Eastern art and literature picture gods training kings for battle, bestowing special weapons, and intervening in battle. According to Egyptian propaganda, the Hittites described Ramses II as follows: "No man is he who is among us, It is Seth great-of-strength, Baal in person; Not deeds of man are these his doings, They are of one who is unique" (See Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2:67). According to proponents of this view, Isa 9:6 probably envisions a similar kind of response when friends and foes alike look at the Davidic king in full battle regalia. When the king's enemies oppose him on the battlefield, they are, as it were, fighting against God himself. The other option is to regard this title as a reference to God, confronting Isaiah's readers with the divinity of this promised "child." The use of this same title that clearly refers to God in a later passage (Isa 10:21) supports this interpretation. Other passages depict

¹ **sn** The darkness symbolizes judgment and its effects (see 8:22); the light represents deliverance and its effects, brought about by the emergence of a conquering Davidic king (see vv. 3-6).

² **tn** Traditionally צֶלְמָוֶת (*tsalmavet*) has been interpreted as a compound noun, meaning "shadow of death" (so KJV, ASV, NIV), but usage indicates that the word, though it sometimes refers to death, means "darkness." The term should probably be repointed as an abstract noun צִלְמוֹת (*tsalmut*). See the note at Ps 23:4.

³ **sn** The LORD is addressed directly in vv. 3-4.

⁴ **tc** The Hebrew consonantal text reads "You multiply the nation, you do not make great the joy." The particle לֹא (*lo'*, "not") is obviously incorrect; the marginal reading has לוֹ (*lo*, "to him"). In this case, one should translate, "You multiply the nation, you increase his (i.e., their) joy." However, the parallelism is tighter if one emends לוֹ (*hagoy lo*, "the nation, to him") to הַגִּילָה (*haggilah*, "the joy," a noun attested in Isa 65:18), which corresponds to הַשִּׂמְחָה (*hasimkhah*, "the joy") later in the verse (H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:386). As attractive as this reading is, it has not textual evidence supporting it. The MT reading (accepting the marginal reading "to him" for the negative particle "not") affirms that Yahweh caused the nation to grow in population and increased their joy.

⁵ **tn** Heb "as they are happy." The word "warriors" is supplied in the translation to clarify the word picture. This last simile comes close to reality, for vv. 4-5 indicate that the people have won a great military victory over their oppressors.

⁶ **tn** Heb "for the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the scepter of the oppressor against him." The singular pronouns are collective, referring to the people. The oppressed nation is compared to an ox weighed down by a heavy yoke and an animal that is prodded and beaten.

⁷ **sn** This alludes to Gideon's victory over Midian (Judg 7-8), when the LORD delivered Israel from an oppressive foreign invader.

⁸ **tn** Heb "Indeed every boot marching with shaking." On the meaning of הִטָּון (*s'oton*, "boot") and the related denominative verb, both of which occur only here, see HALOT 738 s.v. הִטָּון.

Everlasting Father,¹
Prince of Peace.²

9:7 His dominion will be vast³
and he will bring immeasurable
prosperity.⁴

He will rule on David's throne
and over David's kingdom,⁵
establishing it⁶ and strengthening it
by promoting justice and fairness,⁷
from this time forward and forevermore.
The LORD's intense devotion to his
people⁸ will accomplish this.

Yahweh as the great God and great warrior (Deut 10:17; Jer 32:18). Although this connection of a child who is born with deity is unparalleled in any earlier biblical texts, Isaiah's use of this title to make this connection represents Isaiah's attempt (at God's behest) to advance Israel in their understanding of the ideal Davidic king for whom they long.

¹ **tn** This title must not be taken in an anachronistic Trinitarian sense. (To do so would be theologically problematic, for the "Son" is the messianic king and is distinct in his person from God the "Father.") Rather, in its original context the title pictures the king as the protector of his people. For a similar use of "father" see Isa 22:21 and Job 29:16. This figurative, idiomatic use of "father" is not limited to the Bible. In a Phoenician inscription (ca. 850-800 B.C.) the ruler Kilamuwa declares: "To some I was a father, to others I was a mother." In another inscription (ca. 800 B.C.) the ruler Azitawadda boasts that the god Baal made him "a father and a mother" to his people. (See ANET 499-500.) The use of "everlasting" might suggest the deity of the king (as the one who has total control over eternity), but Isaiah and his audience may have understood the term as royal hyperbole emphasizing the king's long reign or enduring dynasty (for examples of such hyperbolic language used of the Davidic king, see 1 Kgs 1:31; Pss 21:4-6; 61:6-7; 72:5, 17). The New Testament indicates that the hyperbolic language (as in the case of the title "Mighty God") is literally realized in the ultimate fulfillment of the prophecy, for Jesus will rule eternally.

² **tn** This title pictures the king as one who establishes a safe socio-economic environment for his people. It hardly depicts him as a meek individual, for he establishes peace through military strength (as the preceding context and the first two royal titles indicate). His people experience safety and prosperity because their invincible king destroys their enemies. See Pss 72 and 144 for parallels to these themes.

³ **tc** The Hebrew text has לִמְרֹכָה (*l'marbeh*), which is a corrupt reading. לִמְ is dittographic; note the preceding word, שָׁלוֹם (*shalom*). The corrected text reads literally, "great is the dominion."

⁴ **tn** Heb "and to peace there will be no end" (KJV and ASV both similar). On the political and socio-economic sense of שָׁלוֹם (*shalom*) in this context, see the note at v. 6 on "Prince of Peace."

⁵ **tn** Heb "over the throne of David, and over his kingdom." The referent of the pronoun "his" (i.e., David) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

⁶ **tn** The feminine singular pronominal suffix on this form and the following one (translated "it" both times) refers back to the grammatically feminine noun "kingdom."

⁷ **tn** Heb "with/by justice and fairness"; ASV "with justice and with righteousness."

⁸ **tn** Heb "the zeal of the LORD." In this context the LORD's "zeal" refers to his intense devotion to and love for his people which prompts him to vindicate them and to fulfill his promises to David and the nation.

God's Judgment Intensifies

9:8⁹ The sovereign master¹⁰ decreed judgment¹¹ on Jacob,
and it fell on Israel.¹²

9:9 All the people were aware¹³ of it,
the people of Ephraim and those living in
Samaria.¹⁴

Yet with pride and an arrogant attitude,
they said.¹⁵

9:10 "The bricks have fallen,
but we will rebuild with chiseled stone;
the sycamore fig trees have been cut
down,

but we will replace them with cedars."¹⁶

9:11 Then the LORD provoked¹⁷ their adversaries
to attack them,¹⁸

⁹ **sn** The following speech (9:8-10:4) assumes that God has already sent judgment (see v. 9), but it also announces that further judgment is around the corner (10:1-4). The speech seems to describe a series of past judgments on the northern kingdom which is ready to intensify further in the devastation announced in 10:1-4. It may have been written prior to the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom in 734-733 B.C., or sometime between that invasion and the downfall of Samaria in 722 B.C. The structure of the speech displays four panels, each of which ends with the refrain, "Through all this, his anger did not subside; his hand remained outstretched" (9:12b; 17b; 21b; 10:4b): Panel I: (A) Description of past judgment (9:8); (B) Description of the people's attitude toward past judgment (9:9-10); (C) Description of past judgment (9:11-12a); (D) Refrain (9:12b); Panel II: (A) Description of the people's attitude toward past judgment (9:13); (B) Description of past judgment (9:14-17a); (C) Refrain (9:17b); Panel III: (A) Description of past judgment (9:18-21a); (B) Refrain (9:21b); Panel IV: (A) Woe oracle announcing future judgment (10:1-4a); (B) Refrain (10:4b).

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text translated "sovereign master" here and in v. 17 is אֲדֹנָי (*adonay*).

¹¹ **tn** Heb "sent a word" (so KJV, ASV, NRSV); NASB "sends a message."

¹² **tn** The present translation assumes that this verse refers to judgment that had already fallen. Both verbs (perfects) are taken as indicating simple past; the vav (ו) on the second verb is understood as a simple vav conjunctive. Another option is to understand the verse as describing a future judgment (see 10:1-4). In this case the first verb is a perfect of certitude; the vav on the second verb is a vav consecutive.

¹³ **tn** The translation assumes that vv. 9-10 describe the people's response to a past judgment (v. 8). The perfect is understood as indicating simple past and the vav (ו) is taken as conjunctive. Another option is to take the vav on the perfect as consecutive and translate, "all the people will know."

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "and the people, all of them, knew; Ephraim and the residents of Samaria."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "with pride and arrogance of heart, saying."

¹⁶ **sn** Though judgment (see v. 8) had taken away the prosperity they did have (symbolized by the bricks and sycamore fig trees), they arrogantly expected the future to bring even greater prosperity (symbolized by the chiseled stone and cedars).

¹⁷ **tn** The translation assumes that the prefixed verb with vav (ו) consecutive continues the narrative of past judgment.

¹⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "adversaries of Rezin against him [i.e., them]." The next verse describes how the Syrians (over whom Rezin ruled, see 7:1, 8) and the Philistines encroached on Israel's territory. Since the Syrians and Israelites were allies by 735 B.C. (see 7:1), the hostilities described probably occurred earlier, while Israel was still pro-Assyrian. In this case one might understand the phrase צָרֵי רֶזֶן (*tsare rēsin*, "adversaries of Rezin") as meaning "adversaries sent from Rezin." However, another option, the one chosen in the translation above, is to emend the phrase to צָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*tsarayv*, "his [i.e., their] adversaries"). This creates tighter parallelism

he stirred up¹ their enemies –
9:12 Syria from the east,
 and the Philistines from the west,
 they gobbled up Israelite territory.²
 Despite all this, his anger does not sub-
 side,
 and his hand is ready to strike again.³
9:13 The people did not return to the one
 who struck them,
 they did not seek reconciliation⁴ with the
 LORD who commands armies.
9:14 So the LORD cut off Israel's head and
 tail,
 both the shoots and stalk⁵ in one day.
9:15 The leaders and the highly respected
 people⁶ are the head,
 the prophets who teach lies are the tail.
9:16 The leaders of this nation were mis-
 leading people,
 and the people being led were destroyed.⁷
9:17 So the sovereign master was not
 pleased⁸ with their young men,
 he took no pity⁹ on their orphans and
 widows;
 for the whole nation was godless¹⁰ and
 did wicked things,¹¹

with the next line (note "his [i.e., their] enemies"). The phrase in the Hebrew text may be explained as virtually dittographic.

1 tn The prefixed verbal form is understood as a preterite, used, as is often the case in poetry, without *vav* consecutive. Note that prefixed forms with *vav* consecutive both precede (וַיִּשְׁגֶּבֶת, *vaysaggev*, "and he provoked") and follow in v. 12 (וַיִּאָּכֵל, *vayyo'khlu*, "and they devoured") this verb.

2 tn Heb "and they devoured Israel with all the mouth"; NIV "with open mouth"; NLT "With bared fangs."

3 tn Heb "in all this his anger is not turned, and still his hand is outstretched." One could translate in the past tense here (and in 9:17b and 21b), but the appearance of the refrain in 10:4b, where it follows a woe oracle prophesying a future judgment, suggests it is a dramatic portrait of the judge which did not change throughout this period of past judgment and will remain unchanged in the future. The English present tense is chosen to best reflect this dramatic mood. (See also 5:25b, where the refrain appears following a dramatic description of coming judgment.)

4 tn This verse describes the people's response to the judgment described in vv. 11-12. The perfects are understood as indicating simple past.

5 sn The metaphor in this line is that of a reed being cut down.

6 tn Heb "the elder and the one lifted up with respect to the face." For another example of the Hebrew idiom, see 2 Kgs 5:1.

7 tn Heb "and the ones being led were swallowed up." Instead of taking מְבֻלָּאִים (*m^bulla'im*) from בָּלַע (*balā*, "to swallow"), HALOT 134 s.v. בָּלַע proposes a rare homonymic root בִּלַּע ("confuse") here.

8 tn The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has לֹא יִהְיוּל ("he did not spare") which is an obvious attempt to tighten the parallelism (note "he took no pity" in the next line). Instead of taking שָׂמַח (*samakh*) in one of its well attested senses ("rejoice over, be pleased with"), some propose, with support from Arabic, a rare homonymic root meaning "be merciful."

9 tn The translation understands the prefixed verbs יִשְׁמַח (*yismakh*) and יִרְחֵם (*y^rakhem*) as preterites without *vav* (ו) consecutive. (See v. 11 and the note on "he stirred up.")

10 tn Or "defiled"; cf. ASV "profane"; NAB "profaned"; NIV "ungodly."

11 tn מֵרָע (*mera'*) is a Hiphil participle from רָעַע (*ra'a'*, "be evil"). The intransitive Hiphil has an exhibitive force here, indicating that they exhibited outwardly the evidence of an inward

condition by committing evil deeds.
 every mouth was speaking disgraceful words.¹²

Despite all this, his anger does not subside, and his hand is ready to strike again.¹³

9:18 For¹⁴ evil burned like a fire,¹⁵ it consumed thorns and briers; it burned up the thickets of the forest, and they went up in smoke.¹⁶

9:19 Because of the anger of the LORD who commands armies, the land was scorched,¹⁷

and the people became fuel for the fire.¹⁸ People had no compassion on one another.¹⁹

9:20 They devoured²⁰ on the right, but were still hungry, they ate on the left, but were not satisfied. People even ate²¹ the flesh of their own arm!²²

9:21 Manasseh fought against²³ Ephraim, and Ephraim against Manasseh; together they fought against Judah. Despite all this, his anger does not subside,

condition by committing evil deeds.

12 tn Or "foolishness" (NASB), here in a moral-ethical sense.

13 tn Heb "in all this his anger is not turned, and still his hand is outstretched."

sn See the note at 9:12.

14 tn Or "Indeed" (cf. NIV "Surely"). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

15 sn Evil was uncontrollable and destructive, and so can be compared to a forest fire.

16 tn Heb "and they swirled [with] the rising of the smoke" (cf. NRSV).

17 tn The precise meaning of the verb שָׂרַח (*'^sam*), which occurs only here, is uncertain, though the context strongly suggests that it means "burn, scorch."

18 sn The uncontrollable fire of the people's wickedness (v. 18) is intensified by the fire of the LORD's judgment (v. 19). God allows (or causes) their wickedness to become self-destructive as civil strife and civil war break out in the land.

19 tn Heb "men were not showing compassion to their brothers." The idiom "men to their brothers" is idiomatic for reciprocity. The prefixed verbal form is either a preterite without *vav* (ו) consecutive or an imperfect used in a customary sense, describing continual or repeated behavior in past time.

20 tn Or "cut." The verb חָצַק (*gazar*) means "to cut." If it is understood here, then one might paraphrase, "They slice off meat on the right." However, HALOT 187 s.v. חָצַק, proposes here a rare homonym meaning "to devour."

21 tn The prefixed verbal form is either a preterite without *vav* consecutive or an imperfect used in a customary sense, describing continual or repeated behavior in past time.

22 tn Some suggest that זָרַע (*z^ro'a*, "his arm") be reappointed זָרַע (*zar'o*, "his offspring"). In either case, the metaphor is that of a desperately hungry man who resorts to an almost unthinkable act to satisfy his appetite. He eats everything he can find to his right, but still being unsatisfied, then turns to his left and eats everything he can find there. Still being desperate for food, he then resorts to eating his own flesh (or offspring, as this phrase is metaphorically understood by some English versions, e.g., NIV, NCV, TEV, NLT). The reality behind the metaphor is the political turmoil of the period, as the next verse explains. There was civil strife within the northern kingdom; even the descendants of Joseph were at each other's throats. Then the northern kingdom turned on their southern brothers, Judah.

23 tn The words "fought against" are supplied in the translation both here and later in this verse for stylistic reasons.

and his hand is ready to strike again.¹

10:1 Those who enact unjust policies are as good as dead,² those who are always instituting unfair regulations,³

10:2 to keep the poor from getting fair treatment, and to deprive⁴ the oppressed among my people of justice, so they can steal what widows own, and loot what belongs to orphans.⁵

10:3 What will you do on judgment day,⁶ when destruction arrives from a distant place?
To whom will you run for help?
Where will you leave your wealth?
10:4 You will have no place to go, except to kneel with the prisoners, or to fall among those who have been killed.⁷

Despite all this, his anger does not subside, and his hand is ready to strike again.⁸

The Lord Turns on Arrogant Assyria

10:5 Assyria, the club I use to vent my anger, is as good as dead,⁹ a cudgel with which I angrily punish.¹⁰
10:6 I sent him¹¹ against a godless¹² nation, I ordered him to attack the people with whom I was angry,¹³ to take plunder and to carry away loot,

to trample them down¹⁴ like dirt in the streets.

10:7 But he does not agree with this, his mind does not reason this way,¹⁵ for his goal is to destroy, and to eliminate many nations.¹⁶

10:8 Indeed,¹⁷ he says:
“Are not my officials all kings?”

10:9 Is not Calneh like Carchemish? Hamath like Arpad? Samaria like Damascus?¹⁸

10:10 I overpowered kingdoms ruled by idols,¹⁹ whose carved images were more impressive than Jerusalem’s²⁰ or Samaria’s.

10:11 As I have done to Samaria and its idols, so I will do to Jerusalem and its idols.”²¹

10:12 But when²² the sovereign master²³ finishes judging²⁴ Mount Zion and Jerusalem, then I²⁵ will punish the king of Assyria for what he has proudly planned and for the arrogant attitude he displays.²⁶ **10:13** For he says:

“By my strong hand I have accomplished this,
by my strategy that I devised.
I invaded the territory of nations,²⁷ and looted their storehouses.

¹ **tn** Heb “in all this his anger is not turned, and still his hand is outstretched” (KJV and ASV both similar); NIV “his hand is still upraised.”

sn See the note at 9:12.

² **tn** Heb “Woe [to] those who decree evil decrees.” On ווי (hoy, “woe, ah”) see the note on the first phrase of 1:4.

³ **tn** Heb “[to] the writers who write out harm.” The participle and verb are in the Piel, suggesting repetitive action.

⁴ **tn** Or “rob” (ASV, NASB, NCV, NRSV); KJV “take away the right from the poor.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “so that widows are their plunder, and they can loot orphans.”

sn On the socio-economic background of vv. 1-2, see the note at 1:23.

⁶ **tn** Heb “the day of visitation” (so KJV, ASV), that is, the day when God arrives to execute justice on the oppressors.

⁷ **tn** Heb “except one kneels in the place of the prisoner, and in the place of the slain [who] fall.” On the force of בָּלִיתִי (biliti, “except”) and its logical connection to what precedes, see BDB 116 s.v. בָּלִיתִי. On the force of תַּחַת (takhat, “in the place of”) here, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:258, n. 6.

⁸ **tn** Heb “in all this his anger was not turned, and still his hand was outstretched”; KJV, ASV, NRSV “his had is stretched out still.”

sn See the note at 9:12.

⁹ **tn** Heb “Woe [to] Assyria, the club of my anger.” On ווי (hoy, “woe, ah”) see the note on the first phrase of 1:4.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “a cudgel is he, in their hand is my anger.” It seems likely that the final *mem* (ם) on בָּיָדָם (b’yadam) is not a pronominal suffix (“in their hand”), but an enclitic *mem*. If so, one can translate literally, “a cudgel is he in the hand of my anger.”

¹¹ **sn** Throughout this section singular forms are used to refer to Assyria; perhaps the king of Assyria is in view (see v. 12).

¹² **tn** Or “defiled”; cf. ASV “profane”; NAB “impious”; NCV “separated from God.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and against the people of my anger I ordered him.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “to make it [i.e., the people] a trampled place.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “but he, not so does he intend, and his heart, not so does it think.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “for to destroy [is] in his heart, and to cut off nations, not a few.”

¹⁷ **tn** Or “For” (KJV, ASV, NASB, NRSV).

¹⁸ **sn** *Calneh ... Carchemish ... Hamath ... Arpad ... Samaria ... Damascus.* The city states listed here were conquered by the Assyrians between 740-717 B.C. The point of the rhetorical questions is that no one can stand before Assyria’s might. On the geographical, rather than chronological arrangement of the cities, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:264, n. 4.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “Just as my hand found the kingdoms of the idol[s].” The comparison is expanded in v. 11a (note “as”) and completed in v. 11b (note “so”).

²⁰ **map** For the location of Jerusalem see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

²¹ **tn** The statement is constructed as a rhetorical question in the Hebrew text: “Is it not [true that] just as I have done to Samaria and its idols, so I will do to Jerusalem and its idols?”

sn This statement indicates that the prophecy dates sometime between 722-701 B.C.

²² **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

²³ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here and in vv. 16, 23, 24, 33 is אֲדֹנָי (’adonay).

²⁴ **tn** Heb “his work on/against.” Cf. NAB, NASB, NRSV “on”; NIV “against.”

²⁵ **tn** The LORD is speaking here, as in vv. 5-6a.

²⁶ **tn** Heb “I will visit [judgment] on the fruit of the greatness of the heart of the king of Assyria, and on the glory of the height of his eyes.” The proud Assyrian king is likened to a large, beautiful fruit tree.

²⁷ **tn** Heb “removed the borders of nations”; cf. NAB, NIV, NRSV “boundaries.”

Like a mighty conqueror,¹ I brought down rulers.²

10:14 My hand discovered the wealth of the nations, as if it were in a nest, as one gathers up abandoned eggs, I gathered up the whole earth. There was no wing flapping, or open mouth chirping.³

10:15 Does an ax exalt itself over the one who wields it, or a saw magnify itself over the one who cuts with it?⁴ As if a scepter should brandish the one who raises it, or a staff should lift up what is not made of wood!

10:16 For this reason⁵ the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, will make his healthy ones emaciated.⁶ His majestic glory will go up in smoke.⁷

10:17 The Light of Israel⁸ will become a fire, their Holy One⁹ will become a flame; it will burn and consume the Assyrian king's¹⁰ briars and his thorns in one day.

10:18 The splendor of his forest and his orchard will be completely destroyed,¹¹ as when a sick man's life ebbs away.¹²

10:19 There will be so few trees left in his forest, a child will be able to count them.¹³

10:20 At that time¹⁴ those left in Israel, those who remain of the family¹⁵ of Jacob, will no longer rely on a foreign leader that abuses them.¹⁶ Instead they will truly¹⁷ rely on the LORD, the Holy One of Israel.¹⁸ **10:21** A remnant will come back, a remnant of Jacob, to the mighty God.¹⁹ **10:22** For though your people, Israel, are as numerous as²⁰ the sand on the seashore, only a remnant will come back.²¹ Destruction has been decreed;²² just punishment²³ is about to engulf you.²⁴ **10:23** The sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, is certainly ready to carry out the decreed destruction throughout the land.²⁵

melting, may here mean "waste away" or "despair." נָסָה (*na-sas*), which appears only here, may mean "be sick" or "stagger, despair." See BDB 651 s.v. I נָסָה and HALOT 703 s.v. I נָסָה. One might translate the line literally, "like the wasting away of one who is sick" (cf. NRSV "as when an invalid wastes away").

13 tn Heb "and the rest of the trees of his forest will be counted, and a child will record them."

14 tn Or "in that day." The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

15 tn Heb "house" (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

16 tn Heb "on one who strikes him down." This individual is the king ("foreign leader") of the oppressing nation (which NLT specifies as "the Assyrians").

17 tn Or "sincerely"; KJV, ASV, NAB, NRSV "in truth."

18 sn See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

19 tn The referent of אֵל גִּבּוֹר (*el gibbor*, "mighty God") is uncertain. The title appears only here and in 9:6, where it is one of the royal titles of the coming ideal Davidic king. (Similar titles appear in Deut 10:17 and Neh 9:32 ["the great, mighty, and awesome God"] and in Jer 32:18 ["the great and mighty God"]. Both titles refer to God.) Though Hos 3:5 pictures Israel someday seeking "David their king," and provides some support for a messianic interpretation of Isa 10:21, the Davidic king is not mentioned in the immediate context of Isa 10:21 (see Isa 11, however). The preceding verse mentions Israel relying on the LORD, so it is likely that the title refers to God here.

20 tn Heb "are like."

21 sn The twofold appearance of the statement "a remnant will come back" (שְׂאֵר יִשְׁבּוּ, *she'ar yashuv*) in vv. 21-22 echoes and probably plays off the name of Isaiah's son Shear-jashub (see 7:3). In its original context the name was meant to encourage Ahaz (see the note at 7:3), but here it has taken on new dimensions. In light of Ahaz's failure and the judgment it brings down on the land, the name Shear-jashub now foreshadows the destiny of the nation. According to vv. 21-22, there is good news and bad news. The good news is that a remnant of God's people will return; the bad news is that only a remnant will be preserved and come back. Like the name Immanuel, this name foreshadows both judgment (see the notes at 7:25 and 8:8) and ultimate restoration (see the note at 8:10).

22 tn Or "predetermined"; cf. ASV, NASB "is determined"; TEV "is in store."

23 tn Heb צְדִיקָה (*ts'daqaq*) often means "righteousness," but here it refers to God's just judgment.

24 tn Or "is about to overflow."

25 tn Heb "Indeed (or perhaps "for") destruction and what is decreed the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, is about to accomplish in the middle of all the land." The phrase כְּלָא וְנִקְרְחָה (*khala' venekheratsah*, "destruction and what is decreed") is a hendiadys; the two terms express

1 tc The consonantal text (*Kethib*) has כְּאִבִּיר (*kē'abir*, "like a strong one"); the marginal reading (*Qere*) is כְּבִיר (*kavir*, "mighty one").

2 tn Heb "and I brought down, like a strong one, ones sitting [or "living"]." The participle יוֹשְׁבִים (*yosh'vim*, "ones sitting") could refer to the inhabitants of the nations, but the translation assumes that it refers to those who sit on thrones, i.e., rulers. See BDB 442 s.v. יָשַׁב and HALOT 444 s.v. יָשַׁב.

3 sn The Assyrians' conquests were relatively unopposed, like robbing a bird's nest of its eggs when the mother bird is absent.

4 tn Heb "the one who pushes it back and forth"; KJV "him that shaketh it"; ASV "him that wieldeth it."

5 sn The irrational arrogance of the Assyrians (v. 15) will prompt the judgment about to be described.

6 tn Heb "will send leanness against his healthy ones"; NASB, NIV "will send a wasting disease."

7 tc Heb "and in the place of his glory burning will burn, like the burning of fire." The highly repetitive text (יָקַדְ יִקְדְּ בִקְדֹת אֵשׁ, *yeqad yiqod kiqod 'esh*) may be dittographic; if the second consonantal sequence יִקְדְּ is omitted, the text would read "and in the place of his glory, it will burn like the burning of fire."

8 tn In this context the "Light of Israel" is a divine title (note the parallel title "Holy One"). The title points to God's royal splendor, which overshadows and, when transformed into fire, destroys the "majestic glory" of the king of Assyria (v. 16b).

9 sn See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

10 tn Heb "his." In vv. 17-19 the Assyrian king and his empire is compared to a great forest and orchard that are destroyed by fire (symbolic of the LORD).

11 tn Heb "from breath to flesh it will destroy." The expression "from breath to flesh" refers to the two basic components of a person, the immaterial (life's breath) and the material (flesh). Here the phrase is used idiomatically to indicate totality.

12 tn The precise meaning of this line is uncertain. מָסָה (*masas*), which is used elsewhere of substances dissolving or

10:24 So¹ here is what the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, says: “My people who live in Zion, do not be afraid of Assyria, even though they beat you with a club and lift their cudgel against you as Egypt did.² **10:25** For very soon my fury³ will subside, and my anger will be directed toward their destruction.” **10:26** The LORD who commands armies is about to beat them⁴ with a whip, similar to the way he struck down Midian at the rock of Oreb.⁵ He will use his staff against the sea, lifting it up as he did in Egypt.⁶

10:27 At that time⁷ the LORD will remove their burden from your shoulders,⁸ and their yoke from your neck; the yoke will be taken off because your neck will be too large.⁹

one idea, with the second qualifying the first.

¹ **tn** Heb “therefore.” The message that follows is one of encouragement, for it focuses on the eventual destruction of the Assyrians. Consequently “therefore” relates back to vv. 5-21, not to vv. 22-23, which must be viewed as a brief parenthesis in an otherwise positive speech.

² **tn** Heb “in the way [or “manner”] of Egypt.”

³ **tc** The Hebrew text has simply “fury,” but the pronominal element can be assumed on the basis of what immediately follows (see “my anger” in the clause). It is possible that the suffixed *yod* (י) has been accidentally dropped by virtual haplography. Note that a *vav* (ו) is prefixed to the form that immediately follows; *yod* and *vav* are very similar in later script phases.

⁴ **tn** Heb “him” (so KJV, ASV, NASB); the singular refers to the leader or king who stands for the entire nation. This is specified by NCV, CEV as “the Assyrians.”

⁵ **sn** According to Judg 7:25, the Ephraimites executed the Midianite general Oreb at a rock which was subsequently named after the executed enemy.

⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “and his staff [will be] against the sea, and he will lift it in the way [or “manner”] of Egypt.” If the text is retained, “the sea” symbolizes Assyria’s hostility, the metaphor being introduced because of the reference to Egypt. The translation above assumes an emendation of עַל הַיָּם (*al hayyam*, “against the sea”) to עַל הַיָּם (*alehem*, “against them”). The proposed shift from the third singular pronoun (note “beat him” earlier in the verse) to the plural is not problematic, for the singular is collective. Note that a third plural pronoun is used at the end of v. 25 (“their destruction”). The final phrase, “in the way/manner of Egypt,” probably refers to the way in which God used the staff of Moses to bring judgment down on Egypt.

⁷ **tn** Or “in that day” (KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

⁸ **tn** Heb “he [i.e., the LORD] will remove his [i.e., Assyria’s] burden from upon your shoulder.”

⁹ **tc** The meaning of this line is uncertain. The Hebrew text reads literally, “and the yoke will be destroyed (or perhaps, “pulled down”) because of fatness.” Perhaps this is a bizarre picture of an ox growing so fat that it breaks the yoke around its neck or can no longer fit into its yoke. Fatness would symbolize the LORD’s restored blessings; the removal of the yoke would symbolize the cessation of Assyrian oppression. Because of the difficulty of the metaphor, many prefer to emend the text at this point. Some emend חֲבַל (*ḥabhal*, “and it will be destroyed,” a perfect with prefixed *vav*), to יִחָבֵל (*yikḥbol*, “[it] will be destroyed,” an imperfect), and take the verb with what precedes, “and their yoke will be destroyed from your neck.” Proponents of this view (cf. NAB, NRSV) then emend עַל (*ol*, “yoke”) to עָלָה (*alah*, “he came up”) and understand this verb as introducing the following description of the Assyrian invasion (vv. 28-32). מִפְּנֵי שָׁמֶן (*mippene-shamen*, “because

10:28¹⁰ They¹¹ attacked¹² Aiath, moved through Migron, depositing their supplies at Micmath.

10:29 They went through the pass, spent the night at Geba.

Ramah trembled, Gibeah of Saul ran away.

10:30 Shout out, daughter of Gallim! Pay attention, Laishah!

Answer her, Anathoth!¹³

10:31 Madmenah flees, the residents of Gebim have hidden.

10:32 This very day, standing in Nob, they shake their fist at Daughter Zion’s mountain¹⁴ – at the hill of Jerusalem.

10:33 Look, the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies,

of fatness”) is then emended to read “from before Rimmon” (NAB, NRSV), “from before Samaria,” or “from before Jeshimon.” Although this line may present difficulties, it appears best to regard the line as a graphic depiction of God’s abundant blessings on his servant nation.

¹⁰ **sn** Verses 28-31 display a staccato style; the statements are short and disconnected (no conjunctions appear in the Hebrew text). The translation to follow strives for a choppy style that reflects the mood of the speech.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “he,” that is, the Assyrians (as the preceding context suggests). Cf. NCV “The army of Assyria.”

sn Verses 28-32 describe an invasion of Judah from the north. There is no scholarly consensus on when this particular invasion took place, if at all. J. H. Hayes and S. A. Irvine (*Isaiah*, 209-10) suggest the text describes the Israelite-Syrian invasion of Judah (ca. 735 B.C.), but this proposal disregards the preceding context, which prophesies the destruction of Assyria. Some suggest that this invasion occurred in conjunction with Sargon’s western campaign of 713-711 B.C., but there is no historical evidence of such an invasion at that time. Many others identify the invasion as Sennacherib’s in 701 B.C., but historical records indicate Sennacherib approached Jerusalem from the southwest. J. N. Oswalt (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:274-75) prefers to see the description as rhetorical and as not corresponding to any particular historical event, but Hayes and Irvine argue that the precise geographical details militate against such a proposal. Perhaps it is best to label the account as rhetorical-prophetic. The prophecy of the invasion was not necessarily intended to be a literal itinerary of the Assyrians’ movements; rather its primary purpose was to create a foreboding mood. Geographical references contribute to this purpose, but they merely reflect how one would expect an Assyrian invasion to proceed, not necessarily how the actual invasion would progress. Despite its rhetorical nature, the prophecy does point to the invasion of 701 B.C., as the announcement of the invaders’ downfall in vv. 33-34 makes clear; it was essentially fulfilled at that time. For further discussion of the problem, see R. E. Clements, *Isaiah* (NCBC), 117-19. On the geographical details of the account, see Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 393.

¹² **tn** Heb “came against,” or “came to.”

¹³ **tc** The Hebrew text reads “Poor [is] Anathoth.” The parallelism is tighter if עָנִיָּה (*aniyyah*, “poor”) is emended to אָנִיָּה (*aniha*, “answer her”). Note how the preceding two lines have an imperative followed by a proper name.

¹⁴ **tc** The consonantal text (*Kethib*) has “a mountain of a house (בֵּית, *ber*), Zion,” but the marginal reading (*Qere*) correctly reads “the mountain of the daughter (בַּת, *bat*) of Zion.” On the phrase “Daughter Zion,” see the note on the same phrase in 1:8.

is ready to cut off the branches with terrifying power.¹
 The tallest trees² will be cut down,
 the loftiest ones will be brought low.
10:34 The thickets of the forest will be
 chopped down with an ax,
 and mighty Lebanon will fall.³

An Ideal King Establishes a Kingdom of Peace

11:1 A shoot will grow out of Jesse's⁴ root
 stock,
 a bud will sprout⁵ from his roots.
11:2 The LORD's spirit will rest on him⁶ –
 a spirit that gives extraordinary wisdom,⁷
 a spirit that provides the ability to execute
 plans,⁸
 a spirit that produces absolute loyalty to
 the LORD.⁹
11:3 He will take delight in obeying the
 LORD.¹⁰

¹ **tc** The Hebrew text reads "with terrifying power," or "with a crash." מַעֲרָסָה (*ma'aratsah*, "terrifying power" or "crash") occurs only here. Several have suggested an emendation to מַעֲרָד (*ma'atsad*, "ax") parallel to "ax" in v. 34; see HALOT 615 s.v. מַעֲרָד and H. Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:448.

sn As in vv. 12 (see the note there) and 18, the Assyrians are compared to a tree/forest in vv. 33-34.

² **tn** *Heb* "the exalted of the height." This could refer to the highest branches (cf. TEV) or the tallest trees (cf. NIV, NRSV).

³ **tn** The Hebrew text has, "and Lebanon, by/as [?] a mighty one, will fall." The translation above takes the preposition בְּ (*bet*) prefixed to "mighty one" as indicating identity, "Lebanon, as a mighty one, will fall." In this case "mighty one" describes Lebanon. (In Ezek 17:23 and Zech 11:2 the adjective is used of Lebanon's cedars.) Another option is to take the preposition as indicating agency and interpret "mighty one" as a divine title (see Isa 33:21). One could then translate, "and Lebanon will fall by [the agency of] the Mighty One."

⁴ **sn** The text mentions David's father Jesse, instead of the great king himself. Perhaps this is done for rhetorical reasons to suggest that a new David, not just another disappointing Davidic descendant, will arise. Other prophets call the coming ideal Davidic king "David" or picture him as the second coming of David, as it were. See Jer 30:9; Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24-25; Hos 3:5; and Mic 5:2 (as well as the note there).

⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text has יִצְרֶה (*yifreh*, "will bear fruit," from צָרָה, *parah*), but the ancient versions, as well as the parallelism suggest that יִצְרָה (*yifrah*, "will sprout," from צָרָה, *parakh*) is the better reading here. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:276, n. 2.

⁶ **sn** Like David (1 Sam 16:13), this king will be energized by the LORD's spirit.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "a spirit of wisdom and understanding." The synonyms are joined here to emphasize the degree of wisdom he will possess. His wisdom will enable him to make just legal decisions (v. 3). A very similar phrase occurs in Eph 1:17.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "a spirit of counsel [or "strategy"] and strength." The construction is a hendiadys; the point is that he will have the strength/ability to execute the plans/strategies he devises. This ability will enable him to suppress oppressors and implement just policies (v. 4).

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "a spirit of knowledge and fear of the LORD." "Knowledge" is used here in its covenantal sense and refers to a recognition of God's authority and a willingness to submit to it. See Jer 22:16. "Fear" here refers to a healthy respect for God's authority which produces obedience. Taken together the two terms emphasize the single quality of loyalty to the LORD. This loyalty guarantees that he will make just legal decisions and implement just policies (vv. 4-5).

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "and his smelling is in the fear of the LORD." In Amos 5:21 the Hiphil of רָחַח (*ruakh*, "smell") carries the nuance of "smell with delight, get plea-

He will not judge by mere appearances,¹¹
 or make decisions on the basis of hear-
 say.¹²

11:4 He will treat the poor fairly,¹³
 and make right decisions¹⁴ for the down-
 trodden of the earth.¹⁵

He will strike the earth with the rod of his
 mouth,¹⁶
 and order the wicked to be executed.¹⁷

11:5 Justice will be like a belt around his
 waist,
 integrity will be like a belt around his
 hips.¹⁸

sure from." There the LORD declares that he does not "smell with delight" (i.e., get pleasure from) Israel's religious assemblies, which probably stand by metonymy for the incense offered during these festivals. In Isa 11:3 there is no sacrificial context to suggest such a use, but it is possible that "the fear of the LORD" is likened to incense. This coming king will get the same kind of delight from obeying (fearing) the LORD, as a deity does in the incense offered by worshipers. Some regard such an explanation as strained in this context, and prefer to omit this line from the text as a virtual dittograph of the preceding statement.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "by what appears to his eyes"; KJV "after the sight of his eyes"; NIV "by what he sees with his eyes."

¹² **tn** *Heb* "by what is heard by his ears"; NRSV "by what his ears hear."

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "with justice" (so NAB) or "with righteousness" (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* "make decisions with rectitude"; cf. ASV, NRSV "and decide with equity."

¹⁵ **tn** Or "land" (NAB, NCV, CEV). It is uncertain if the passage is picturing universal dominion or focusing on the king's rule over his covenant people. The reference to God's "holy mountain" in v. 9 and the description of renewed Israelite conquests in v. 14 suggest the latter, though v. 10 seems to refer to a universal kingdom (see 2:2-4).

¹⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "and he will strike the earth with the scepter of his mouth." Some have suggested that in this context אֶרֶץ (*eret*, "earth") as an object of judgment seems too broad in scope. The parallelism is tighter if one emends the word to אֵרִיס (*arits*, "potentate, tyrant"). The phrase "scepter of his mouth" refers to the royal (note "scepter") decrees that he proclaims with his mouth. Because these decrees will have authority and power (see v. 2) behind them, they can be described as "striking" the tyrants down. Nevertheless, the MT reading may not need emending. Isaiah refers to the entire "earth" as the object of God's judgment in several places without specifying the wicked as the object of the judgment (Isa 24:17-21; 26:9, 21; 28:22; cf. 13:11).

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "and by the breath of his lips he will kill the wicked." The "breath of his lips" refers to his speech, specifically in this context his official decrees that the wicked oppressors be eliminated from his realm. See the preceding note.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "Justice will be the belt [or "undergarment"] on his waist, integrity the belt [or "undergarment"] on his hips." The point of the metaphor is uncertain. If a belt worn outside the robe is in view, then the point might be that justice/integrity will be readily visible or that these qualities will give support to his rule. If an undergarment is in view, then the idea might be that these characteristics support his rule or that they are basic to everything else.

11:6 A wolf will reside¹ with a lamb, and a leopard will lie down with a young goat; an ox and a young lion will graze together,²

as a small child leads them along.

11:7 A cow and a bear will graze together, their young will lie down together.³

A lion, like an ox, will eat straw.

11:8 A baby⁴ will play over the hole of a snake;⁵

over the nest⁶ of a serpent

an infant⁷ will put his hand.⁸

11:9 They will no longer injure or destroy on my entire royal mountain.⁹

For there will be universal submission to the LORD's sovereignty, just as the waters completely cover the sea.¹⁰

Israel is Reclaimed and Reunited

11:10 At that time¹¹ a root from Jesse¹² will stand like a signal flag for the nations. Nations

will look to him for guidance,¹³ and his residence will be majestic. **11:11** At that time¹⁴ the sovereign master¹⁵ will again lift his hand¹⁶ to reclaim¹⁷ the remnant of his people¹⁸ from Assyria, Egypt, Pathros,¹⁹ Cush,²⁰ Elam, Shinar,²¹ Hamath, and the seacoasts.²²

11:12 He will lift a signal flag for the nations;

he will gather Israel's dispersed people²³ and assemble Judah's scattered people from the four corners of the earth.

11:13 Ephraim's jealousy²⁴ will end, and Judah's hostility²⁵ will be eliminated. Ephraim will no longer be jealous of

Judah, and Judah will no longer be hostile toward Ephraim.

11:14 They will swoop down²⁶ on the Philistine hills to the west;²⁷ together they will loot the people of the east.

They will take over Edom and Moab,²⁸ and the Ammonites will be their subjects.

¹ **tn** The verb גור (*gur*) normally refers to living as a dependent, resident foreigner in another society.

² **tc** The Hebrew text reads, "and an ox, and a young lion, and a fatling together." Since the preceding lines refer to two animals and include a verb, many emend וּמִרִי (*um'ri*, "and the fatling") to an otherwise unattested verb יִמְרִי (*yim'ru*, "they will graze"); cf. NAB, TEV, CEV. One of the Qumran copies of Isaiah confirms this suggestion (1QIsa^a). The present translation assumes this change.

³ **tn** Heb "and a cow and a bear will graze – together – they will lie down, their young." This is a case of pivot pattern; יַחְדָּו (*yakhddav*, "together") goes with both the preceding and following statements.

⁴ **tn** Heb "one sucking," i.e., still being nursed by his mother.

⁵ **tn** Or perhaps, "cobra" (cf. NAB, NASB, NIV, NCV); KJV, ASV, NRSV "asp."

⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text has the otherwise unattested מְעֻרָא (*m'e'urat*, "place of light"), i.e., opening of a hole. Some prefer to emend to מְעֻרָה (*m'e'urat*, "cave, den").

⁷ **tn** Heb "one who is weaned" (cf. KJV, ASV, NASB, NRSV).

⁸ **sn** The transformation of the animal kingdom depicted here typifies what will occur in human society under the just rule of the ideal king (see vv. 3-5). The categories "predator-prey" (i.e., oppressor-oppressed) will no longer exist.

⁹ **tn** Heb "in all my holy mountain." In the most basic sense the LORD's "holy mountain" is the mountain from which he rules over his kingdom (see Ezek 28:14, 16). More specifically it probably refers to Mount Zion/Jerusalem or to the entire land of Israel (see Pss 2:6; 15:1; 43:3; Isa 56:7; 57:13; Ezek 20:40; Ob 16; Zeph 3:11). If the LORD's universal kingdom is in view in this context (see the note on "earth" at v. 4), then the phrase would probably be metonymic here, standing for God's worldwide dominion (see the next line).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "for the earth will be full of knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea." The translation assumes that a universal kingdom is depicted here, but אֶרֶץ (*'eret*s) could be translated "land" (see the note at v. 4). "Knowledge of the LORD" refers here to a recognition of the LORD's sovereignty which results in a willingness to submit to his authority. See the note at v. 2.

¹¹ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

¹² **sn** See the note at v. 1.

¹³ **tn** Heb "a root from Jesse, which stands for a signal flag of the nations, of him nations will inquire" [or "seek"].

¹⁴ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here is אֲדֹנָי (*adonai*).

¹⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads, "the sovereign master will again, a second time, his hand." The auxiliary verb יוֹסִיף (*yosif*), which literally means "add," needs a main verb to complete it. Consequently many emend שְׁנִית (*shenit*, "a second time") to an infinitive. Some propose the form שְׁנֹת (*shannot*, a Piel infinitive construct from שָׁנָה, *shannah*) and relate it semantically to an Arabic cognate meaning "to be high." If the Hebrew text is retained a verb must be supplied. "Second time" would allude back to the events of the Exodus (see vv. 15-16).

¹⁷ **tn** Or "acquire"; KJV, ASV, NASB, NRSV "recover."

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "the remnant of his people who remain."

¹⁹ **sn** Perhaps a reference to Upper (i.e., southern) Egypt (so NIV, NLT; NCV "South Egypt").

²⁰ **tn** Or "Ethiopia" (NAB, NRSV, NLT).

²¹ **tn** Or "Babylonia" (NIV, NCV, TEV, NLT).

²² **tn** Or perhaps, "the islands of the sea."

²³ **tn** Or "the banished of Israel," i.e., the exiles.

²⁴ **tn** Heb "turn aside"; KJV, NASB, NRSV "depart."

²⁵ **tn** Heb "hostile ones of Judah." Elsewhere when the substantival participle of צָרָה (*tsarar*) takes a pronominal suffix or appears in a construct relationship, the following genitive is objective. (For a list of texts see BDB 865 s.v. III צָרָה) In this case the phrase "hostile ones of Judah" means "those who are hostile toward Judah," i.e., Judah's enemies. However, the parallel couplet that follows suggests that Judah's hostility toward Ephraim is in view. In this case "hostile ones of Judah" means "hostile ones from Judah." The translation above assumes the latter, giving the immediate context priority over general usage.

²⁶ **tn** Heb "fly." Ephraim/Judah are compared to a bird of prey.

²⁷ **tn** Heb "on the shoulder of Philistia toward the sea." This refers to the slopes of the hill country west of Judah. See HALOT 506 s.v. בֶּרֶךְ.

²⁸ **tn** Heb "Edom and Moab [will be the place of] the outstretching of their hand," i.e., included in their area of jurisdiction (see HALOT 648 s.v. מִשְׁתַּלְחֵם).

11:15 The LORD will divide¹ the gulf² of the Egyptian Sea;³ he will wave his hand over the Euphrates River⁴ and send a strong wind,⁵ he will turn it into seven dried-up streams,⁶ and enable them to walk across in their sandals.
11:16 There will be a highway leading out of Assyria for the remnant of his people,⁷ just as there was for Israel, when⁸ they went up from the land of Egypt.
12:1 At that time⁹ you will say: "I praise you, O LORD, for even though you were angry with me, your anger subsided, and you consoled me."
12:2 Look, God is my deliverer!¹⁰ I will trust in him¹¹ and not fear. For the LORD gives me strength and protects me,¹² he has become my deliverer."¹³
12:3 Joyfully you will draw water from the springs of deliverance.¹⁴

¹ **tn** The verb is usually understood as "put under the ban, destroy," or emended to *חָרַב* (*kharav*, "dry up"). However, HALOT 354 s.v. חָרַב proposes a homonymic root meaning "divide."

² **tn** Heb "tongue" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV).

³ **sn** That is, the Red Sea.

⁴ **tn** Heb "seven rivers"; capitalized in some English versions (e.g., ASV, NASB, NRSV) as a reference to the Euphrates River.

⁵ **tn** Heb "with the [?] of his wind" [or "breath"]. The Hebrew term *עָנָן* (*'ayam*) occurs only here. Some attempt to relate the word to an Arabic root and translate, "scorching [or "hot"] wind." This interpretation fits especially well if one reads "dry up" in the previous line. Others prefer to emend the form to *עָצָם* (*'otsem*, "strong"). See HALOT 817 s.v. *עָצָם*.

⁶ **tn** Heb "seven streams." The Hebrew term *נַחַל* (*nakhal*, "stream") refers to a wadi, or seasonal stream, which runs during the rainy season, but is otherwise dry. The context (see v. 15b) here favors the translation, "dried up streams." The number seven suggests totality and completeness. Here it indicates that God's provision for escape will be thorough and more than capable of accommodating the returning exiles.

⁷ **tn** Heb "and there will be a highway for the remnant of his people who remain, from Assyria."

⁸ **tn** Heb "in the day" (so KJV).

⁹ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

¹⁰ **tn** Or "salvation" (KJV, NIV, NRSV).

¹¹ **tn** The words "in him" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹² **tc** The Hebrew text has, "for my strength and protection [is] the LORD, the LORD (Heb "Yah, Yahweh)." The word *יְהוָה* (*ye-hvah*) is probably dittographic or explanatory here (note that the short form of the name *יְה*, *yah*, precedes, and that the graphically similar *יְהִי* [*yah-ehi*] follows). Exod 15:2, the passage from which the words of v. 2b are taken, has only *יְה*. The word *זִמְרָה* (*zimrat*) is traditionally understood as meaning "song," in which case one might translate, "for the LORD gives me strength and joy" (i.e., a reason to sing); note that in v. 5 the verb *זָמַר* (*zamar*, "sing") appears. Many recent commentators, however, have argued that the noun is here instead a homonym, meaning "protection" or "strength." See HALOT 274 s.v. *זִמְרָה*.

¹³ **tn** Or "salvation" (so many English versions, e.g., KJV, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NAB "my savior."

¹⁴ **tn** Or "salvation" (so many English versions, e.g., KJV,

12:4 At that time¹⁵ you will say:

"Praise the LORD!

Ask him for help!¹⁶

Publicize his mighty acts among the nations!

Make it known that he is unique!¹⁷

12:5 Sing to the LORD, for he has done magnificent things,

let this be known¹⁸ throughout the earth!

12:6 Cry out and shout for joy, O citizens of Zion, for the Holy One of Israel¹⁹ acts mightily²⁰ among you!"

The Lord Will Judge Babylon

13:1²¹ This is a message about Babylon that God revealed to Isaiah son of Amoz.²²

13:2²³ On a bare hill raise a signal flag, shout to them,

wave your hand,

so they might enter the gates of the princes!

13:3 I have given orders to my chosen soldiers;²⁴

I have summoned the warriors through whom I will vent my anger.²⁵

my boasting, arrogant ones.²⁶

13:4²⁷ There is a loud noise on the mountains —

NAB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); CEV "victory."

sn Water is here a metaphor for renewed life; the springs symbolize the restoration of God's favor.

¹⁵ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "call in his name," i.e., "invoke his name."

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "bring to remembrance that his name is exalted."

The Lord's "name" stands here for his character and reputation.

¹⁸ **tc** The translation follows the marginal reading (*Qere*), which is a Hophal participle from *יָדַע* (*yada'*), understood here in a gerundive sense.

¹⁹ **sn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

²⁰ **tn** Or "is great" (TEV). However, the context emphasizes his mighty acts of deliverance (cf. NCV), not some general or vague character quality.

²¹ **sn** Isa 13-23 contains a series of judgment oracles against various nations. It is likely that Israel, not the nations mentioned, actually heard these oracles. The oracles probably had a twofold purpose. For those leaders who insisted on getting embroiled in international politics, these oracles were a reminder that Judah need not fear foreign nations or seek international alliances for security reasons. For the righteous remnant within the nation, these oracles were a reminder that Israel's God was indeed the sovereign ruler of the earth, worthy of his people's trust.

²² **tn** Heb "The message [traditionally, "burden"] [about] Babylon which Isaiah son of Amoz saw."

²³ **sn** The Lord is speaking here (see v. 3).

²⁴ **tn** Heb "my consecrated ones," i.e., those who have been set apart by God for the special task of carrying out his judgment.

²⁵ **tn** Heb "my warriors with respect to my anger."

²⁶ **tn** Heb "the boasting ones of my pride"; cf. ASV, NASB, NRSV "my proudly exulting ones."

²⁷ **sn** In v. 4-10 the prophet appears to be speaking, since the Lord is referred to in the third person. However, since the Lord refers to himself in the third person later in this chapter (see v. 13), it is possible that he speaks throughout the chapter.

it sounds like a large army!¹
 There is great commotion among the
 kingdoms² –
 nations are being assembled!
 The LORD who commands armies is must-
 ering
 forces for battle.
13:5 They come from a distant land,
 from the horizon.³
 It is the LORD with his instruments of
 judgment,⁴
 coming to destroy the whole earth.⁵
13:6 Wail, for the LORD's day of judg-
 ment⁶ is near;
 it comes with all the destructive power of
 the sovereign Judge.⁷

¹ **tn** Heb “a sound, a roar [is] on the mountains, like many people.”

² **tn** Heb “a sound, tumult of kingdoms.”

³ **tn** Heb “from the end of the sky.”

⁴ **tn** Or “anger”; cf. KJV, ASV “the weapons of his indigna-
 tion.”

⁵ **tn** Or perhaps, “land” (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NLT). Even though the heading and subsequent context (see v. 17) indicate Babylon's judgment is in view, the chapter has a cosmic flavor that suggests that the coming judgment is universal in scope. Perhaps Babylon's downfall occurs in conjunction with a wider judgment, or the cosmic style is poetic hyperbole used to emphasize the magnitude and importance of the coming event.

⁶ **tn** Heb “the day of the LORD” (so KJV, NAB).

⁷ **tn** Heb “like destruction from the sovereign Judge it comes.” The comparative preposition (כִּי, *kî*) has here the rhetorical nuance, “in every way like.” The point is that the destruction unleashed will have all the earmarks of divine judgment. One could paraphrase, “it comes as only destructive divine judgment can.” On this use of the preposition in general, see GKC 376 §118.x.

sn The divine name used here is שַׁדַּי (*shaddai*, “Shaddai”). Shaddai (or El Shaddai) is the sovereign king/judge of the world who grants life/blesses and kills/judges. In Genesis he blesses the patriarchs with fertility and promises numerous descendants. Outside Genesis he both blesses/protects and takes away life/happiness. The patriarchs knew God primarily as El Shaddai (Exod 6:3). While the origin and meaning of this name is uncertain (see discussion below) its significance is clear. The name is used in contexts where God appears as the source of fertility and life. In Gen 17:1-8 he appears to Abram, introduces himself as El Shaddai, and announces his intention to make the patriarch fruitful. In the role of El Shaddai God repeats these words (now elevated to the status of a decree) to Jacob (35:11). Earlier Isaac had pronounced a blessing upon Jacob in which he asked El Shaddai to make Jacob fruitful (28:3). Jacob later prays that his sons will be treated with mercy when they return to Egypt with Benjamin (43:14). The fertility theme is not as apparent here, though one must remember that Jacob viewed Benjamin as the sole remaining son of the favored and once-barren Rachel (cf. 29:31; 30:22-24; 35:16-18). It is quite natural that he would appeal to El Shaddai to preserve Benjamin's life, for it was El Shaddai's miraculous power which made it possible for Rachel to give him sons in the first place. In 48:3 Jacob, prior to blessing Joseph's sons, tells him how El Shaddai appeared to him at Bethel (cf. chapter 28) and promised to make him fruitful. When blessing Joseph on his deathbed Jacob refers to Shaddai (we should probably read “El Shaddai,” along with a few Hebrew MSS, the Samaritan Pentateuch, LXX, and Syriac) as the one who provides abundant blessings, including “blessings of the breast and womb” (49:25). (The direct association of the name with שָׁדַיִם [*shadayim*, “breasts”] suggests the name might mean “the one of the breast” [i.e., the one who gives fertility], but the juxtaposition is probably better explained as wordplay. Note the wordplay involving the name

13:7 For this reason all hands hang limp,⁸
 every human heart loses its courage.⁹

13:8 They panic –
 cramps and pain seize hold of them
 like those of a woman who is straining to
 give birth.

They look at one another in astonish-
 ment;
 their faces are flushed red.¹⁰

13:9 Look, the LORD's day of judgment¹¹ is
 coming;

it is a day of cruelty and savage, raging
 anger,¹²

destroying¹³ the earth¹⁴

and annihilating its sinners.

13:10 Indeed the stars in the sky and their
 constellations

no longer give out their light;¹⁵

the sun is darkened as soon as it rises,
 and the moon does not shine.¹⁶

and the root שָׁדַד [*shaddad*, “destroy”] here in Isa 13:6 and in Joel 1:15.) Outside Genesis the name Shaddai (minus El, “God”) is normally used when God is viewed as the sovereign king who blesses/protects or curses/brings judgment. The name appears in the introduction to two of Balaam's oracles (Num 24:4, 16) of blessing upon Israel. Naomi employs the name when accusing the LORD of treating her bitterly by taking the lives of her husband and sons (Ruth 1:20-21). In Ps 68:14; Isa 13:6; and Joel 1:15 Shaddai judges his enemies through warfare, while Ps 91:1 depicts him as the protector of his people. (In Ezek 1:24 and 10:5 the sound of the cherubs' wings is compared to Shaddai's powerful voice. The reference may be to the mighty divine warrior's battle cry which accompanies his angry judgment.) Last but not least, the name occurs 31 times in the Book of Job. Job and his “friends” assume that Shaddai is the sovereign king of the world (11:7; 37:23a) who is the source of life (33:4b) and is responsible for maintaining justice (8:3; 34:10-12; 37:23b). He provides abundant blessings, including children (22:17-18; 29:4-6), but can also discipline, punish, and destroy (5:17; 6:4; 21:20; 23:16). It is not surprising to see the name so often in this book, where the theme of God's justice is primary and even called into question (24:1; 27:2). The most likely proposal is that the name means “God, the one of the mountain” (an Akkadian cognate means “mountain,” to which Heb. שָׁדַד [*shad*, “breast”] is probably related). For a discussion of proposed derivations see T. N. D. Mettinger, *In Search of God*, 70-71. The name may originally depict God as the sovereign judge who, in Canaanite style, rules from a sacred mountain. Isa 14:13 and Ezek 28:14, 16 associate such a mountain with God, while Ps 48:2 refers to Zion as “Zaphon,” the Canaanite Olympus from which the high god El ruled. (In Isa 14 the Canaanite god El may be in view. Note that Isaiah pictures pagan kings as taunting the king of Babylon, suggesting that pagan mythology may provide the background for the language and imagery.)

⁸ **tn** Heb “drop”; KJV “be faint”; ASV “be feeble”; NAB “fall helpless.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “melts” (so NAB).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “their faces are faces of flames.” Their faces are flushed with fear and embarrassment.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “the day of the LORD.”

¹² **tn** Heb “[with] cruelty, and fury, and rage of anger.” Three synonyms for “anger” are piled up at the end of the line to emphasize the extraordinary degree of divine anger that will be exhibited in this judgment.

¹³ **tn** Heb “making desolate.”

¹⁴ **tn** Or “land” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NLT).

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “do not flash forth their light.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “does not shed forth its light.”

13:11¹ I will punish the world for its evil,²
and wicked people for their sin.
I will put an end to the pride of the insol-
ent,
I will bring down the arrogance of ty-
rants.³
13:12 I will make human beings more
scarce than pure gold,
and people more scarce⁴ than gold from
Ophir.
13:13 So I will shake the heavens,⁵
and the earth will shake loose from its
foundation,⁶
because of the fury of the LORD who
commands armies,
in the day he vents his raging anger.⁷
13:14 Like a frightened gazelle⁸
or a sheep with no shepherd,
each will turn toward home,⁹
each will run to his homeland.
13:15 Everyone who is caught will be
stabbed;
everyone who is seized¹⁰ will die¹¹ by the
sword.
13:16 Their children will be smashed to
pieces before their very eyes;
their houses will be looted
and their wives raped.
13:17 Look, I am stirring up the Medes to
attack them;¹²
they are not concerned about silver,
nor are they interested in gold.¹³
13:18 Their arrows will cut young men to
ribbons;¹⁴
they have no compassion on a person's
offspring,¹⁵
they will not¹⁶ look with pity on children.

¹ **sn** The LORD is definitely speaking (again?) at this point. See the note at v. 4.

² **tn** Or "I will bring disaster on the world." Hebrew *רָעָה* (*ra'ah*) could refer to the judgment (i.e., disaster, calamity) or to the evil that prompts it. The structure of the parallel line favors the latter interpretation.

³ **tn** Or perhaps, "the violent"; cf. NASB, NIV "the ruthless."

⁴ **tn** The verb is supplied in the translation from the first line. The verb in the first line ("I will make scarce") does double duty in the parallel structure of the verse.

⁵ **tn** Or "the sky." The Hebrew term *שָׁמַיִם* (*shamayim*) may be translated "heavens" or "sky" depending on the context.

⁶ **tn** Heb "from its place" (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NCV).

⁷ **tn** Heb "and in the day of the raging of his anger."

⁸ **tn** Or "like a gazelle being chased." The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

⁹ **tn** Heb "his people" (cf. KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV) or "his nation" (cf. TEV "their own countries").

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "carried off," i.e., grabbed from the fleeing crowd. See HALOT 764 s.v. *סָפַח*.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "will fall" (so KJV, NIV, NRSV); NLT "will be run through with a sword."

¹² **tn** Heb "against them"; NLT "against Babylon."

¹³ **sn** They cannot be bought off, for they have a lust for bloodshed.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "and bows cut to bits young men." "Bows" stands by metonymy for arrows.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "the fruit of the womb."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "their eye does not." Here "eye" is a metonymy for the whole person.

13:19 Babylon, the most admired¹⁷ of
kingdoms,
the Chaldeans' source of honor and
pride,¹⁸
will be destroyed by God
just as Sodom and Gomorrah were.¹⁹
13:20 No one will live there again;
no one will ever reside there again.²⁰
No bedouin²¹ will camp²² there,
no shepherds will rest their flocks²³ there.
13:21 Wild animals will rest there,
the ruined²⁴ houses will be full of hyenas.²⁵
Ostriches will live there,
wild goats will skip among the ruins.²⁶
13:22 Wild dogs will yip in her ruined
fortresses,
jackals will yelp in the once-splendid
palaces.²⁷
Her time is almost up,²⁸
her days will not be prolonged.²⁹

¹⁷ **tn** Or "most beautiful" (NCV, TEV).

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "the beauty of the pride of the Chaldeans."

sn The Chaldeans were a group of tribes who lived in south-
ern Mesopotamia. The established the so-called neo-Baby-
lonian empire in the late seventh century B.C. Their most fa-
mous king, Nebuchadnezzar, conquered Judah in 605 B.C.
and destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "and Babylon...will be like the overthrow by God of
Sodom and Gomorrah." On *מַהֲפֶכֶת* (*mahpeket*, "overthrow")
see the note on the word "destruction" in 1:7.

²⁰ **tn** Heb "she will not be inhabited forever, and she will not
be dwelt in to generation and generation (i.e., forever)." The
LORD declares that Babylon, personified as a woman, will not
be inhabited. In other words, her people will be destroyed and
the Chaldean empire will come to a permanent end.

²¹ **tn** Or "Arab" (NAB, NASB, NIV); cf. CEV, NLT "nomads."

²² **tn** *יָהֵל* (*yahel*) is probably a corrupted form of *יָחַל* (*ye'chal*).
See GKC 186 §68.k.

²³ **tn** The words "their flocks" are supplied in the translation
for clarification. The Hebrew text does not supply the object
here, but see Jer 33:12.

²⁴ **tn** The word "ruined" is supplied in the translation for clar-
ification.

²⁵ **tn** The precise referent of this word is uncertain. See
HALOT 29 s.v. *אֵימָה*. Various English versions translate as
"owls" (e.g., NAB, NASB), "wild dogs" (NCV); "jackals" (NIV);
"howling creatures" (NRSV, NLT).

²⁶ **tn** Heb "will skip there."

²⁷ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "wild dogs will yip among
his widows, and jackals in the palaces of pleasure." The verb
"yip" is supplied in the second line; it does double duty in the
parallel structure. "His widows" makes little sense in this
context; many emend the form *אַלְמֹתָיו* (*almotay*) to the
graphically similar *אַרְמֹתָיהָ* (*armoteha*, "her fortresses"), a
reading that is assumed in the present translation. The use of
"widows" may represent an intentional wordplay on "fortres-
es," indicating that the fortresses are like dejected widows (J.
N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:308, n. 1).

²⁸ **tn** Heb "near to come is her time."

²⁹ **sn** When was the prophecy of Babylon's fall fulfilled?
Some argue that the prophecy was fulfilled in 689 B.C. when
the Assyrians under Sennacherib sacked and desecrated the
city (this event is alluded to in 23:13). This may have been an
initial phase in the fulfillment of the prophecy, but the refer-
ence to the involvement of the Medes (v. 17) and the sugges-
tion that Babylon's demise will bring about the restoration of
Israel (14:1-2) indicate that the fall of Babylon to the Medes
and Persians in 538 B.C. is the primary focus of the prophe-
cy. (After all, the LORD did reveal to Isaiah that the Chaldeans
[not the Assyrians] would someday conquer Jerusalem and
take the people into exile [see 39:5-7].) However, the vivid pic-
ture of destruction in vv. 15-22 raises a problem. The Medes

14:1 The LORD will certainly have compassion on Jacob;¹ he will again choose Israel as his special people² and restore³ them to their land. Resident foreigners will join them and unite with the family⁴ of Jacob. **14:2** Nations will take them and bring them back to their own place. Then the family of Jacob will make foreigners their servants as they settle in the LORD's land.⁵ They will make their captors captives and rule over the ones who oppressed them. **14:3** When the LORD gives you relief from your suffering and anxiety,⁶ and from the hard labor which you were made to perform, **14:4** you will taunt the king of Babylon with these words:⁷

"Look how the oppressor has met his end!
Hostility⁸ has ceased!

14:5 The LORD has broken the club of the wicked,
the scepter of rulers.

14:6 It⁹ furiously struck down nations
with unceasing blows.¹⁰

It angrily ruled over nations,
oppressing them without restraint.¹¹

14:7 The whole earth rests and is quiet;
they break into song.

and Persians did not destroy the city; in fact Cyrus' takeover of Babylon, though preceded by a military campaign, was relatively peaceful and even welcomed by some Babylonian religious officials. How then does one explain the prophecy's description of the city's violent fall? As noted above, the events of 689 B.C. and 538 B.C. may have been merged in the prophecy. However, it is more likely that the language is stylized and exaggerated for rhetorical effect. See Isa 34:11-15; Jer 50:39-40 (describing Babylon's fall in 538 B.C.); 51:36-37 (describing Babylon's fall in 538 B.C.); Zeph 2:13-15; the extra-biblical Sefire treaty curses; and Ashurbanipal's description of the destruction of Elam in his royal annals. In other words, the events of 538 B.C. essentially, though not necessarily literally, fulfill the prophecy.

1 **tn** The sentence begins with *כִּי* (*ki*), which is understood as asseverative ("certainly") in the translation. Another option is to translate, "For the LORD will have compassion." In this case one of the reasons for Babylon's coming demise (13:22b) is the LORD's desire to restore his people.

2 **tn** The words "as his special people" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

3 **tn** Or "settle" (NASB, NIV, NCV, NLT).

4 **tn** Heb "house."

5 **tn** Heb "and the house of Jacob will take possession of them [i.e., the nations], on the land of the LORD, as male servants and female servants."

6 **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

7 **tn** Heb "you will lift up this taunt over the king of Babylon, saying."

8 **tc** The word in the Hebrew text (*מִדְּהָבָה*, *madhevah*) is unattested elsewhere and of uncertain meaning. Many (following the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a) assume a *dalet-resh* (ד-ר) confusion and emend the form to *מִדְּהָבָה* (*marhevah*, "onslaught"). See HALOT 548 s.v. II *מִדְּהָבָה and HALOT 633 s.v. מִדְּהָבָה.

9 **tn** Or perhaps, "he" (cf. KJV; NCV "the king of Babylon"). The present translation understands the referent of the pronoun ("it") to be the "club/scepter" of the preceding line.

10 **tn** Heb "it was striking down nations in fury [with] a blow without ceasing." The participle ("striking down") suggests repeated or continuous action in past time.

11 **tn** Heb "it was ruling in anger nations [with] oppression without restraint." The participle ("ruling") suggests repeated or continuous action in past time.

14:8 The evergreens also rejoice over your demise,¹²

as do the cedars of Lebanon, singing,¹³

"Since you fell asleep,¹⁴
no woodsman comes up to chop us
down!"¹⁵

14:9 Sheol¹⁶ below is stirred up about you,
ready to meet you when you arrive.

It rouses¹⁷ the spirits of the dead for you,
all the former leaders of the earth;¹⁸
it makes all the former kings of the na-
tions

rise from their thrones.¹⁹

14:10 All of them respond to you, saying:
"You too have become weak like us!

You have become just like us!

14:11 Your splendor²⁰ has been brought
down to Sheol,
as well as the sound of your stringed in-
struments.²¹

You lie on a bed of maggots,
with a blanket of worms over you.²²

14:12 Look how you have fallen from the
sky,
O shining one, son of the dawn!²³

12 **tn** Heb "concerning you."

13 **tn** The word "singing" is supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. Note that the personified trees speak in the second half of the verse.

14 **tn** Heb "lay down" (in death); cf. NAB "laid to rest."

15 **tn** Heb "the [wood]cutter does not come up against us."

16 **sn** Sheol is the proper name of the subterranean world which was regarded as the land of the dead.

17 **tn** Heb "arousing." The form is probably a Polel infinitive absolute, rather than a third masculine singular perfect, for Sheol is grammatically feminine (note "stirred up"). See GKC 466 §145.t.

18 **tn** Heb "all the rams of the earth." The animal epithet is used metaphorically here for leaders. See HALOT 903 s.v. *עֶדֶר.

19 **tn** Heb "lifting from their thrones all the kings of the nations." הִקִּים (*heqim*, a Hipil perfect third masculine singular) should be emended to an infinitive absolute (הִקִּים, *haqem*). See the note on "rouses" earlier in the verse.

20 **tn** Or "pride" (NCV, CEV); KJV, NIV, NRSV "pomp."

21 **tn** Or "harps" (NAB, NIV, NRSV).

22 **tn** Heb "under you maggots are spread out, and worms are your cover."

23 **tn** The Hebrew text has הֵייל בֶּן־שַׁחַר (*helel ben-shakhar*, "Helel son of Shachar"), which is probably a name for the morning star (Venus) or the crescent moon. See HALOT 245 s.v. הֵייל.

sn What is the background for the imagery in vv. 12-15? This whole section (vv. 4b-21) is directed to the king of Babylon, who is clearly depicted as a human ruler. Other kings of the earth address him in vv. 9ff., he is called "the man" in v. 16, and, according to vv. 19-20, he possesses a physical body. Nevertheless the language of vv. 12-15 has led some to see a dual referent in the taunt song. These verses, which appear to be spoken by other pagan kings to a pagan king (cf. vv. 9-11), contain several titles and motifs that resemble those of Canaanite mythology, including references to Helel son of Shachar, the stars of El, the mountain of assembly, the recesses of Zaphon, and the divine title Most High. Apparently these verses allude to a mythological story about a minor god (Helel son of Shachar) who tried to take over Zaphon, the mountain of the gods. His attempted coup failed and he was hurled down to the underworld. The king of Babylon is taunted for having similar unrealized delusions of grandeur. Some Christians have seen an allusion to the fall of Satan here, but this seems contextually unwarranted (see J. Martin, "Isaiah,"

You have been cut down to the ground,
O conqueror¹ of the nations!²

14:13 You said to yourself,³

"I will climb up to the sky.

Above the stars of El⁴

I will set up my throne.

I will rule on the mountain of assembly
on the remote slopes of Zaphon.⁵

14:14 I will climb up to the tops⁶ of the
clouds;

I will make myself like the Most High!"⁷

14:15 But you were brought down⁸ to
Sheol,

to the remote slopes of the Pit.⁹

14:16 Those who see you stare at you,
they look at you carefully, thinking:¹⁰

"Is this the man who shook the earth,
the one who made kingdoms tremble?

14:17 Is this the one who made the world
like a desert,

who ruined its¹¹ cities,
and refused to free his prisoners so they
could return home?"¹²

14:18¹³ As for all the kings of the nations,

all of them¹⁴ lie down in splendor,¹⁵
each in his own tomb.¹⁶

14:19 But you have been thrown out of
your grave

like a shoot that is thrown away.¹⁷

You lie among¹⁸ the slain,
among those who have been slashed by
the sword,

among those headed for¹⁹ the stones of
the Pit,²⁰

as if you were a mangled corpse.²¹

14:20 You will not be buried with them,²²
because you destroyed your land
and killed your people.

The offspring of the wicked
will never be mentioned again.

14:21 Prepare to execute²³ his sons
for the sins their ancestors have commit-
ted.²⁴

They must not rise up and take posses-
sion of the earth,

or fill the surface of the world with cit-
ies."²⁵

14:22 "I will rise up against them,"
says the LORD who commands armies.

"I will blot out all remembrance of Baby-
lon and destroy all her people,²⁶

including the offspring she produces,"²⁷
says the LORD.

14:23 "I will turn her into a place that is
overrun with wild animals"²⁸

BKCOT, 1061).

¹ **tn** Some understand the verb to from *חָלַשׁ* (*khalash*, "to weaken"), but *HALOT* 324 s.v. *חָלַשׁ* proposes a homonym here, meaning "to defeat."

² **sn** In this line the taunting kings hint at the literal identity of the king, after likening him to the god Helel and a tree. The verb *גָּדַד* (*gada*, "cut down") is used of chopping down trees in 9:10 and 10:33.

³ **tn** *Heb* "you, you said in your heart."

⁴ **sn** In Canaanite mythology the stars of *El* were astral deities under the authority of the high god *El*.

⁵ **sn** *Zaphon*, the Canaanite version of Olympus, was the "mountain of assembly" where the gods met.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* "the high places." This word often refers to the high places where pagan worship was conducted, but here it probably refers to the "backs" or tops of the clouds. See *HALOT* 136 s.v. *בָּקוּהוּ*.

⁷ **sn** Normally in the OT the title "Most High" belongs to the God of Israel, but in this context, where the mythological overtones are so strong, it probably refers to the Canaanite high god *El*.

⁸ **tn** The prefixed verb form is taken as a preterite. Note the use of perfects in v. 12 to describe the king's downfall.

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew term *בֹּר* (*bor*, "cistern") is sometimes used metaphorically to refer to the place of the dead or the entrance to the underworld.

¹⁰ **tn** The word "thinking" is supplied in the translation in order to make it clear that the next line records their thoughts as they gaze at him.

¹¹ **tc** The pronominal suffix is masculine, even though its antecedent appears to be the grammatically feminine noun "world." Some have suggested that the form *אֶרֶץ* (*arayn*, plural noun with third masculine singular suffix) should be emended to *אֶרֶהָ* (*areha*, plural noun with third feminine singular suffix). This emendation may be unnecessary in light of other examples of lack of agreement a suffix and its antecedent noun.

¹² **tn** *Heb* "and his prisoners did not let loose to [their] homes." This really means, "he did not let loose his prisoners and send them back to their homes." On the elliptical style, see GKC 366 §117.o.

¹³ **sn** It is unclear where the quotation of the kings, begun in v. 10b, ends. However, the reference to the "kings of the nations" in v. 18 (see also v. 9) seems to indicate that the quotation has ended at this point and that Israel's direct taunt (cf. vv. 4b-10a) has resumed. In fact the references to the "kings of the nations" may form a stylistic inclusio or frame around

the quotation.

¹⁴ **tc** The phrase "all of them" does not appear in the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a.

¹⁵ **sn** This refers to the typically extravagant burial of kings.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "house" (so KJV, ASV), but in this context a tomb is in view. Note the verb "lie down" in the preceding line and the reference to a "grave" in the next line.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "like a shoot that is abhorred." The simile seems a bit odd; apparently it refers to a small shoot that is trimmed from a plant and tossed away. Some prefer to emend *נֶצֶר* (*netser*, "shoot"); some propose *נֶפֶל* (*nefel*, "miscarriage"). In this case one might paraphrase: "like a horrible-looking fetus that is delivered when a woman miscarries."

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "are clothed with."

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "those going down to."

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* *בֹּר* (*bor*) literally means "cistern"; cisterns were constructed from stones. On the metaphorical use of "cistern" for the underworld, see the note at v. 15.

²¹ **tn** *Heb* "like a trampled corpse." Some take this line with what follows.

²² **tn** *Heb* "you will not be united with them in burial" (so NASB).

²³ **tn** Or "the place of slaughter for."

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "for the sin of their fathers."

²⁵ **sn** J. N. Oswalt (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:320, n. 10) suggests that the garrison cities of the mighty empire are in view here.

²⁶ **tn** *Heb* "I will cut off from Babylon name and remnant" (ASV, NAB, and NRSV all similar).

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* "descendant and child."

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* "I will make her into a possession of wild animals." It is uncertain what type of animal *קִפּוֹד* (*qippod*) refers to. Some suggest a rodent (cf. NASB, NRSV "hedghog"), others an owl (cf. NAB, NIV, TEV).

and covered with pools of stagnant water.
I will get rid of her, just as one sweeps
away dirt with a broom,”¹
says the LORD who commands armies.

14:24² The LORD who commands armies
makes this solemn vow:

“Be sure of this:

Just as I have intended, so it will be;
just as I have planned, it will happen.

14:25 I will break Assyria³ in my land,
I will trample them⁴ underfoot on my
hills.

Their yoke will be removed from my
people,
the burden will be lifted from their shoulders.⁵

14:26 This is the plan I have devised for
the whole earth;
my hand is ready to strike all the na-
tions.”⁶

14:27 Indeed,⁷ the LORD who commands
armies has a plan,
and who can possibly frustrate it?
His hand is ready to strike,
and who can possibly stop it?⁸

The Lord Will Judge the Philistines

14:28 In the year King Ahaz died,⁹ this mes-
sage was revealed.¹⁰

14:29 Don’t be so happy, all you Philis-
tines,
just because the club that beat you has
been broken!¹¹

For a viper will grow out of the serpent’s
root,
and its fruit will be a darting adder.¹²

14:30 The poor will graze in my pastures;¹³
the needy will rest securely.

But I will kill your root by famine;
it will put to death all your survivors.¹⁴

14:31 Wail, O city gate!

Cry out, O city!

Melt with fear,¹⁵ all you Philistines!

For out of the north comes a cloud of
smoke,

and there are no stragglers in its ranks.¹⁶

14:32 How will they respond to the mes-
sengers of this nation?¹⁷

Indeed, the LORD has made Zion secure;
the oppressed among his people will find
safety in her.

The Lord Will Judge Moab

15:1 Here is a message about Moab:

Indeed, in a night it is devastated,

Ar of Moab is destroyed!

Indeed, in a night it is devastated,

Kir of Moab is destroyed!

15:2 They went up to the temple,¹⁸

the people of Dibon went up to the high
places to lament.¹⁹

Because of what happened to Nebo and
Medeba,²⁰ Moab wails.

Every head is shaved bare,
every beard is trimmed off.²¹

15:3 In their streets they wear sackcloth;
on their roofs and in their town squares

¹ **tn** Heb “I will sweep her away with the broom of destruc-
tion.”

² **sn** Having announced the downfall of the Chaldean em-
pire, the LORD appends to this prophecy a solemn reminder
that the Assyrians, the major Mesopotamian power of Isaiah’s
day, would be annihilated, foreshadowing what would subse-
quently happen to Babylon and the other hostile nations.

³ **tn** Heb “to break Assyria.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “him.” This is a collective singular referring to the
nation, or a reference to the king of Assyria who by metonymy
stands for the entire nation.

⁵ **tn** Heb “and his [i.e., Assyria’s] yoke will be removed from
them [the people?], and his [Assyria’s] burden from his [the
nation’s?].” The translation above assumes an emendation of
the suffixes; the translation uses “my people” to indicate this.

⁶ **tn** Heb “and this is the hand that is outstretched over all
the nations.”

⁷ **tn** Or “For” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

⁸ **tn** Heb “His hand is outstretched and who will turn it
back?”

⁹ **sn** Perhaps 715 B.C., but the precise date is uncertain.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “this oracle came.”

¹¹ **sn** The identity of this “club” (also referred to as a “ser-
pent” in the next line) is uncertain. It may refer to an Assy-
rian king, or to Ahaz. For discussion see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah*
(NICOT), 1:331–32. The viper/adder referred to in the second
half of the verse is his successor.

¹² **tn** Heb “flying burning one.” The designation “burning

one” may allude to the serpent’s appearance or the effect of
its poisonous bite. (See the note at 6:2.) The qualifier “flying”
probably refers to the serpent’s quick, darting movements,
though one might propose a homonym here, meaning “bit-
ing.” (See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:332, n. 18.) Some
might think in terms of a mythological flying, fire breathing
dragon (cf. NAB “a flying saraph”; CEV “a flying fiery dragon”),
but this proposal does not make good sense in 30:6, where
the phrase “flying burning one” appears again in a list of des-
ert animals.

¹³ **tc** The Hebrew text has, “the firstborn of the poor will
graze.” “Firstborn” may be used here in an idiomatic sense
to indicate the very poorest of the poor. See BDB 114 s.v.
בְּכוֹר. The translation above assumes an emendation of בְּכוֹרֵי
(*bēkhorey*, “firstborn of”) to בְּכָרֵי (*bekharay*, “in my pastures”).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “your remnant” (so NAB, NRSV).

¹⁵ **tn** Or “despair” (see HALOT 555 s.v. מָוֶה). The form מָוֶה (*na-
mog*) should be taken here as an infinitive absolute function-
ing as an imperative. See GKC 199–200 §72.v.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “and there is no one going alone in his appointed
places.” The meaning of this line is uncertain. *boded* (*boded*)
appears to be a participle from בָּדַד (*badad*, “be separate”;
see BDB 94 s.v. בָּדַד). מוֹעֵד (*mo’ad*) may mean “assembly” or,
by extension, “multitude” (see HALOT 558 s.v. מוֹעֵד), but the
referent of the third masculine pronominal suffix attached to
the noun is unclear. It probably refers to the “nation” men-
tioned in the next line.

¹⁷ **sn** The question forces the Philistines to consider the di-
lemma they will face – surrender and oppression, or battle
and death.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “house.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “even Dibon [to] the high places to weep.” The
verb “went up” does double duty in the parallel structure.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “over [or “for”] Nebo and over [or “for”] Medeba.”

²¹ **sn** Shaving the head and beard were outward signs of
mourning and grief.

all of them wail,
they fall down weeping.

15:4 The people of¹ Heshbon and Elealeh
cry out,
their voices are heard as far away as Ja-
haz.

For this reason Moab's soldiers shout in
distress;

their courage wavers.²

15:5 My heart cries out because of Moab's
plight,³

and for the fugitives⁴ stretched out⁵ as
far as Zoar and Eglath Shelishiyah.

For they weep as they make their way up
the ascent of Luhith;

they loudly lament their demise on the
road to Horonaim.⁶

15:6 For the waters of Nimrim are gone;⁷
the grass is dried up,
the vegetation has disappeared,
and there are no plants.

15:7 For this reason what they have made
and stored up,

they carry over the Stream of the Poplars.

15:8 Indeed, the cries of distress echo
throughout Moabite territory;

their wailing can be heard in Eglaim and
Beer Elim.⁸

15:9 Indeed, the waters of Dimon⁹ are full
of blood!

Indeed, I will heap even more trouble on
Dimon.¹⁰

A lion will attack¹¹ the Moabite fugitives
and the people left in the land.

16:1 Send rams as tribute to the ruler of
the land,¹²

from Sela in the desert¹³

to the hill of Daughter Zion.

16:2 At the fords of the Arnon¹⁴

the Moabite women are like a bird
that flies about when forced from its
nest.¹⁵

16:3 "Bring a plan, make a decision!¹⁶

Provide some shade in the middle of the
day!¹⁷

Hide the fugitives! Do not betray¹⁸ the one
who tries to escape!

16:4 Please let the Moabite fugitives live¹⁹
among you.

Hide them²⁰ from the destroyer!"

Certainly²¹ the one who applies pressure
will cease,²²

the destroyer will come to an end,
those who trample will disappear²³ from
the earth.

16:5 Then a trustworthy king will be es-
tablished;

he will rule in a reliable manner,

this one from David's family.²⁴

He will be sure to make just decisions
and will be experienced in executing
justice.²⁵

¹² **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "Send [a plural impera-
tival form is used] a ram [to] the ruler of the land." The term
רָם (*kar*, "ram") should be emended to the plural כְּרִים (*karim*).
The singular form in the text is probably the result of haplogra-
phy; note that the next word begins with a *mem* (ם).

¹³ **tn** The Hebrew text has "toward [across?] the desert."

¹⁴ **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a dis-
course particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the fu-
ture" in 2:2.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "like a bird fleeing, thrust away [from] a nest, the
daughters of Moab are [at] the fords of Arnon."

¹⁶ **sn** It is unclear who is being addressed in this verse. Per-
haps the prophet, playing the role of a panic stricken Moabite
refugee, requests the leaders of Judah (the imperatives are
plural) to take pity on the fugitives.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "Make your shade like night in the midst of noon-
day." "Shade" here symbolizes shelter, while the heat of
noonday represents the intense suffering of the Moabites. By
comparing the desired shade to night, the speaker visualizes
a huge dark shadow cast by a large tree that would provide
relief from the sun's heat.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "disclose, uncover."

¹⁹ **tn** That is, "live as resident foreigners."

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "Be a hiding place for them."

²¹ **tn** The present translation understands כִּי (*ki*) as asse-
verative, but one could take it as explanatory ("for," KJV, NASB)
or temporal ("when," NAB, NRSV). In the latter case, v. 4b
would be logically connected to v. 5.

²² **tn** A perfect verbal form is used here and in the next two
lines for rhetorical effect; the demise of the oppressor(s) is
described as if it had already occurred.

²³ **tc** The Hebrew text has, "they will be finished, the one who
tramples, from the earth." The plural verb form תִּמְּוּ (*tammu*,
"disappear") could be emended to agree with the singular
subject רֶמֶס (*romes*, "the one who tramples") or the participle
can be emended to a plural רֶמֶסִּים (*romesim*) to agree with
the verb. The translation assumes the latter. Haplography
of *mem* (ם) seems likely; note that the word after רֶמֶס begins
with a *mem*.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "and a throne will be established in faithfulness,
and he will sit on it in reliability, in the tent of David."

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* "one who judges and seeks justice, and one ex-
perienced in fairness." Many understand מִשְׁרִי (*mishir*) to mean

¹ **tn** The words "the people of" are supplied in the transla-
tion for clarification.

² **tc** The Hebrew text has, "For this reason the soldiers
of Moab shout, his inner being quivers for him." To achieve
tighter parallelism, some emend the first line, changing הִלְצִי
(*khaltse*, "soldiers") to הִלְצִי (*khaltse*, "loins") and יָרִיעִי
(*yari'u*, "they shout," from רָעַע *ria'a*) to יָרִיעִי (*yor'u*, "they quiver"), a
verb from יָרַע (*yara'*), which also appears in the next line. One
can then translate v. 4b as "For this reason the insides of the
Moabites quiver, their whole body shakes" (cf. NAB, NRSV).

³ **tn** *Heb* "for Moab." For rhetorical purposes the speaker
(the LORD?, see v. 9) plays the role of a mourner.

⁴ **tn** The vocalization of the Hebrew text suggests "the
bars of her gates," but the form should be repointed to yield,
"her fugitives." See HALOT 156-57 s.v. בָּרוּחַ, and BDB 138 s.v.
בָּרִיחַ.

⁵ **tn** The words "are stretched out" are supplied in the
translation for stylistic reasons.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* "For the ascent of Luhith, with weeping they go
up it; for [on] the road to Horonaim an outcry over shattering
they raise up."

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "are waste places"; cf. NRSV "are a desolation."

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "to Eglaim [is] her wailing, and [to] Beer Elim [is]
her wailing."

⁹ **tc** The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a reads "Dibon" instead of
"Dimon" in this verse.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* "Indeed I will place on Dimon added things." Ap-
parently the LORD is speaking.

¹¹ **tn** The words "will attack" are supplied in the translation
for clarification.

16:6 We have heard about Moab's pride, their great arrogance, their boasting, pride, and excess.¹

But their boastful claims are empty!²

16:7 So Moab wails over its demise³ – they all wail!

Completely devastated, they moan about what has happened to the raisin cakes of Kir Hareseth.⁴

16:8 For the fields of Heshbon are dried up,

as well as the vines of Sibmah.

The rulers of the nations trample all over its vines,

which reach Jazer and spread to the desert;

their shoots spread out and cross the sea.

16:9 So I weep along with Jazer⁵

over the vines of Sibmah.

I will saturate you⁶ with my tears, Heshbon and Elealeh,

for the conquering invaders shout triumphantly

over your fruit and crops.⁷

16:10 Joy and happiness disappear from the orchards,

and in the vineyards no one rejoices or shouts;

no one treads out juice in the wine vats⁸ – I have brought the joyful shouts to an end.⁹

16:11 So my heart constantly sighs for Moab, like the strumming of a harp,¹⁰

"quick, prompt" (see BDB 555 s.v. *בָּהֵר*), but HALOT 552 s.v. *בָּהֵר* offers the meaning "skillful, experienced," and translates the phrase in v. 5 "zealous for what is right."

¹ *tn* *בָּהֵר* (*evrah*) often means "anger, fury," but here it appears to refer to boastful outbursts or excessive claims. See HALOT 782 s.v. *בָּהֵר*.

² *tn* *Heb* "not so his boasting."

³ *tn* *Heb* "So Moab wails for Moab."

⁴ *tn* The Hebrew text has, "for the raisin cakes of Kir Hareseth you [masculine plural] moan, surely destroyed." The "raisin cakes" could have cultic significance (see Hos 3:1), but the next verse focuses on agricultural disaster, so here the raisin cakes are mentioned as an example of the fine foods that are no longer available (see 2 Sam 6:19; Song 2:5) because the vines have been destroyed by the invader (see v. 8). Some prefer to take *אֲשִׁישֵׁי* (*ashishe*, "raisin cakes of") as "men of" (see HALOT 95 s.v. *אֲשִׁישֵׁי*; cf. NIV). The verb form *הִקְנוּ* (*tehu*, "you moan") is probably the result of dittography (note that the preceding word ends in *tav* [ת]) and should be emended to *הָנוּ* (a perfect, third plural form), "they moan."

⁵ *tn* *Heb* "So I weep with the weeping of Jazer." Once more the speaker (the Lord? – see v. 10b) plays the role of a mourner (see 15:5).

⁶ *tc* The form *אֲרַוְיָכֶם* (*'arayavekh*) should be emended to *אֲרַוְיָכֶם* (*'aravvayekh*; the *vav* [ו] and *yod* [י] have been accidentally transposed) from *רַוְיָכֶם* (*ravah*, "be saturated").

⁷ *tn* *Heb* "for over your fruit and over your harvest shouting has fallen." The translation assumes that the shouting is that of the conqueror (Jer 51:14). Another possibility is that the shouting is that of the harvesters (see v. 10b, as well as Jer 25:30), in which case one might translate, "for the joyful shouting over the fruit and crops has fallen silent."

⁸ *tn* *Heb* "wine in the vats the treader does not tread."

⁹ *sn* The Lord appears to be the speaker here. See 15:9.

¹⁰ *tn* *Heb* "so my intestines sigh for Moab like a harp." The word *בְּנֵי* (*me'ay*, "intestines") is used here of the seat of the emotions. English idiom requires the word "heart." The point

of my inner being sighs¹¹ for Kir Hareseth.¹²

16:12 When the Moabites plead with all their might at their high places,¹³

and enter their temples to pray, their prayers will be ineffective!¹⁴

16:13 This is the message the LORD previously announced about Moab.

16:14 Now the LORD makes this announcement: "Within exactly three years¹⁵ Moab's splendor will disappear, along with all her many people; there will be just a few, insignificant survivors left."¹⁶

The Lord Will Judge Damascus

17:1 Here is a message about Damascus: "Look, Damascus is no longer a city, it is a heap of ruins!

17:2 The cities of Aroer are abandoned.¹⁷

They will be used for herds, which will lie down there in peace.¹⁸

17:3 Fortified cities will disappear from Ephraim,

and Damascus will lose its kingdom.¹⁹

The survivors in Syria

will end up like the splendor of the Israelites,"

says the LORD who commands armies.

17:4 "At that time²⁰

Jacob's splendor will be greatly diminished,²¹

of the comparison to a harp is not entirely clear. Perhaps his sighs of mourning resemble a harp in sound, or his constant sighing is like the repetitive strumming of a harp.

¹¹ *tn* The verb is supplied in the translation; "sighs" in the preceding line does double duty in the parallel structure.

¹² *tn* *Heb* "Kir Heres" (so ASV, NRSV, TEV, CEV), a variant name for "Kir Hareseth" (see v. 7).

¹³ *tn* The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

¹⁴ *tn* *Heb* "when he appears, when he grows tired, Moab on the high places, and enters his temple to pray, he will not prevail." It is possible that "when he grows tired" is an explanatory gloss for the preceding "when he appears."

¹⁵ *tn* *Heb* "in three years, like the years of a hired worker." The three years must be reckoned exactly, just as a hired worker would carefully keep track of the time he had agreed to work for an employer in exchange for a predetermined wage.

¹⁶ *tn* *Heb* "and the splendor of Moab will be disgraced with all the great multitude, and a small little remnant will not be strong."

¹⁷ *tn* Three cities are known by this name in the OT: (1) an Aroer located near the Arnon, (2) an Aroer in Ammon, and (3) an Aroer of Judah. (See BDB 792-93 s.v. *אֲרֹעַר*, and HALOT 883 s.v. II *אֲרֹעַר*.) There is no mention of an Aroer in Syrian territory. For this reason some want to emend the text here to *עָרֵי אֲרָיָה* (*'azuvot 'arayha 'adey 'ad*, "her cities are permanently abandoned"). However, Aroer near the Arnon was taken by Israel and later conquered by the Syrians. (See Josh 12:2; 13:9, 16; Judg 11:26; 2 Kgs 10:33). This oracle pertains to Israel as well as Syria (note v. 3), so it is possible that this is a reference to Israelite and/or Syrian losses in Transjordan.

¹⁸ *tn* *Heb* "and they lie down and there is no one scaring [them]."

¹⁹ *tn* *Heb* "and kingship from Damascus"; cf. NASB "And sovereignty from Damascus."

²⁰ *tn* *Heb* "in that day" (so KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

²¹ *tn* *Heb* "will be tiny."

and he will become skin and bones.¹
17:5 It will be as when one gathers the grain harvest, and his hand gleanes the ear of grain. It will be like one gathering the ears of grain in the Valley of Rephaim.
17:6 There will be some left behind, like when an olive tree is beaten – two or three ripe olives remain toward the very top, four or five on its fruitful branches,” says the LORD God of Israel.
17:7 At that time² men will trust in their Creator;³ they will depend on⁴ the Holy One of Israel.⁵
17:8 They will no longer trust in⁶ the altars their hands made, or depend on the Asherah poles and incense altars their fingers made.⁷
17:9 At that time⁸ their fortified cities will be like the abandoned summits of the Amorites,⁹ which they abandoned because of the Israelites; there will be desolation.
17:10 For you ignore¹⁰ the God who rescues you; you pay no attention to your strong protector.¹¹
 So this is what happens:
 You cultivate beautiful plants and plant exotic vines.¹²

17:11 The day you begin cultivating, you do what you can to make it grow;¹³ the morning you begin planting, you do what you can to make it sprout. Yet the harvest will disappear¹⁴ in the day of disease and incurable pain.
17:12 The many nations massing together are as good as dead,¹⁵ those who make a commotion as loud as the roaring of the sea's waves.¹⁶ The people making such an uproar are as good as dead,¹⁷ those who make an uproar as loud as the roaring of powerful waves.¹⁸
17:13 Though these people make an uproar as loud as the roaring of powerful waves,¹⁹ when he shouts at²⁰ them, they will flee to a distant land, driven before the wind like dead weeds on the hills, or like dead thistles²¹ before a strong gale.
17:14 In the evening there is sudden terror;²² by morning they vanish.²³ This is the fate of those who try to plunder us, the destiny of those who try to loot us!²⁴

¹³ **tn** Heb “in the day of your planting you [?].” The precise meaning of the verb תִּשְׁבְּעִי (*ṭsagsegi*) is unclear. It is sometimes derived from שָׁבַע/סָבַע (*sug*, “to fence in”; see BDB 691 s.v. סָבַע). In this case one could translate “you build a protective fence.” However, the parallelism is tighter if one derives the form from שָׁבַע/סָבַע (*saga/sagah*, “to grow”; see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:351, n. 4. For this verb, see BDB 960 s.v. שָׁבַע/סָבַע).

¹⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text has, “a heap of harvest.” However, better sense is achieved if נָדָד (*ned*, “heap”) is emended to a verb. Options include נָדָד (*nad*, Qal perfect third masculine singular from נָדַד [*nadad*, “flee, depart”]), נָדַד (*noded*, Qal perfect third masculine singular from נָדַד [*noded*, Qal active participle from נָדַד]), and נָדָד (*nad*, Qal perfect third masculine singular, or participle masculine singular, from נָדַד [*nud*, “wander, fluster”]). See BDB 626 s.v. נָדַד and HALOT 672 s.v. נָדָד. One could translate literally: “[the harvest] departs,” or “[the harvest] flies away.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “Woe [to] the massing of the many nations.” The word הוֹי (*hoy*) could be translated as a simple interjection here (“ah!”), but since the following verses announce the demise of these nations, it is preferable to take הוֹי as a funeral cry. See the note on the first phrase of 1:4.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “like the loud noise of the seas, they make a loud noise.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “the uproar of the peoples.” The term הוֹי (*hoy*, “woe, ah”) does double duty in the parallel structure of the verse; the words “are as good as dead” are supplied in the translation to reflect this.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “like the uproar of mighty waters they are in an uproar.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “the peoples are in an uproar like the uproar of mighty waters.”

²⁰ **tn** Or “rebukes.” The verb and related noun are used in theophanies of God's battle cry which terrifies his enemies. See, for example, Pss 18:15; 76:7; 106:9; Isa 50:2; Nah 1:4, and A. Caquot, *TDOT* 3:49-53.

²¹ **tn** Or perhaps “tumbleweed” (NAB, NIV, CEV); KJV “like a rolling thing.”

²² **tn** Heb “at the time of evening, look, sudden terror.”

²³ **tn** Heb “before morning he is not.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “this is the portion of those who plunder us, and

¹ **tn** Heb “and the fatness of his flesh will be made lean.”

² **tn** Heb “in that day” (so ASV, NASB, NIV); KJV “At that day.”

³ **tn** Heb “man will gaze toward his maker.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “his eyes will look toward.”

⁵ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

⁶ **tn** Heb “he will not gaze toward.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “and that which his fingers made he will not see, the Asherah poles and the incense altars.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “in that day” (so KJV).

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “like the abandonment of the wooded height and the top one.” The following relative clause appears to allude back to the Israelite conquest of the land, so it seems preferable to emend הַרְשֵׁי הָאֶמֶרִי (*hakhoreshe ha'amiri*, “the wooded height and the top one”) to הַרְשֵׁי הָאֶמֶרִי (*khoreshe ha'emori*, “[like the abandonment] of the wooded heights of the Amorites”).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “you have forgotten” (so NAB, NIV, NRSV).

¹¹ **tn** Heb “and the rocky cliff of your strength you do not remember.”

¹² **tn** Heb “a vine, a strange one.” The substantival adjective זָר (*zar*) functions here as an appositional genitive. It could refer to a cultic plant of some type, associated with a pagan rite. But it is more likely that it refers to an exotic, or imported, type of vine, one that is foreign (i.e., “strange”) to Israel.

The Lord Will Judge a Distant Land in the South

18:1 The land of buzzing wings is as good as dead,¹

the one beyond the rivers of Cush,

18:2 that sends messengers by sea, who glide over the water's surface in boats made of papyrus.

Go, you swift messengers, to a nation of tall, smooth-skinned people,²

to a people that are feared far and wide,³

to a nation strong and victorious,⁴ whose land rivers divide.⁵

18:3 All you who live in the world, who reside on the earth, you will see a signal flag raised on the mountains;

you will hear a trumpet being blown.

18:4 For this is what the LORD has told me: "I will wait⁶ and watch from my place, like scorching heat produced by the sun-light,⁷

like a cloud of mist⁸ in the heat⁹ of

harvest."¹⁰

18:5 For before the harvest, when the bud has sprouted, and the ripening fruit appears,¹¹ he will cut off the unproductive shoots¹² with pruning knives;

he will prune the tendrils.¹³

18:6 They will all be left¹⁴ for the birds of the hills

and the wild animals;¹⁵ the birds will eat them during the summer,

and all the wild animals will eat them during the winter.

18:7 At that time tribute will be brought to the LORD who commands armies, by a people that are tall and smooth-skinned,

a people that are feared far and wide, a nation strong and victorious, whose land rivers divide.¹⁶

The tribute¹⁷ will be brought to the place where the LORD who commands armies has chosen to reside, on Mount Zion.¹⁸

the lot of those who loot us."

¹ **tn** *Heb* "Woe [to] the land of buzzing wings." *הוי* (*hoy*, "woe, ah") see the note on the first phrase of 1:4.

^{sn} The significance of the qualifying phrase "buzzing wings" is uncertain. Some suggest that the designation points to Cush as a land with many insects. Another possibility is that it refers to the swiftness with which this land's messengers travel (v. 2a); they move over the sea as swiftly as an insect flies through the air. For a discussion of the options, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:359-60.

² **tn** The precise meaning of the qualifying terms is uncertain. *בְּמִשְׁכָּח* (*m^hmushakh*) appears to be a Pual participle from the verb *בִּשְׁכַּח* (*mashakh*, "to draw, extend"). Lexicographers theorize that it here refers to people who "stretch out," as it were, or are tall. See BDB 604 s.v. *בִּשְׁכַּח*, and HALOT 645-46 s.v. *בִּשְׁכַּח*. *בְּמִרָת* (*morat*) is taken as a Pual participle from *מָרַת* (*marat*), which can mean "to pull out [hair]," in the Qal, "become bald" in the Niphal, and "be wiped clean" in the Pual. Lexicographers theorize that the word here refers to people with bare, or smooth, skin. See BDB 598-99 s.v. *בְּמִרָת*, and HALOT 634-35 s.v. *מָרַת*. These proposed meanings, which are based on etymological speculation, must be regarded as tentative.

³ **tn** *Heb* "from it and onwards." HALOT 245 s.v. *הֵלָאָה* suggests the translation "far and wide."

⁴ **tn** Once more the precise meaning of the qualifying terms is uncertain. The expression *גָּבִרִים* (*qav-qav*) is sometimes related to a proposed Arabic cognate and taken to mean "strength" (see BDB 876 II *קָ*). Others, on the basis of Isa 28:10, 13, understand the form as gibberish (literally, "kav, kav") and take it to be a reference to this nation's strange, unknown language. The form *בְּבוּזָה* (*m^hyusah*) appears to be derived from *בוּז* (*buz*, "to trample"), so lexicographers suggest the meaning "trampling" or "subjugation," i.e., a nation that subdues others. See BDB 101 s.v. *בוּז* and HALOT 541 s.v. *בְּבוּזָה*. These proposals, which are based on etymological speculation, must be regarded as tentative.

⁵ **tn** The precise meaning of the verb *בָּזָא* (*baza*'), which occurs only in this oracle (see also v. 7) in the OT, is uncertain. BDB 102 s.v. suggests "divide" on the basis of alleged Aramaic and Arabic cognates; HALOT 117 s.v., citing an alleged Arabic cognate, suggests "wash away."

⁶ **tn** Or "be quiet, inactive"; NIV "will remain quiet."

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "like the glowing heat because of light." The precise meaning of the line is uncertain.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "a cloud of dew," or "a cloud of light rain."

⁹ **tc** Some medieval Hebrew MSS, with support from the LXX, Syriac Peshitta, and Latin Vulgate, read "the day."

The Lord Will Judge Egypt

19:1 Here is a message about Egypt: Look, the LORD rides on a swift-moving cloud and approaches Egypt.

The idols of Egypt tremble before him; the Egyptians lose their courage.¹⁹

19:2 "I will provoke civil strife in Egypt,²⁰ brothers will fight with each other, as will neighbors, cities, and kingdoms.²¹

19:3 The Egyptians will panic,²² and I will confuse their strategy.²³

They will seek guidance from the idols and from the spirits of the dead,

¹⁰ **sn** It is unclear how the comparisons in v. 4b relate to the preceding statement. How is waiting and watching similar to heat or a cloud? For a discussion of interpretive options, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:362.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "and the unripe, ripening fruit is maturing."

¹² **tn** On the meaning of *זָלְזַל* (*zalzal*, "shoot [of the vine] without fruit buds") see HALOT 272 s.v. *זָלְזַל*.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "the tendrils he will remove, he will cut off."

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* "they will be left together" (so NASB).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "the beasts of the earth" (so KJV, NASB).

¹⁶ **tn** On the interpretive difficulties of this verse, see the notes at v. 2, where the same terminology is used.

¹⁷ **tn** The words "the tribute" are repeated here in the translation for clarity.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "to the place of the name of the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts], Mount Zion."

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "and the heart of Egypt melts within it."

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* I will provoke Egypt against Egypt" (NAB similar).

²¹ **tn** *Heb* "and they will fight, a man against his brother, and a man against his neighbor, city against city, kingdom against kingdom." Civil strife will extend all the way from the domestic level to the provincial arena.

²² **tn** *Heb* "and the spirit of Egypt will be laid waste in its midst."

²³ **tn** The verb *בָּלַע* (*bala*'), "confuse" is a homonym of the more common *בָּלַע* (*bala*'), "swallow"; see HALOT 135 s.v. *בָּלַע*.

from the pits used to conjure up underworld spirits, and from the magicians.¹
19:4 I will hand Egypt over to a harsh master;
 a powerful king will rule over them,”
 says the sovereign master,² the LORD
 who commands armies.
19:5 The water of the sea will be dried up,
 and the river will dry up and be empty.³
19:6 The canals⁴ will stink,⁵
 the streams of Egypt will trickle and then
 dry up;
 the bulrushes and reeds will decay,
19:7 along with the plants by the mouth of
 the river.⁶
 All the cultivated land near the river
 will turn to dust and be blown away.⁷
19:8 The fishermen will mourn and lament,
 all those who cast a fishhook into the
 river,
 and those who spread out a net on the
 water’s surface will grieve.⁸
19:9 Those who make clothes from
 combed flax will be embarrassed;
 those who weave will turn pale.⁹
19:10 Those who make cloth¹⁰ will be demoralized;¹¹
 all the hired workers will be depressed.¹²
19:11 The officials of Zoan are nothing but
 fools;¹³
 Pharaoh’s wise advisers give stupid advice.
 How dare you say to Pharaoh,
 “I am one of the sages,

one well-versed in the writings of the
 ancient kings?”¹⁴
19:12 But where, oh where, are your wise
 men?¹⁵
 Let them tell you, let them find out
 what the LORD who commands armies
 has planned for Egypt.
19:13 The officials of Zoan are fools,
 the officials of Memphis¹⁶ are misled;
 the rulers¹⁷ of her tribes lead Egypt astray.
19:14 The LORD has made them undiscerning;¹⁸
 they lead Egypt astray in all she does,
 so that she is like a drunk sliding around
 in his own vomit.¹⁹
19:15 Egypt will not be able to do a thing,
 head or tail, shoots and stalk.²⁰
19:16 At that time²¹ the Egyptians²² will be like
 women.²³ They will tremble and fear because the
 LORD who commands armies brandishes his fist
 against them.²⁴ **19:17** The land of Judah will humiliate
 Egypt. Everyone who hears about Judah
 will be afraid because of what the LORD who commands
 armies is planning to do to them.²⁵

¹ **tn** Heb “they will inquire of the idols and of the spirits of the dead and of the ritual pits and of the magicians.” Hebrew אֹבִי (‘ov, “ritual pit”) refers to a pit used by a magician to conjure up underworld spirits. See the note on “incantations” in 8:19.

² **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדֹנָי (‘adonay).

³ **tn** Heb “will dry up and be dry.” Two synonyms are joined for emphasis.

⁴ **tn** Heb “rivers” (so KJV, ASV); NAB, CEV “streams”; TEV “channels.”

⁵ **tn** The verb form appears as a Hiphil in the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a; the form in MT may be a so-called “mixed form,” reflecting the Hebrew Hiphil stem and the functionally corresponding Aramaic Aphel stem. See HALOT 276 s.v. חָרַח.

⁶ **tn** Heb “the plants by the river, by the mouth of the river.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “will dry up, [being] scattered, and it will vanish.”

⁸ **tn** Or perhaps, “will disappear”; cf. TEV “will be useless.”

⁹ **tn** BDB 301 s.v. חָרַח suggests the meaning “white stuff” for חָרַח (khori); the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has חָרַח (khaveru), probably a Qal perfect, third plural form of חָרַח, (khur, “be white, pale”). See HALOT 299 s.v. חָרַח. The latter reading is assumed in the translation above.

¹⁰ **tn** Some interpret שָׂתִיתֶיהָ (shatoteha) as “her foundations,” i.e., leaders, nobles. See BDB 1011 s.v. שָׂת. Others, on the basis of alleged cognates in Akkadian and Coptic, repoint the form שָׂתִיתֶיהָ (sh’ti’teha) and translate “her weavers.” See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:370.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “crushed.” Emotional distress is the focus of the context (see vv. 8-9, 10b).

¹² **tn** Heb “sad of soul”; cf. NIV, NLT “sick at heart.”

¹³ **tn** Or “certainly the officials of Zoan are fools.” אָךְ (‘akh) can carry the sense, “only, nothing but,” or “certainly, surely.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “A son of wise men am I, a son of ancient kings.” The term בֶּן (ben, “son of”) could refer to literal descent, but many understand the word, at least in the first line, in its idiomatic sense of “member [of a guild].” See HALOT 138 s.v. בֶּן and J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:371. If this is the case, then one can take the word in a figurative sense in the second line as well, the “son of ancient kings” being one devoted to their memory as preserved in their literature.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “Where are they? Where are your wise men?” The juxtaposition of the interrogative pronouns is emphatic. See HALOT 38 s.v. אֵי.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “Noph” (so KJV); most recent English versions substitute the more familiar “Memphis.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “the cornerstone.” The singular form should be emended to a plural.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “the LORD has mixed into her midst a spirit of blindness.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “like the going astray of a drunkard in his vomit.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “And there will not be for Egypt a deed, which head and tail, shoot and stalk can do.” In 9:14-15 the phrase “head or tail” refers to leaders and prophets, respectively. This interpretation makes good sense in this context, where both leaders and advisers (probably including prophets and diviners) are mentioned (vv. 11-14). Here, as in 9:14, “shoots and stalk” picture a reed, which symbolizes the leadership of the nation in its entirety.

²¹ **tn** Heb “in that day” (so KJV), likewise at the beginning of vv. 18 and 19.

²² **tn** Heb “Egypt,” which stands by metonymy for the country’s inhabitants.

²³ **sn** As the rest of the verse indicates, the point of the simile is that the Egyptians will be relatively weak physically and will wilt in fear before the LORD’s onslaught.

²⁴ **tn** Heb “and he will tremble and be afraid because of the brandishing of the hand of the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts], which he brandishes against him.” Since according to the imagery here the LORD’s “hand” is raised as a weapon against the Egyptians, the term “fist” has been used in the translation.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “and the land of Judah will become [a source of] shame to Egypt, everyone to whom one mentions it [i.e., the land of Judah] will fear because of the plan of the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] which he is planning against him.”

19:18 At that time five cities¹ in the land of Egypt will speak the language of Canaan and swear allegiance to the LORD who commands armies. One will be called the City of the Sun.² **19:19** At that time there will be an altar for the LORD in the middle of the land of Egypt, as well as a sacred pillar³ dedicated to the LORD at its border. **19:20** It⁴ will become a visual reminder in the land of Egypt of⁵ the LORD who commands armies. When they cry out to the LORD because of oppressors, he will send them a deliverer and defender⁶ who will rescue them. **19:21** The LORD will reveal himself to the Egyptians, and they⁷ will acknowledge the LORD's authority⁸ at that time.⁹ They will present sacrifices and offerings; they will make vows to the LORD and fulfill them. **19:22** The LORD will strike Egypt, striking and then healing them. They will turn to the LORD and he will listen to their prayers¹⁰ and heal them.

19:23 At that time there will be a highway from Egypt to Assyria. The Assyrians will visit Egypt, and the Egyptians will visit Assyria. The Egyptians and Assyrians will worship together.¹¹ **19:24** At that time Israel will be the third member of the group, along with Egypt and Assyria, and will be a recipient of blessing¹² in the earth.¹³ **19:25** The LORD who commands armies will

pronounce a blessing over the earth, saying,¹⁴ "Blessed be my people, Egypt, and the work of my hands, Assyria, and my special possession,¹⁵ Israel!"

20:1 The LORD revealed the following message during the year in which King Sargon of Assyria sent his commanding general to Ashdod, and he fought against it and captured it.¹⁶ **20:2** At that time the LORD announced through¹⁷ Isaiah son of Amoz: "Go, remove the sackcloth from your waist and take your sandals off your feet." He did as instructed and walked around in undergarments¹⁸ and barefoot. **20:3** Later the LORD explained, "In the same way that my servant Isaiah has walked around in undergarments and barefoot for the past three years, as an object lesson and omen pertaining to Egypt and Cush, **20:4** so the king of Assyria will lead away the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Cush, both young and old. They will be in undergarments and barefoot, with the buttocks exposed; the Egyptians will be publicly humiliated.¹⁹ **20:5** Those who put their hope in Cush and took pride in Egypt will be afraid and embarrassed.²⁰ **20:6** At that time²¹ those who live on this coast²² will say, 'Look what has happened to our source of hope to whom we fled for help, expecting to be rescued from the king of Assyria! How can we escape now?'"

The Lord Will Judge Babylon

21:1 Here is a message about the Desert by the Sea:²³

Like strong winds blowing in the south,²⁴ one invades from the desert,

¹ **sn** The significance of the number "five" in this context is uncertain. For a discussion of various proposals, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:376-77.

² **tc** The Hebrew text has עִיר הַהָרָה ('ir ha^haheres, "City of Destruction"; cf. NASB, NIV) but this does not fit the positive emphasis of vv. 18-22. The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a and some medieval Hebrew MSS read עִיר הַחֶרֶס ('ir ha^hcheres, "City of the Sun," i.e., Heliopolis). This reading also finds support from Symmachus' Greek version, the Targum, and the Vulgate. See HALOT 257 s.v. חֶרֶס and HALOT 355 s.v. חֶרֶס.

³ **tn** This word is sometimes used of a sacred pillar associated with pagan worship, but here it is associated with the worship of the LORD.

⁴ **tn** The masculine noun מִזְבֵּחַ (mizbeakh, "altar") in v. 19 is probably the subject of the masculine singular verb הָיָה (hayah) rather than the feminine noun מַצֵּבָה (matsevah, "sacred pillar"), also in v. 19.

⁵ **tn** Heb "a sign and a witness to the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] in the land of Egypt."

⁶ **tn** רִיב (riv) is a substantival participle (from רָיַב, riv) meaning "one who strives, contends."

⁷ **tn** Heb "Egypt." For stylistic reasons, to avoid redundancy, the present translation uses the pronoun ("they") here.

⁸ **tn** Heb "will know the LORD."

⁹ **tn** Heb "in that day" (so KJV), likewise at the beginning of vv. 23 and 24.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "he will be entreated." The Niphal has a tolerative sense here, "he will allow himself to be entreated."

¹¹ **tn** The text could be translated, "and Egypt will serve Assyria" (cf. NAB), but subjugation of one nation to the other does not seem to be a theme in vv. 23-25. Rather the nations are viewed as equals before the LORD (v. 25). Therefore it is better to take אִתּוֹ ('et) in v. 23b as a preposition, "together with," rather than the accusative sign. The names of the two countries are understood to refer by metonymy to their respective inhabitants.

¹² **tn** Heb "will be a blessing" (so NCV).

¹³ **tn** Or "land" (KJV, NAB).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "which the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] will bless [it], saying." The third masculine singular suffix on the form בִּרְכָה (berakho) should probably be emended to a third feminine singular suffix בִּרְכָה (berakhah), for its antecedent would appear to be the feminine noun אֶרֶץ ('erets, "earth") at the end of v. 24.

¹⁵ **tn** Or "my inheritance" (NAB, NASB, NIV).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "In the year the commanding general came to Ashdod, when Sargon king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and captured it."

sn This probably refers to the Assyrian campaign against Philistia in 712 or 711 B.C.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "spoke by the hand of."

¹⁸ **tn** The word used here (עָרֹם, 'arom) sometimes means "naked," but here it appears to mean simply "lightly dressed," i.e., stripped to one's undergarments. See HALOT 883 s.v. עָרֹם. The term also occurs in vv. 3, 4.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "lightly dressed and barefoot, and bare with respect to the buttocks, the nakedness of Egypt."

²⁰ **tn** Heb "and they will be afraid and embarrassed because of Cush their hope and Egypt their beauty."

²¹ **tn** Heb "in that day" (so KJV).

²² **sn** This probably refers to the coastal region of Philistia (cf. TEV).

²³ **sn** The phrase is quite cryptic, at least to the modern reader. Verse 9 seems to indicate that this message pertains to Babylon. Southern Mesopotamia was known as the Sealand in ancient times, because of its proximity to the Persian Gulf. Perhaps the reference to Babylon as a "desert" foreshadows the destruction that would overtake the city, making it like a desolate desert.

²⁴ **tn** Or "in the Negev" (NASB).

from a land that is feared.

21:2 I have received a distressing message.¹

“The deceiver deceives,
the destroyer destroys.
Attack, you Elamites!

Lay siege, you Medes!

I will put an end to all the groaning!”²

21:3 For this reason my stomach churns;³
cramps overwhelm me
like the contractions of a woman in labor.
I am disturbed⁴ by what I hear,
horrified by what I see.

21:4 My heart palpitates,⁵
I shake in fear;⁶

the twilight I desired
has brought me terror.

21:5 Arrange the table,
lay out⁷ the carpet,
eat and drink!⁸

Get up, you officers,
smear oil on the shields!⁹

21:6 For this is what the sovereign master¹⁰
has told me:

“Go, post a guard!

He must report what he sees.

21:7 When he sees chariots,
teams of horses,¹¹

riders on donkeys,

riders on camels,

he must be alert,
very alert.”

21:8 Then the guard¹² cries out:

“On the watchtower, O sovereign master,¹³

I stand all day long;

at my post

I am stationed every night.

21:9 Look what’s coming!

A charioteer,
a team of horses.”¹⁴

When questioned, he replies,¹⁵

“Babylon has fallen, fallen!

All the idols of her gods lie shattered on
the ground!”

21:10 O my downtrodden people, crushed
like stalks on the threshing floor,¹⁶

what I have heard

from the LORD who commands armies,

the God of Israel,

I have reported to you.

Bad News for Seir

21:11 Here is a message about Dumah:¹⁷

Someone calls to me from Seir.¹⁸

“Watchman, what is left of the night?

Watchman, what is left of the night?”¹⁹

21:12 The watchman replies,

“Morning is coming, but then night.²⁰

If you want to ask, ask;

come back again.”²¹

The Lord Will Judge Arabia

21:13 Here is a message about Arabia:

In the thicket of Arabia you spend the
night,

you Dedanite caravans.

21:14 Bring out some water for the thirsty.

You who live in the land of Tema,

bring some food for the fugitives.

21:15 For they flee from the swords –

from the drawn sword

and from the battle-ready bow

and from the severity of the battle.

21:16 For this is what the sovereign master²² has told me: “Within exactly one year²³ all the splendor of Kedar will come to an end.

¹ **tn** Heb “a severe revelation has been related to me.”

² **sn** This is often interpreted to mean “all the groaning” that Babylon has caused others.

³ **tn** Heb “my waist is filled with shaking [or “anguish”].”

⁴ **tn** Or perhaps, “bent over [in pain]”; cf. NRSV “I am bowed down.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “wanders,” perhaps here, “is confused.”

⁶ **tn** Heb “shuddering terrifies me.”

⁷ **tn** The precise meaning of the verb in this line is debated. Some prefer to derive the form from the homonymic צִבְחָה (*tsafah*, “keep watch”) and translate “post a guard” (cf. KJV “watch in the watchtower”; ASV “set the watch”).

⁸ **tn** The verbal forms in the first three lines are infinitives absolute, which are functioning here as finite verbs. It is uncertain if the forms should have an imperative or indicative/descriptive force here.

⁹ **sn** Smearing the shields with oil would make them more flexible and effective in battle. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:394.

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here and in vv. 8, 16 is אֲדֹנָי (*adonay*).

¹¹ **tn** Or “a pair of horsemen.”

¹² **tn** The Hebrew text has, “the lion,” but this makes little sense here. אַרְיֵה (*aryeh*, “lion”) is probably a corruption of an original הָרֵאָה (*har’eh*, “the one who sees”), i.e., the guard mentioned previously in v. 6.

¹³ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדֹנָי (*adonay*). Some translations take this to refer to the Lord (cf. NAB, NASB, NRSV), while others take it to refer to the guard’s human master (“my lord”; cf. NIV, NLT).

¹⁴ **tn** Or “[with] teams of horses,” or perhaps, “with a pair of horsemen.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “and he answered and said” (so KJV, ASV).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “My trampled one, and the son of the threshing floor.”

¹⁷ **tn** The noun דִּמְחָה (*dumah*) means “silence,” but here it is a proper name, probably referring to a site in northern Arabia or to the nation of Edom. See BDB 189 s.v. דִּמְחָה. If Dumah was an area in northern Arabia, it would be of interest to the Edomites because of its strategic position on trade routes which they used. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:398.

¹⁸ **sn** Seir is another name for Edom. See BDB 973 s.v. שֵׁעִיר.

¹⁹ **sn** The “night” probably here symbolizes distress and difficult times. See BDB 539 s.v. לַיְלָה.

²⁰ **sn** Dumah will experience some relief, but it will be short-lived as night returns.

²¹ **sn** The point of the watchman’s final instructions (“if you want to ask, ask; come again”) is unclear. Perhaps they are included to add realism to the dramatic portrayal. The watchman sends the questioner away with the words, “Feel free to come back and ask again.”

²² **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדֹנָי (*adonay*).

²³ **tn** Heb “in still a year, like the years of a hired worker.” See the note at 16:14.

21:17 Just a handful of archers, the warriors of Kedar, will be left.¹ Indeed,² the LORD God of Israel has spoken.

The Lord Will Judge Jerusalem

22:1 Here is a message about the Valley of Vision.³

What is the reason⁴
that all of you go up to the rooftops?

22:2 The noisy city is full of raucous sounds;

the town is filled with revelry.⁵
Your slain were not cut down by the sword;

they did not die in battle.⁶

22:3⁷ All your leaders ran away together – they fled to a distant place;
all your refugees⁸ were captured together – they were captured without a single arrow being shot.⁹

22:4 So I say:

“Don’t look at me!¹⁰

I am weeping bitterly.

Don’t try¹¹ to console me
concerning the destruction of my defenseless people.”¹²

22:5 For the sovereign master,¹³ the LORD who commands armies,

¹ **tn** Heb “and the remnant of the number of the bow, the mighty men of the sons of Kedar, will be few.”

² **tn** Or “for” (KJV, ASV, NAB, NASB, NRSV).

³ **sn** The following message pertains to Jerusalem. The significance of referring to the city as *the Valley of Vision* is uncertain. Perhaps the Hinnom Valley is in view, but why it is associated with a prophetic revelatory “vision” is not entirely clear. Maybe the Hinnom Valley is called this because the destruction that will take place there is the focal point of this prophetic message (see v. 5).

⁴ **tn** Heb “What to you, then?”

⁵ **tn** Heb “the boisterous town.” The phrase is parallel to “the noisy city” in the preceding line.

⁶ **sn** Apparently they died from starvation during the siege that preceded the final conquest of the city. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:409.

⁷ **tn** Verse 3 reads literally, “All your leaders ran away, apart from a bow they were captured, all your found ones were captured together, to a distant place they fled.” J. N. Oswalt (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:403, n. 3) suggests that the lines of the verse are arranged chiastically; lines 1 and 4 go together, while lines 2 and 3 are parallel. To translate the lines in the order they appear in the Hebrew text is misleading to the English reader, who is likely unfamiliar with, or at least insensitive to, chiastic parallelism. Consequently, the translation above arranges the lines as follows: line 1 (Hebrew) = line 1 (in translation); line 2 (Hebrew) = line 4 (in translation); line 3 (Hebrew) = line 3 (in translation); line 4 (Hebrew) = line 2 (in translation).

⁸ **tn** Heb “all your found ones.” To achieve tighter parallelism (see “your leaders”) some prefer to emend the form to אַמְּטַיִךְ (*’ammitsayikh*, “your strong ones”) or to אַמְּטַיִךְ (*ne’ematsayikh*, “your strengthened ones”).

⁹ **tn** Heb “apart from [i.e., without] a bow they were captured”; cf. NAB, NRSV “without the use of a bow.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “look away from me” (so KJV, ASV, NRSV).

¹¹ **tn** Heb “don’t hurry” (so NCV).

¹² **tn** Heb “the daughter of my people.” “Daughter” is here used metaphorically to express the speaker’s emotional attachment to his people, as well as their vulnerability and weakness.

¹³ **tn** Heb The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here and in vv. 12, 14, 15 is אֲדֹנָי (*’adonay*).

has planned a day of panic, defeat, and confusion.¹⁴

In the Valley of Vision¹⁵ people shout¹⁶ and cry out to the hill.¹⁷

22:6 The Elamites picked up the quiver, and came with chariots and horsemen;¹⁸ the men of Kir¹⁹ prepared²⁰ the shield.²¹

22:7 Your very best valleys were full of chariots;²²

horsemen confidently took their positions²³ at the gate.

22:8 They²⁴ removed the defenses²⁵ of Judah.

At that time²⁶ you looked
for the weapons in the House of the Forest.²⁷

22:9 You saw the many breaks
in the walls of the City of David;²⁸
you stored up water in the lower pool.

22:10 You counted the houses in Jerusalem,²⁹

and demolished houses so you could have
material to reinforce the wall.³⁰

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “For [there is] a day of panic, and trampling, and confusion for the master, the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts].”

¹⁵ **tn** The traditional accentuation of the Hebrew text suggests that this phrase goes with what precedes.

¹⁶ **tn** The precise meaning of this statement is unclear. Some take קִיר (*qir*) as “wall” and interpret the verb to mean “tear down.” However, tighter parallelism (note the reference to crying for help in the next line) is achieved if one takes both the verb and noun from a root, attested in Ugaritic and Arabic, meaning “make a sound.” See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:404, n. 5.

¹⁷ **sn** Perhaps “the hill” refers to the temple mount.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “[with] the chariots of men, horsemen.”

¹⁹ **sn** A distant region in the direction of Mesopotamia; see Amos 1:5; 9:7.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “Kir uncovers” (so NAB, NIV).

²¹ **sn** The Elamites and men of Kir may here symbolize a fierce army from a distant land. If this oracle anticipates a Babylonian conquest of the city (see 39:5-7), then the Elamites and men of Kir are perhaps viewed here as mercenaries in the Babylonian army. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:410.

²² **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

²³ **tn** Heb “taking a stand, take their stand.” The infinitive absolute emphasizes the following finite verb. The translation attempts to bring out this emphasis with the adverb “confidently.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “he,” i.e., the enemy invader. NASB, by its capitalization of the pronoun, takes this to refer to the LORD.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “covering.”

²⁶ **tn** Heb “in that day” (so KJV), likewise at the beginning of v. 12.

²⁷ **sn** Perhaps this refers to a royal armory, or to Solomon’s “House of the Forest of Lebanon,” where weapons may have been kept (see 1 Kgs 10:16-17).

²⁸ **tn** Heb “the breaks of the City of David, you saw that they were many.”

²⁹ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

³⁰ **tn** Heb “you demolished the houses to fortify the wall.”

22:11 You made a reservoir between the two walls
for the water of the old pool –
but you did not trust in¹ the one who made it;²

you did not depend on³ the one who formed it long ago!

22:12 At that time the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, called for weeping and mourning,
for shaved heads and sackcloth.⁴

22:13 But look, there is outright celebration!⁵

You say, “Kill the ox and slaughter the sheep,
eat meat and drink wine.
Eat and drink, for tomorrow we die!”⁶

22:14 The LORD who commands armies told me this:⁷ “Certainly this sin will not be forgiven as long as you live,”⁸ says the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies.

22:15 This is what the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, says: “Go visit this administrator, Shebna, who supervises the palace,⁹ and tell him.”¹⁰

22:16 “What right do you have to be here? What relatives do you have buried here?”¹¹ Why¹² do you chisel out a tomb for yourself here?

He chisels out his burial site in an elevated place,
he carves out his tomb on a cliff.

22:17 Look, the LORD will throw you far away,¹³ you mere man!¹⁴

He will wrap you up tightly.¹⁵

22:18 He will wind you up tightly into a ball

and throw you into a wide, open land.¹⁶

There you will die,

and there with you will be your impressive chariots,¹⁷

which bring disgrace to the house of your master.¹⁸

22:19 I will remove you from¹⁹ your office; you will be thrown down²⁰ from your position.

22:20 “At that time²¹ I will summon my servant Eliakim, son of Hilkiah. **22:21** I will put your robe on him, tie your belt around him, and transfer your authority to him.²² He will become a protector of²³ the residents of Jerusalem and of the people²⁴ of Judah. **22:22** I will place the key²⁵ to the house of David on his shoulder. When he opens the door, no one can close it; when he closes the door, no one can open it. **22:23** I will fasten him like a peg into a solid place;²⁶ he will bring honor and respect to his father’s family.²⁷ **22:24** His father’s family will gain increasing prominence because of him,²⁸ including the offspring and the offshoots.²⁹ All the small containers, including the bowls and all the jars will hang from this peg.”³⁰

“my fellow.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “and the one who wraps you [will] wrap.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “and he will tightly [or “surely”] wind you [with] winding like a ball, to a land broad of hands [i.e., “sides”].”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “and there the chariots of your splendor.”

¹⁸ **sn** Apparently the reference to chariots alludes to Shebna’s excessive pride, which in turn brings disgrace to the royal family.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “I will push you away from.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “he will throw you down.” The shift from the first to third person is peculiar and abrupt, but certainly not unprecedented in Hebrew poetry. See GKC 462 §144.p. The third person may be indefinite (“one will throw you down”), in which case the passive translation is justified.

²¹ **tn** Or “in that day.” The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

²² **tn** Heb “and your dominion I will place in his hand.”

²³ **tn** Heb “a father to.” The Hebrew term אב (‘av, “father”) is here used metaphorically of one who protects and supports those under his care and authority, like a father does his family. For another example of this metaphorical use of the word, see Job 29:16.

²⁴ **tn** Heb “house.”

²⁵ **sn** This may refer to a literal insignia worn by the chief administrator. Even so, it would still symbolize the administrator’s authority to grant or exclude access to the king. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:422.

²⁶ **sn** The metaphor depicts how secure his position will be.

²⁷ **tn** Heb “and he will become a glorious throne for the house of his father.”

²⁸ **tn** Heb “and all the glory of the house of his father they will hang on him.” The LORD returns to the peg metaphor of v. 23a. Eliakim’s secure position of honor will bring benefits and jobs to many others in the family.

²⁹ **tn** The precise meaning and derivation of this word are uncertain. Cf. KJV, ASV, NRSV “the issue”; CEV “relatives.”

³⁰ **tn** Heb “all the small vessels, from the vessels that are bowls to all the vessels that are jars.” The picture is that of a single peg holding the weight of all kinds of containers hung from it.

¹ **tn** Heb “look at”; NAB, NRSV “did not look to.”

² **tn** The antecedent of the third feminine singular suffix here and in the next line is unclear. The closest feminine noun is “pool” in the first half of the verse. Perhaps this “old pool” symbolizes the entire city, which had prospered because of God’s provision and protection through the years.

³ **tn** Heb “did not see.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “for baldness and the wearing of sackcloth.” See the note at 15:2.

⁵ **tn** Heb “happiness and joy.”

⁶ **tn** The prophet here quotes what the fatalistic people are saying. The introductory “you say” is supplied in the translation for clarification; the concluding verb “we die” makes it clear the people are speaking. The six verbs translated as imperatives are actually infinitives absolute, functioning here as finite verbs.

⁷ **tn** Heb “it was revealed in my ears [by?] the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts].”

⁸ **tn** Heb “Certainly this sin will not be atoned for until you die.” This does not imply that their death will bring atonement; rather it emphasizes that their sin is unpardonable. The statement has the form of an oath.

⁹ **tn** Heb “who is over the house” (so ASV); NASB “who is in charge of the royal household.”

¹⁰ **tn** The words “and tell him” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “What to you here? And who to you here?” The point of the second question is not entirely clear. The interpretation reflected in the translation is based on the following context, which suggests that Shebna has no right to think of himself so highly and arrange such an extravagant burial place for himself.

¹² **tn** Heb “that you chisel out.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “will throw you with a throwing.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “O man” (so NASB); NAB “mortal man”; NRSV

22:25 “At that time,”¹ says the LORD who commands armies, “the peg fastened into a solid place will come loose. It will be cut off and fall, and the load hanging on it will be cut off.”² Indeed,³ the LORD has spoken.

The Lord Will Judge Tyre

23:1 Here is a message about Tyre:

Wail, you large ships,⁴
for the port is too devastated to enter!⁵
From the land of Cyprus⁶ this news is
announced to them.

23:2 Lament,⁷ you residents of the coast,
you merchants of Sidon⁸ who travel over
the sea,
whose agents sail over 23:3 the deep waters!⁹

Grain from the Shihor region,¹⁰
crops grown near the Nile¹¹ she receives;¹²
she is the trade center¹³ of the nations.

23:4 Be ashamed, O Sidon,
for the sea¹⁴ says this, O fortress of the
sea:

“I have not gone into labor
or given birth;
I have not raised young men
or brought up young women.”¹⁵

¹ **tn** Or “In that day” (KJV).

² **sn** Eliakim’s authority, though seemingly secure, will eventually be removed, and with it his family’s prominence.

³ **tn** Or “for” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV).

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “ships of Tarshish.” This probably refers to large ships either made in or capable of traveling to the distant western port of Tarshish.

⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “for it is destroyed, from a house, from entering.” The translation assumes that the *mem* (ם) בַּיִת (*bayit*) was originally an enclitic *mem* suffixed to the preceding verb. This assumption allows one to take בַּיִת as the subject of the preceding verb. It is used in a metaphorical sense for the port city of Tyre. The preposition *min* (מִן) prefixed to בּוֹא (*bo*) indicates negative consequence: “so that no one can enter.” See BDB 583 s.v. בּוֹא 7.b.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “the Kittim,” a designation for the people of Cyprus. See HALOT 504-05 s.v. כִּיֻּתִּים.

⁷ **tn** Or “keep quiet”; NAB “Silence!”

⁸ **map** For location see Map1-A1; JP3-F3; JP4-F3.

⁹ **tc** The Hebrew text (23:2b-3a) reads literally, “merchant of Sidon, the one who crosses the sea, they filled you, and on the deep waters.” Instead of מִלְאֲכֶיךָ (*mil'akhekha*, “they filled you”) the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a reads מְלַאכִּיךָ (“your messengers”). The translation assumes an emendation of מִלְאֲכֶיךָ to מְלַאכִּיךָ (*mal'akhav*, “his messengers”), taking the *vav* (ו) וּבְמַיִם (*uv'mayim*) as improperly placed; instead it should be the final letter of the preceding word.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “seed of Shihor.” “Shihor” probably refers to the east branch of the Nile. See Jer 2:18 and BDB 1009 s.v. שִׁיחור.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “the harvest of the Nile.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “[is] her revenue.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “merchandise”; KJV, ASV “a mart of nations”; NLT “the merchandise mart of the world.”

¹⁴ **tn** J. N. Oswalt (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:430-31) sees here a reference to Yam, the Canaanite god of the sea. He interprets the phrase עֲמֻזַּת הַיָּם (*ma'oz hayyam*, “fortress of the sea”) as a title of Yam, translating “Mighty One of the Sea.” A more traditional view is that the phrase refers to Sidon.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “virgins” (KJV, ASV, NAB, NASB).

sn The sea is personified here as a lamenting childless woman. The foreboding language anticipates the following announcement of Tyre’s demise, viewed here as a child of the

23:5 When the news reaches Egypt,
they will be shaken by what has hap-
pened to Tyre.¹⁶

23:6 Travel to Tarshish!

Wail, you residents of the coast!

23:7 Is this really your boisterous city¹⁷
whose origins are in the distant past,¹⁸
and whose feet led her to a distant land to
reside?

23:8 Who planned this for royal Tyre,¹⁹
whose merchants are princes,
whose traders are the dignitaries²⁰ of the
earth?

23:9 The LORD who commands armies
planned it –
to dishonor the pride that comes from all
her beauty,²¹
to humiliate all the dignitaries of the
earth.

23:10 Daughter Tarshish, travel back to
your land, as one crosses the Nile;
there is no longer any marketplace in
Tyre.²²

23:11 The LORD stretched out his hand
over the sea,²³
he shook kingdoms;
he²⁴ gave the order
to destroy Canaan’s fortresses.²⁵

23:12 He said,
“You will no longer celebrate,
oppressed²⁶ virgin daughter Sidon!
Get up, travel to Cyprus,

sea, as it were.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “they will be in pain at the report of Tyre.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “Is this to you, boisterous one?” The pronoun “you” is masculine plural, like the imperatives in v. 6, so it is likely addressed to the Egyptians and residents of the coast. “Boisterous one” is a feminine singular form, probably referring to the personified city of Tyre.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “in the days of antiquity [is] her beginning.”

¹⁹ **tn** The precise meaning of הִמְצִיבֶיהָ (*hamma'atirah*) is uncertain. The form is a Hiphil participle from צָבַר (*atar*), a denominative verb derived from צָבַר (*atarah*, “crown, wreath”). The participle may mean “one who wears a crown” or “one who distributes crowns.” In either case, Tyre’s prominence in the international political arena is in view.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the honored” (so NASB, NRSV); NIV “renowned.”

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “the pride of all the beauty.”

²² **tc** This meaning of this verse is unclear. The Hebrew text reads literally, “Cross over your land, like the Nile, daughter of Tarshish, there is no more waistband.” The translation assumes an emendation of מִזְכָּה (*mezakh*, “waistband”) to מַחְזֶה (*makhaz*, “harbor, marketplace”; see Ps 107:30). The term עָבַר (*avar*, “cross over”) is probably used here of traveling over the water (as in v. 6). The command is addressed to personified Tarshish, who here represents her merchants. The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has עֲבַדִּי (“work, cultivate”) instead of עָבַר (“cross over”). In this case one might translate “Cultivate your land, like they do the Nile region” (cf. NIV, CEV). The point would be that the people of Tarshish should turn to agriculture because they will no longer be able to get what they need through the marketplace in Tyre.

²³ **tn** *Heb* “his hand he stretched out over the sea.”

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the LORD.” For stylistic reasons the pronoun (“he”) has been used in the translation here.

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “concerning Canaan, to destroy her fortresses.” NIV, NLT translate “Canaan” as “Phoenicia” here.

²⁶ **tn** Or “violated, raped,” the point being that Daughter Sidon has lost her virginity in the most brutal manner possible.

but you will find no relief there.”¹

23:13 Look at the land of the Chaldeans, these people who have lost their identity!²

The Assyrians have made it a home for wild animals.

They erected their siege towers,³ demolished⁴ its fortresses, and turned it into a heap of ruins.⁵

23:14 Wail, you large ships,⁶ for your fortress is destroyed!

23:15 At that time⁷ Tyre will be forgotten for seventy years,⁸ the typical life span of a king.⁹ At the end of seventy years Tyre will try to attract attention again, like the prostitute in the popular song.¹⁰

23:16 “Take the harp, go through the city, forgotten prostitute! Play it well, play lots of songs, so you’ll be noticed!”¹¹

23:17 At the end of seventy years¹² the LORD will revive¹³ Tyre. She will start making money again by selling her services to all the earth’s kingdoms.¹⁴ **23:18** Her profits and earnings will be set apart for the LORD. They will not be stored up or accumulated, for her profits will be given to those who live in the LORD’s presence and will be used to purchase large quantities of food and beautiful clothes.¹⁵

¹ **tn** Heb “[to the] Kittim, get up, cross over; even there there will be no rest for you.” On “Kittim” see the note on “Cyprus” at v. 1.

² **tn** Heb “this people [that] is not.”

³ **tn** For the meaning of this word, see HALOT 118 s.v. כְּרוֹן.

⁴ **tn** Or “laid bare.” For the meaning of this word, see HALOT 889 s.v. נָקַד.

⁵ **sn** This verse probably refers to the Assyrian destruction of Babylon.

⁶ **tn** Heb “ships of Tarshish.” See the note at v. 1.

⁷ **tn** Or “in that day” (KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

⁸ **sn** The number *seventy* is probably used in a stereotypical, nonliteral sense here to indicate a long period of time that satisfies completely the demands of God’s judgment.

⁹ **tn** Heb “like the days of a king.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “At the end of seventy years it will be for Tyre like the song of the prostitute.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “so you will be remembered.”

¹² **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

¹³ **tn** Heb “visit [with favor]” (cf. KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV); NIV “will deal with.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and she will return to her [prostitute’s] wages and engage in prostitution with all the kingdoms of the earth on the face of the earth.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “for eating to fullness and for beautiful covering[s].”

sn The point of this verse, which in its blatant nationalism comes precariously close to comparing the LORD to one who controls or manages a prostitute, is that Tyre will become a subject of Israel and her God. Tyre’s commercial profits will be used to enrich the LORD’s people.

The Lord Will Judge the Earth

24:1 Look, the LORD is ready to devastate the earth and leave it in ruins; he will mar its surface and scatter its inhabitants.

24:2 Everyone will suffer – the priest as well as the people,¹⁶ the master as well as the servant,¹⁷ the elegant lady as well as the female attendant,¹⁸

the seller as well as the buyer,¹⁹ the borrower as well as the lender,²⁰ the creditor as well as the debtor.²¹

24:3 The earth will be completely devastated and thoroughly ransacked.

For the LORD has decreed this judgment.²²

24:4 The earth²³ dries up²⁴ and withers, the world shrivels up and withers; the prominent people of the earth²⁵ fade away.

24:5 The earth is defiled by²⁶ its inhabitants,²⁷

for they have violated laws,

disregarded the regulation,²⁸

and broken the permanent treaty.²⁹

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “and it will be like the people, like the priest.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “like the servant, like his master.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “like the female servant, like her mistress.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “like the buyer, like the seller.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “like the lender, like the borrower.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “like the creditor, just as the one to whom he lends.”

²² **tn** Heb “for the LORD has spoken this word.”

²³ **tn** Some prefer to read “land” here, but the word pair תֵּבֵל/אֶרֶץ (*ereṣ/tevel* [see the corresponding term in the parallel line]) elsewhere clearly designates the earth/world (see 1 Sam 2:8; 1 Chr 16:30; Job 37:12; Pss 19:4; 24:1; 33:8; 89:11; 90:2; 96:13; 98:9; Prov 8:26, 31; Isa 14:16-17; 34:1; Jer 10:12; 51:15; Lam 4:12). According to L. Stadelmann, תֵּבֵל designates “the habitable part of the world” (*The Hebrew Conception of the World* [AnBib], 130).

²⁴ **tn** Or “mourns” (BDB 5 s.v. אָבַל). HALOT 6-7 lists the homonyms אָבַל (“mourn”) and אָבַל (“dry up”). They propose the second here on the basis of parallelism.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “the height of the people of the earth.” The translation assumes an emendation of the singular form גִּירוֹם (*m^grom*, “height of”) to the plural construct גִּירוֹמֵי (*m^grome*, “high ones of”; note the plural verb at the beginning of the line), and understands the latter as referring to the prominent people of human society.

²⁶ **tn** Heb “beneath”; cf. KJV, ASV, NRSV “under”; NAB “because of.”

²⁷ **sn** Isa 26:21 suggests that the earth’s inhabitants defiled the earth by shedding the blood of their fellow human beings. See also Num 35:33-34, which assumes that bloodshed defiles a land.

²⁸ **tn** Heb “moved past [the?] regulation.”

²⁹ **tn** Or “everlasting covenant” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NAB “the ancient covenant”; CEV “their agreement that was to last forever.”

sn For a lengthy discussion of the identity of this covenant/treaty, see R. Chisholm, “The ‘Everlasting Covenant’ and the ‘City of Chaos’: Intentional Ambiguity and Irony in Isaiah 24,” *CTR* 6 (1993): 237-53. In this context, where judgment comes upon both the pagan nations and God’s covenant community, the phrase “permanent treaty” is intentionally ambiguous. For the nations this treaty is the Noachic mandate of Gen 9:1-7 with its specific stipulations and central regula-

24:6 So a treaty curse¹ devours the earth;
its inhabitants pay for their guilt.²
This is why the inhabitants of the earth
disappear,³
and are reduced to just a handful of
people.⁴
24:7 The new wine dries up,
the vines shrivel up,
all those who like to celebrate⁵ groan.
24:8 The happy sound⁶ of the tambourines
stops,
the revelry of those who celebrate comes
to a halt,
the happy sound of the harp ceases.
24:9 They no longer sing and drink wine;⁷
the beer tastes bitter to those who drink it.
24:10 The ruined town⁸ is shattered;
all of the houses are shut up tight.⁹
24:11 They howl in the streets because of
what happened to the wine;¹⁰
all joy turns to sorrow;¹¹

celebrations disappear from the earth.¹²
24:12 The city is left in ruins;¹³
the gate is reduced to rubble.¹⁴
24:13 This is what will happen through-
out¹⁵ the earth,
among the nations.
It will be like when they beat an olive
tree,
and just a few olives are left at the end of
the harvest.¹⁶
24:14 They¹⁷ lift their voices and shout
joyfully;
they praise¹⁸ the majesty of the LORD in
the west.
24:15 So in the east¹⁹ extol the LORD,
along the seacoasts extol²⁰ the fame²¹ of
the LORD God of Israel.
24:16 From the ends of the earth we²² hear
songs –
the Just One is majestic.²³
But I²⁴ say, “I’m wasting away! I’m wast-
ing away! I’m doomed!
Deceivers deceive, deceivers thoroughly
deceive!”²⁵
24:17 Terror, pit, and snare
are ready to overtake you inhabitants of
the earth!²⁶

tion (Gen 9:7). By shedding blood, the warlike nations violat-
ed this treaty, which promotes population growth and prohib-
its murder. For Israel, which was also guilty of bloodshed (see
Isa 1:15, 21; 4:4), this “permanent treaty” would refer more
specifically to the Mosaic Law and its regulations prohibiting
murder (Exod 20:13; Num 35:6-34), which are an extension
of the Noahic mandate.

¹ **sn** Ancient Near Eastern treaties often had “curses,” or
threatened judgments, attached to them. (See Deut 28 for a
biblical example of such curses.) The party or parties taking
an oath of allegiance acknowledged that disobedience would
activate these curses, which typically threatened loss of agri-
cultural fertility as depicted in the following verses.

² **tn** The verb אָשָׁם (*asham*, “be guilty”) is here used met-
onymically to mean “pay, suffer for one’s guilt” (see HALOT
95 s.v. אָשָׁם).

³ **tn** BDB 359 s.v. חָרַר derives the verb חָרַר (*kharru*) from חָרַר
(*kharrar*, “burn”), but HALOT 351 s.v. חָרַר understands a *hap-
pax legomenon* חָרַר (*kharrar*, “to diminish in number,” a hom-
onym of חָרַר) here, relating it to an alleged Arabic cognate
meaning “to decrease.” The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has חָרַר,
perhaps understanding the root as חָרַר (*khavar*, “grow pale”;
see Isa 29:22 and HALOT 299 s.v. חָרַר).

⁴ **tn** Heb “and mankind is left small [in number].”

⁵ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “all the joyful in heart,”
but the context specifies the context as parties and drinking
bouts.

⁶ **tn** Heb “the joy” (again later in this verse).

⁷ **tn** Heb “with a song they do not drink wine.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “the city of chaos” (so NAB, NASB, NRSV). Isa-
iah uses the term חָרָה (*tohu*) rather frequently of things (like
idols) that are empty and worthless (see BDB 1062 s.v.), so
the word might characterize the city as rebellious or morally
worthless. However, in this context, which focuses on the ef-
fects of divine judgment, it probably refers to the ruined or
worthless condition in which the city is left (note the use of
the word in Isa 34:11). For a discussion of the identity of this
city, see R. Chisholm, “The ‘Everlasting Covenant’ and the
‘City of Chaos’: Intentional Ambiguity and Irony in Isaiah 24,”
CTR 6 (1993): 237-53. In the context of universal judgment
depicted in Isa 24, this city represents all the nations and ci-
ties of the world which, like Babylon of old and the powers/ci-
ties mentioned in chapters 13-23, rebel against God’s author-
ity. Behind the stereotypical language one can detect various
specific manifestations of this symbolic and paradigmatic
city, including Babylon, Moab, and Jerusalem, all of which are
alluded or referred to in chapters 24-27.

⁹ **tn** Heb “every house is closed up from entering.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “[there is] an outcry over the wine in the streets.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “all joy turns to evening,” the darkness of evening
symbolizing distress and sorrow.

¹² **tn** Heb “the joy of the earth disappears.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and there is left in the city desolation.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and [into] rubble the gate is crushed.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “in the midst of” (so KJV, ASV, NASB).

¹⁶ **sn** The judgment will severely reduce the earth’s popula-
tion. See v. 6.

¹⁷ **sn** The remnant of the nations (see v. 13) may be the
unspecified subject. If so, then those who have survived the
judgment begin to praise God.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “they yell out concerning.”

¹⁹ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “in the lights,” inter-
preted by some to mean “in the region of light,” referring to
the east. Some scholars have suggested the emendation of
בְּאֵרִים (*ba’urim*) בְּאֵי הַיָּם (*b’e’iyye hayyam*, “along the sea-
coasts”), a phrase that is repeated in the next line. In this
case, the two lines form synonymous parallelism. If one re-
tains the MT reading (as above), “in the east” and “along the
seacoasts” depict the two ends of the earth to refer to all the
earth (as a merism).

²⁰ **tn** The word “extol” is supplied in the translation; the verb
in the first line does double duty in the parallelism.

²¹ **tn** Heb “name,” which here stands for God’s reputation
achieved by his mighty deeds.

²² **sn** The identity of the subject is unclear. Apparently in vv.
15-16a an unidentified group responds to the praise they
hear in the west by exhorting others to participate.

²³ **tn** Heb “Beauty belongs to the just one.” These words may
summarize the main theme of the songs mentioned in the
preceding line.

²⁴ **sn** The prophet seems to contradict what he hears the
group saying. Their words are premature because more de-
struction is coming.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “and [with] deception deceivers deceive.”

tn Verse 16b is a classic example of Hebrew wordplay. In
the first line (“I’m wasting away...”) four consecutive words
end with *hireq yod* (י); in the second line all forms are derived
from the root בָּגַד (*bagad*). The repetition of sound draws at-
tention to the prophet’s lament.

²⁶ **tn** Heb “[are] upon you, O inhabitant of the earth.” The
first line of v. 17 provides another classic example of Hebrew
wordplay. The names of the three instruments of judgment
פַּחַד, פַּחַת, פַּחִי (*pakhad, fakhat, fakh*) all begin with the letters
פֶּה (*peh-khet*) and the first two end in dental consonants (פֶּה/
tet/dalet). Once again the repetition of sound draws attention

24:18 The one who runs away from the sound of the terror will fall into the pit;¹ the one who climbs out of the pit, will be trapped by the snare. For the floodgates of the heavens² are opened up³

and the foundations of the earth shake.

24:19 The earth is broken in pieces, the earth is ripped to shreds, the earth shakes violently.⁴

24:20 The earth will stagger around⁵ like a drunk;

it will sway back and forth like a hut in a windstorm.⁶

Its sin will weigh it down, and it will fall and never get up again.

The Lord Will Become King

24:21 At that time⁷ the LORD will punish⁸ the heavenly forces in the heavens⁹ and the earthly kings on the earth.

24:22 They will be imprisoned in a pit,¹⁰ locked up in a prison, and after staying there for a long time,¹¹ they will be punished.¹²

24:23 The full moon will be covered up,¹³

to the statement and contributes to the theme of the inescapability of judgment. As their similar-sounding names suggest, terror, pit, and snare are allies in destroying the objects of divine wrath.

¹ **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

² **tn** *Heb* “from the height”; KJV “from on high.”

³ **sn** The language reflects the account of the Noahic Flood (see Gen 7:11).

⁴ **tn** Once more repetition is used to draw attention to a statement. In the Hebrew text each line ends with אֶרֶץ (*‘erets*, “earth”). Each line also uses a Hitpoel verb form from a geminate root preceded by an emphatic infinitive absolute.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “staggering, staggers.” The Hebrew text uses the infinitive absolute before the finite verb for emphasis and sound play.

⁶ **tn** The words “in a windstorm” are supplied in the translation to clarify the metaphor.

⁷ **tn** Or “in that day” (so KJV). The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “visit [in judgment].”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the host of the height in the height.” The “host of the height/heaven” refers to the heavenly luminaries (stars and planets, see, among others, Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3; 5; 23:4-5; 2 Chr 33:3, 5) that populate the divine/heavenly assembly in mythological and prescientific Israelite thought (see Job 38:7; Isa 14:13).

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “they will be gathered [in] a gathering [as] a prisoner in a cistern.” It is tempting to eliminate אֶסְפָּה (*‘asefah*, “a gathering”) as dittographic or as a gloss, but sound repetition is one of the main characteristics of the style of this section of the chapter.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “and after a multitude of days.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “visited” (so KJV, ASV). This verse can mean to visit for good or for evil. The translation assumes the latter, based on v. 21a. However, BDB 823 s.v. בָּקַר B.Niph.2 suggests the meaning “visit graciously” here, in which case one might translate “they will be released.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “will be ashamed.”

the bright sun¹⁴ will be darkened;¹⁵ for the LORD who commands armies will rule¹⁶ on Mount Zion in Jerusalem¹⁷ in the presence of his assembly, in majestic splendor.¹⁸

25:1 O LORD, you are my God!¹⁹ I will extol you in praise, I will extol your fame.²⁰

For you have done extraordinary things, and executed plans made long ago exactly as you decreed.²¹

25:2 Indeed,²² you have made the city²³ into a heap of rubble, the fortified town into a heap of ruins; the fortress of foreigners²⁴ is no longer a city, it will never be rebuilt.

25:3 So a strong nation will extol you; the towns of²⁵ powerful nations will fear you.

25:4 For you are a protector for the poor, a protector for the needy in their distress, a shelter from the rainstorm, a shade from the heat.

Though the breath of tyrants²⁶ is like a winter rainstorm,²⁷

25:5 like heat²⁸ in a dry land, you humble the boasting foreigners.²⁹

Just as the shadow of a cloud causes the heat to subside,³⁰

so he causes the song of tyrants to cease.³¹

¹⁴ **tn** Or “glow of the sun.”

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “will be ashamed” (so NCV).

¹⁶ **tn** Or “take his throne,” “become king.”

¹⁷ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “and before his elders [in] splendor.”

¹⁹ **sn** The prophet speaks here as one who has observed the coming judgment of the proud.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “name.” See the note at 24:15.

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “plans from long ago [in] faithfulness, trustworthiness.” The feminine noun אֱמוּנָה (*‘emunah*, “faithfulness”) and masculine noun אֱמֻנָה (*‘omen*, “trustworthiness”), both of which are derived from the root אָמַן (*‘aman*), are juxtaposed to emphasize the basic idea conveyed by the synonyms. Here they describe the absolute reliability of the divine plans.

²² **tn** Or “For” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV).

²³ **tn** The Hebrew text has “you have made from the city.” The prefixed *mem* (בִּי) *qir* (“city”) was probably originally an enclitic *mem* suffixed to the preceding verb. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:456, n. 3.

²⁴ **tc** Some with support from the LXX emend זָרִים (*zarim*, “foreigners”) to זְדִים (*zedim*, “the insolent”).

²⁵ **tn** The Hebrew text has a singular form, but it should be emended to a plural or eliminated altogether. The noun may have been accidentally copied from the preceding verse.

²⁶ **tn** Or perhaps, “the violent”; NIV, NRSV “the ruthless.”

²⁷ **tc** The Hebrew text has, “like a rainstorm of a wall,” which might be interpreted to mean, “like a rainstorm battering against a wall.” The translation assumes an emendation of קִיר (*qir*, “wall”) to קָר (*qor*, “cold, winter”; cf. Gen 8:22). See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:457, n. 6, for discussion.

²⁸ **tn** Or “drought” (TEV).

²⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the tumult of foreigners.”

³⁰ **tn** *Heb* “[like] heat in the shadow of a cloud.”

³¹ **tn** The translation assumes that the verb יַאֲנֶה (*ya’aneh*) is a Hiphil imperfect from אָנַח (*‘anah*, “be afflicted, humiliated”).

25:6 The LORD who commands armies will hold a banquet for all the nations on this mountain.¹

At this banquet there will be plenty of meat and aged wine – tender meat and choicest wine.²

25:7 On this mountain he will swallow up the shroud that is over all the peoples,³ the woven covering that is over all the nations;⁴

25:8 he will swallow up death permanently.⁵

The sovereign LORD will wipe away the tears from every face, and remove his people's disgrace from all the earth.

Indeed, the LORD has announced it!⁶

25:9 At that time they will say,⁷

“Look, here⁸ is our God!

We waited for him and he delivered us.

Here⁹ is the LORD! We waited for him.

Let's rejoice and celebrate his deliverance!¹⁰

25:10 For the LORD's power will make this mountain secure.¹⁰

Moab will be trampled down where it stands,¹¹

as a heap of straw is trampled down in¹² a manure pile.

25:11 Moab¹³ will spread out its hands in the middle of it,¹⁴

just as a swimmer spreads his hands to swim;

the LORD¹⁵ will bring down Moab's¹⁶ pride as it spreads its hands.¹⁷

25:12 The fortified city (along with the very tops of your¹⁸ walls)¹⁹ he will knock down,

he will bring it down, he will throw it down to the dusty ground.²⁰

Judah Will Celebrate

26:1 At that time²¹ this song will be sung in the land of Judah:

“We have a strong city!

The LORD's²² deliverance, like walls and a rampart, makes it secure.²³

26:2 Open the gates so a righteous nation can enter – one that remains trustworthy.

26:3 You keep completely safe the people who maintain their faith, for they trust in you.²⁴

26:4 Trust in the LORD from this time forward,²⁵ even in Yah, the LORD, an enduring protector!²⁶

(*madmenah*, “manure pile”), also in v. 10.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “he”; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “his”; the referent (Moab) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁷ **tn** The Hebrew text has, “he will bring down his pride along with the [?] of his hands.” The meaning of אָרְבוֹת (*arbor*), which occurs only here in the OT, is unknown. Some (see BDB 70 s.v. אָרְבוֹת) translate “artifice, cleverness,” relating the form to the verbal root אָרַב (*arav*, “to lie in wait, ambush”), but this requires some convoluted semantic reasoning. HALOT 83 s.v. אָרְבוֹת suggests the meaning “[nimble] movements.” The translation above, which attempts to relate the form to the preceding context, is purely speculative.

¹⁸ **sn** Moab is addressed.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “a fortification, the high point of your walls.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “he will bring [it] down, he will make [it] touch the ground, even to the dust.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “In that day” (so KJV).

²² **tn** Heb “his”; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

²³ **tn** Heb “deliverance he makes walls and a rampart.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “[one of] firm purpose you will keep [in] peace, peace, for in you he possesses trust.” The Hebrew term יָצַר (*yetsar*) refers to what one devises in the mind; this phrase (*samukh*) probably functions here like an attributive adjective and carries the nuance “firm.” So the phrase literally means, “a firm purpose,” but as the object of the verb “keep, guard,” it must stand by metonymy for the one(s) who possess a firm purpose. In this context the “righteous nation” (v. 2) is probably in view and the “firm purpose” refers to their unwavering faith in God's vindication (see 25:9). In this context שָׁלוֹם (*shalom*, “peace”), which is repeated for emphasis, likely refers to national security, not emotional or psychological composure (see vv. 1-2). The passive participle בְּטוּחָה (*batuakh*) expresses a state that results from the subject's action.

²⁵ **tn** Or “forevermore.” For other uses of the phrase עַד־עַד (*ade-'ad*) see Isa 65:18 and Pss 83:17; 92:7.

²⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text has “for in Yah, the LORD, an everlasting rock.” Some have suggested that the phrase בֵּיתָה (*beyah*, “in Yah”) is the result of dittography. A scribe seeing יְהוָה (*ki yehvah*) in his original text would somehow have confused the letters and accidentally inserted בֵּיתָה between the words (*bet* and *kaf* ב and כ) can be confused in later script phases). A number of English versions retain both divine names for em-

In this context with “song” as object it means to “quiet” (see HALOT 853-54 s.v. שָׁלוֹם). Some prefer to emend the form to the second person singular, so that it will agree with the second person verb earlier in the verse. BDB 776 s.v. III שָׁלוֹם Qal.1 understands the form as Qal, with “song” as subject, in which case one might translate “the song of tyrants will be silent.” An emendation of the form to a Niphal (שָׁלוֹם, *ye'aneh*) would yield the same translation.

¹ **sn** That is, Mount Zion (see 24:23); cf. TEV; NLT “In Jerusalem.”

² **tn** Heb “And the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] will make for all the nations on this mountain a banquet of meats, a banquet of wine dregs, meats filled with marrow, dregs that are filtered.”

³ **tn** The Hebrew text reads, “the face of the shroud, the shroud over all the nations.” Some emend the second הָלוּט (*hallot*) to a passive participle הָלוּט (*hallut*, “that is wrapped”).

⁴ **sn** The point of the imagery is unclear. Perhaps the shroud/covering referred to was associated with death in some way (see v. 8).

⁵ **sn** The image of the LORD “swallowing” death would be especially powerful, for death was viewed in Canaanite mythology and culture as a hungry enemy that swallows its victims. See the note at 5:14.

⁶ **tn** Heb “has spoken” (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

⁷ **tn** Heb “and one will say in that day.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “this [one].”

⁹ **tn** Heb “this [one].”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “for the hand of the LORD will rest on this mountain”; TEV “will protect Mount Zion”; NCV “will protect (rest on NLT) Jerusalem.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “under him,” i.e., “in his place.”

¹² **tc** The marginal reading (*Qere*) is בְּמִי (*b⁶mi*, “in”). The consonantal text (*Kethib*) has בְּמִי (*b⁶mi*, “in the water of”).

¹³ **tn** Heb “he”; the referent (Moab) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁴ **tn** The antecedent of the third masculine singular pronominal suffix is probably the masculine noun מְטָח (*matben*, “heap of straw”) in v. 10 rather than the feminine noun מְטָחָה (*metvakhah*).

26:5 Indeed,¹ the LORD knocks down those who live in a high place, he brings down an elevated town; he brings it down to the ground,² he throws it down to the dust.
26:6 It is trampled underfoot by the feet of the oppressed, by the soles of the poor.”

God's People Anticipate Vindication

26:7³ The way of the righteous is level, the path of the righteous that you make is straight.⁴
26:8 Yes, as your judgments unfold,⁵ O LORD, we wait for you. We desire your fame and reputation to grow.⁶
26:9 I⁷ look for⁸ you during the night, my spirit within me seeks you at dawn, for when your judgments come upon the earth, those who live in the world learn about justice.⁹

phasis (ESV, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, NLT). One of the Qumran texts (1QIsa^a) confirms the MT reading as well.

¹ **tn** Or “For” (KJV, ASV, NASB, NRSV).

² **tn** The translation assumes that *yashpilennah* (יִשְׁפִּילֶנָּה) goes with the preceding words “an elevated town,” and that *yashpilah* (יִשְׁפִּילָה) belongs with the following words, “to the ground.” See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:469, n. 7.

³ **sn** The literary structure of chap. 26 is not entirely clear. The chapter begins with an eschatological song of praise and ends with a lament and prophetic response (vv. 16-21). It is not certain where the song of praise ends or how vv. 7-15 fit into the structure. Verses 10-11a seem to lament the presence of evil and v. 11b anticipates the arrival of judgment, so it is possible that vv. 7-15 are a prelude to the lament and announcement that conclude the chapter.

⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text has, “upright, the path of the righteous you make level.” There are three possible ways to translate this line. Some take *yāshar* (יָשָׁר) as a divine title: “O Upright One” (cf. NASB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, NLT). Others regard *yāshar* as the result of dittography (יָשָׁר בְּיָשָׁר), *mesharim yashar ma’gal* and do not include it in the translation. Another possibility is to keep *yāshar* and render the line as “the path of the righteous that you prepare is straight.”

sn The metaphor of a level/smooth road/path may refer to their morally upright manner of life (see v. 8a), but verse 7b, which attributes the smooth path to the LORD, suggests that the LORD’s vindication and blessing may be the reality behind the metaphor here.

⁵ **tn** The Hebrew text has, “yes, the way of your judgments.” The translation assumes that “way” is related to the verb “we wait” as an adverbial accusative (“in the way of your judgments we wait”). *mišhpatekha* (מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ, “your judgments”) could refer to the LORD’s commandments, in which case one might translate, “as we obey your commands.” However, in verse 9 the same form refers to divine acts of judgment on evildoers.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “your name and your remembrance [is] the desire of [our?] being.”

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “with my soul I.” This is a figure for the speaker himself (“I”).

⁸ **tn** Or “long for, desire.” The speaker acknowledges that he is eager to see God come in judgment (see vv. 8, 9b).

⁹ **tn** The translation understands *tsedeq* (צֶדֶק) in the sense of “justice,” but it is possible that it carries the nuance “righteousness,” in which case one might translate, “those who live in the world learn to live in a righteous manner” (cf. NCV).

26:10 If the wicked are shown mercy, they do not learn about justice.¹⁰ Even in a land where right is rewarded, they act unjustly,¹¹ they do not see the LORD’s majesty revealed.

26:11 O LORD, you are ready to act,¹² but they don’t even notice.

They will see and be put to shame by your angry judgment against humankind,¹³

yes, fire will consume your enemies.¹⁴

26:12 O LORD, you make us secure,¹⁵ for even all we have accomplished, you have done for us.¹⁶

26:13 O LORD, our God, masters other than you have ruled us, but we praise your name alone.

26:14 The dead do not come back to life, the spirits of the dead do not rise.¹⁷ That is because¹⁸ you came in judgment¹⁹ and destroyed them,

you wiped out all memory of them.

26:15 You have made the nation larger,²⁰ O LORD,

you have made the nation larger and revealed your splendor,²¹

you have extended all the borders of the land.

¹⁰ **tn** As in verse 9b, the translation understands *tsedeq* (צֶדֶק) in the sense of “justice,” but it is possible that it carries the nuance “righteousness,” in which case one might translate, “they do not learn to live in a righteous manner.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “in a land of uprightness they act unjustly”; NRSV “they deal perversely.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “O LORD, your hand is lifted up.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “They will see and be ashamed of zeal of people.” Some take the prefixed verbs as jussives and translate the statement as a prayer, “Let them see and be put to shame.” The meaning of the phrase *qin’at-am* (קִנְיַת־עַם, “zeal of people”) is unclear. The translation assumes that this refers to God’s angry judgment upon people. Another option is to understand the phrase as referring to God’s zealous, protective love of his covenant people. In this case one might translate, “by your zealous devotion to your people.”

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “yes, fire, your enemies, will consume them.” Many understand the prefixed verb form to be jussive and translate, “let [fire] consume” (cf. NAB, NIV, NRSV). The *mem* suffixed to the verb may be enclitic; if a pronominal suffix, it refers back to “your enemies.”

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “O LORD, you establish peace for us.”

¹⁶ **tc** Some suggest emending *gam kol* (גַּם כֹּל, “even all”) to *kigmul* (כִּגְמוּל, “according to the deed[s] of”) One might then translate “for according to what our deeds deserve, you have acted on our behalf.” Nevertheless, accepting the MT as it stands, the prophet affirms that Yahweh deserved all the credit for anything Israel had accomplished.

¹⁷ **sn** In light of what is said in verse 14b, the “dead” here may be the “masters” mentioned in verse 13.

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew term *lakhen* (לָכֵן) normally indicates a cause-effect relationship between what precedes and follows and is translated, “therefore.” Here, however, it infers the cause from the effect and brings out what is implicit in the previous statement. See BDB 487 s.v.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “visited [for harm]” (cf. KJV, ASV); NAB, NRSV “you have punished.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “you have added to the nation.” The last line of the verse suggests that geographical expansion is in view. “The nation” is Judah.

²¹ **tn** Or “brought honor to yourself.”

26:16 O LORD, in distress they looked for you;
they uttered incantations because of your discipline.¹
26:17 As when a pregnant woman gets ready to deliver
and strains and cries out because of her labor pains,
so were we because of you, O LORD.
26:18 We were pregnant, we strained, we gave birth, as it were, to wind.²
We cannot produce deliverance on the earth;
people to populate the world are not born.³
26:19⁴ Your dead will come back to life; your corpses will rise up.
Wake up and shout joyfully, you who live in the ground!⁵
For you will grow like plants drenched with the morning dew,⁶
and the earth will bring forth its dead spirits.⁷

26:20 Go, my people! Enter your inner rooms!
Close your doors behind you!
Hide for a little while,
until his angry judgment is over!⁸
26:21 For look, the LORD is coming out of the place where he lives,⁹
to punish the sin of those who live on the earth.
The earth will display the blood shed on it;
it will no longer cover up its slain.¹⁰
27:1 At that time¹¹ the LORD will punish with his destructive,¹² great, and powerful sword
Leviathan the fast-moving¹³ serpent, Leviathan the squirming serpent;
he will kill the sea monster.¹⁴
27:2 When that time comes,¹⁵
sing about a delightful vineyard!¹⁶
27:3 I, the LORD, protect it;¹⁷
I water it regularly.¹⁸

¹ **tn** The meaning of this verse is unclear. It appears to read literally, "O LORD, in distress they visit you, they pour out [?] an incantation, your discipline to them." פָּקַד (*paqad*) may here carry the sense of "seek with interest" (cf. Ezek 23:21 and BDB 823 s.v.) or "seek in vain" (cf. Isa 34:16), but it is peculiar for the LORD to be the object of this verb. צָקַן (*tsaqun*) may be a Qal perfect third plural form from צָק (*tsuq*, "pour out, melt"), though the verb is not used of pouring out words in its two other occurrences. Because of the appearance of צָר (*tsar*, "distress") in the preceding line, it is tempting to emend the form to a noun and derive it from צָק ("be in distress") The term צָרָה (*lakhsh*) elsewhere refers to an incantation (Isa 3:3; Jer 8:17; Eccl 10:11) or amulet (Isa 3:20). Perhaps here it refers to ritualistic prayers or to magical incantations used to ward off evil.

² **tn** On the use of כְּמוֹ (*kemo*, "like, as") here, see BDB 455 s.v. Israel's distress and suffering, likened here to the pains of childbirth, seemed to be for no purpose. A woman in labor endures pain with the hope that a child will be born; in Israel's case no such positive outcome was apparent. The nation was like a woman who strains to bring forth a child, but can't push the baby through to daylight. All her effort produces nothing.

³ **tn** Heb "and the inhabitants of the world do not fall." The term נָפַל (*nafal*) apparently means here, "be born," though the Qal form of the verb is not used with this nuance anywhere else in the OT. (The Hiphil appears to be used in the sense of "give birth" in v. 19, however.) The implication of verse 18b seems to be that Israel hoped its suffering would somehow end in deliverance and an increase in population. The phrase "inhabitants of the world" seems to refer to the human race in general, but the next verse, which focuses on Israel's dead, suggests the referent may be more limited.

⁴ **sn** At this point the LORD (or prophet) gives the people an encouraging oracle.

⁵ **tn** Heb "dust" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

⁶ **tn** Heb "for the dew of lights [is] your dew." The pronominal suffix on "dew" is masculine singular, like the suffixes on "your dead" and "your corpses" in the first half of the verse. The statement, then, is addressed to collective Israel, the speaker in verse 18. The plural form מֵאוֹרוֹת (*'orot*) is probably a plural of respect or magnitude, meaning "bright light" (i.e., morning's light). Dew is a symbol of fertility and life. Here Israel's "dew," as it were, will soak the dust of the ground and cause the corpses of the dead to spring up to new life, like plants sprouting up from well-watered soil.

⁷ **sn** It is not certain whether the resurrection envisioned here is intended to be literal or figurative. A comparison with 25:8 and Dan 12:2 suggests a literal interpretation, but Ezek 37:1-14 uses resurrection as a metaphor for deliverance from

exile and the restoration of the nation (see Isa 27:12-13).

⁸ **tn** Heb "until anger passes by."

⁹ **tn** Heb "out of his place" (so KJV, ASV).

¹⁰ **sn** This implies that rampant bloodshed is one of the reasons for divine judgment. See the note at 24:5.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "in that day" (so KJV).

¹² **tn** Heb "hard, severe"; cf. NAB, NRSV "cruel"; KJV "sore"; NLT "terrible."

¹³ **tn** Heb "fleeing" (so NAB, NASB, NRSV). Some translate "slippery" or "slithering."

¹⁴ **tn** The description of Leviathan should be compared with the following excerpts from Ugaritic mythological texts: (1) "Was not the dragon (Ugaritic *tnn*, cognate with Hebrew תַּנִּין [*tannin*, translated "sea monster" here]) vanquished and captured? I did destroy the wriggling (Ugaritic *qltn*, cognate to Hebrew עֲקָלָתוֹן [*'aqallaton*, translated "squirming" here]) serpent, the tyrant with seven heads (cf. Ps 74:14)." (See CTA 3 iii 38-39.) (2) "for all that you smote Leviathan the slippery (Ugaritic *brh*, cognate to Hebrew בְּרִיחַ [*bariakh*, translated "fast-moving" here]) serpent, [and] made an end of the wriggling serpent, the tyrant with seven heads" (See CTA 5 i 1-3.)

sn In the Ugaritic mythological texts Leviathan is a sea creature that symbolizes the destructive water of the sea and in turn the forces of chaos that threaten the established order. Isaiah here applies imagery from Canaanite mythology to Yahweh's eschatological victory over his enemies. Elsewhere in the OT, the battle with the sea motif is applied to Yahweh's victories over the forces of chaos at creation and in history (cf. Pss 74:13-14; 77:16-20; 89:9-10; Isa 51:9-10). Yahweh's subjugation of the chaos waters is related to His kingship (cf. Pss 29:3, 10; 93:3-4). Apocalyptic literature employs the imagery as well. The beasts of Dan 7 emerge from the sea, while Rev 13 speaks of a seven-headed beast coming from the sea.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "in that day" (so KJV).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "vineyard of delight," or "vineyard of beauty." Many medieval mss read כְּרֶם חֶמֶר (*kerem khemer*, "vineyard of wine"), i.e., "a productive vineyard."

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "her." Apparently "vineyard" is the antecedent, though normally this noun is understood as masculine (see Lev 25:3, however).

¹⁸ **tn** Or perhaps, "constantly." Heb "by moments."

I guard it night and day,
so no one can harm it.¹

27:4 I am not angry.

I wish I could confront some thorns and
briers!

Then I would march against them² for
battle;

I would set them³ all on fire,

27:5 unless they became my subjects⁴

and made peace with me;

let them make peace with me.⁵

27:6 The time is coming when Jacob will

take root;⁶

Israel will blossom and grow branches.

The produce⁷ will fill the surface of the

world.⁸

27:7 Has the LORD struck down Israel like

he did their oppressors?⁹

Has Israel been killed like their en-

emies?¹⁰

27:8 When you summon her for divorce,

you prosecute her;¹¹

he drives her away¹² with his strong wind
in the day of the east wind.¹³

27:9 So in this way Jacob's sin will be
forgiven,¹⁴

and this is how they will show they are
finished sinning;¹⁵

They will make all the stones of the al-

tars¹⁶

like crushed limestone,

and the Asherah poles and the incense

altars will no longer stand.¹⁷

27:10 For the fortified city¹⁸ is left alone;

it is a deserted settlement

and abandoned like the desert.

Calves¹⁹ graze there;

they lie down there

and eat its branches bare.²⁰

¹ **tn** Heb "lest [someone] visit [harm] upon it, night and day I guard it."

² **tn** Heb "it." The feminine singular suffix apparently refers back to the expression "thorns and briers," understood in a collective sense. For other examples of a cohortative expressing resolve after a hypothetical statement introduced by *אִם* (*mi* with *natan*), see Judg 9:29; Jer 9:1-2; Ps 55:6.

³ **tn** Heb "it." The feminine singular suffix apparently refers back to the expression "thorns and briers," understood in a collective sense.

⁴ **tn** Heb "or let him take hold of my refuge." The subject of the third masculine singular verb form is uncertain. Apparently the symbolic "thorns and briers" are in view, though in v. 4b a feminine singular pronoun was used to refer to them.

⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text has, "he makes peace with me, peace he makes with me." Some contend that two alternative readings are preserved here and one should be deleted. The first has the object *שָׁלוֹם* (*shalom*, "peace") preceding the verb *עָשָׂה* (*asah*, "make"); the second reverses the order. Another option is to retain both statements, although repetitive, to emphasize the need to make peace with Yahweh.

⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "the coming ones, let Jacob take root." *הַבָּאִים* (*habba'im*, "the coming ones") should probably be emended to *יָמִים בָּאִים* (*yamim va'im*, "days [are] coming") or *בְּיָמִים הַבָּאִים* (*biyamim habba'im*, "in the coming days").

⁷ **tn** Heb "fruit" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

⁸ **sn** This apparently refers to a future population explosion. See 26:18.

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "Like the striking down of the one striking him down does he strike him down?" The meaning of the text is unclear, but this may be a rhetorical question, suggesting that Israel has not experienced divine judgment to the same degree as her oppressors. In this case "the one striking down" refers to Israel's oppressors, while the pronoun "him" refers to Israel. The subject of the final verb ("does he strike down") would then be God, while the pronoun "him" would again refer to Israel.

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "Or like the killing of his killed ones is he killed?" If one accepts the interpretation of the parallel line outlined in the previous note, then this line too would contain a rhetorical question suggesting that Israel has not experienced destruction to the same degree as its enemies. In this case "his killed ones" refers to the one who struck Israel down, and Israel would be the subject of the final verb ("is he killed").

¹¹ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "in [?], in sending her away, you oppose her." The meaning of this line is uncertain. The form *בְּשֵׁאֲסָהּ* (*b^ssa'ss^{ah}*) is taken as an infinitive from *שֵׂאֲסָהּ* (*sa'ss^{ah}*) with a prepositional prefix and a third femi-

nine singular suffix. (The MT does not have a *mappiq* in the final *he* [ה], however). According to HALOT 738 s.v. *שֵׂאֲסָהּ* the verb is a Palpel form from an otherwise unattested root cognate with an Arabic verb meaning "to gather beasts with a call." Perhaps it means "to call, summon" here, but this is a very tentative proposal. *בְּשֵׁאֲסָהּ* (*b^sshalkhah*, "in sending her away") appears to be a Piel infinitive with a prepositional prefix and a third feminine singular suffix. Since the Piel of *שָׁלַח* (*shalakh*) can sometimes mean "divorce" (HALOT 1514-15 s.v.) and the following verb *רִיב* (*riv*, "oppose") can be used in legal contexts, it is possible that divorce proceedings are alluded to here. This may explain why Israel is referred to as feminine in this verse, in contrast to the masculine forms used in vv. 6-7 and 9.

¹² **tn** The Hebrew text has no object expressed, but one can understand a third feminine singular pronominal object and place a *mappiq* in the final *he* (ה) of the form to indicate the suffix.

¹³ **sn** The "east wind" here symbolizes violent divine judgment.

¹⁴ **tn** Or "be atoned for" (NIV); cf. NRSV "be expiated."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "and this [is] all the fruit of removing his sin." The meaning of the statement is not entirely clear, though "removing his sin" certainly parallels "Jacob's sin will be removed" in the preceding line. If original, "all the fruit" may refer to the result of the decision to remove sin, but the phrase may be a corruption of *לְכַפֵּר* (*lekhp^{er}*, "to atone for"), which in turn might be a gloss on *הָסִיר* (*hasir*, "removing").

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "when he makes the stones of an altar." The singular "altar" is collective here; pagan altars are in view, as the last line of the verse indicates. See also 17:8.

¹⁷ **sn** As interpreted and translated above, this verse says that Israel must totally repudiate its pagan religious practices in order to experience God's forgiveness and restoration. Another option is to understand "in this way" and "this" in v. 9a as referring back to the judgment described in v. 8. In this case *כָּפַר* (*kafar*, "atone for") is used in a sarcastic sense; Jacob's sin is "atoned for" and removed through severe judgment. Following this line of interpretation, one might paraphrase the verse as follows: "So in this way (through judgment) Jacob's sin will be 'atoned for,' and this is the way his sin will be removed, when he (i.e., God) makes all the altar stones like crushed limestone...." This interpretation is more consistent with the tone of judgment in vv. 8 and 10-11.

¹⁸ **sn** The identity of this city is uncertain. The context suggests that an Israelite city, perhaps Samaria or Jerusalem, is in view. For discussions of interpretive options see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:496-97, and Paul L. Redditt, "Once Again, the City in Isaiah 24-27," *HAR* 10 (1986), 332.

¹⁹ **tn** The singular form in the text is probably collective.

²⁰ **tn** Heb "and destroy her branches." The city is the antecedent of the third feminine singular pronominal suffix. Apparently the city is here compared to a tree. See also v. 11.

27:11 When its branches get brittle,¹ they break;
women come and use them for kindling.²
For these people lack understanding,³
therefore the one who made them has no
compassion on them;
the one who formed them has no mercy
on them.

27:12 At that time⁴ the LORD will shake the
tree,⁵ from the Euphrates River⁶ to the Stream of
Egypt. Then you will be gathered up one by one,
O Israelites.⁷ **27:13** At that time⁸ a large⁹ trumpet
will be blown, and the ones lost¹⁰ in the land of
Assyria will come, as well as the refugees in¹¹ the
land of Egypt. They will worship the LORD on the
holy mountain in Jerusalem.¹²

The Lord Will Judge Samaria

28:1 The splendid crown of Ephraim's
drunkards is doomed,¹³
the withering flower, its beautiful splen-
dor,¹⁴
situated¹⁵ at the head of a rich valley,
the crown of those overcome with wine.¹⁶

¹ **tn** Heb "are dry" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

² **tn** Heb "women come [and] light it." The city is likened to a dead tree with dried up branches that is only good for fire-wood.

³ **tn** Heb "for not a people of understanding [is] he."

⁴ **tn** Heb "and it will be in that day." The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

⁵ **tn** Heb "the LORD will beat out." The verb is used of beating seeds or grain to separate the husk from the kernel (see Judg 6:11; Ruth 2:17; Isa 28:27), and of beating the olives off the olive tree (Deut 24:20). The latter metaphor may be in view here, where a tree metaphor has been employed in the preceding verses. See also 17:6.

⁶ **tn** Heb "the river," a frequent designation in the OT for the Euphrates. For clarity most modern English versions substitute the name "Euphrates" for "the river" here.

⁷ **sn** The Israelites will be freed from exile (likened to beating the olives off the tree) and then gathered (likened to collecting the olives).

⁸ **tn** Heb "and it will be in that day." The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

⁹ **tn** Traditionally, "great" (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NLT); CEV "loud."

¹⁰ **tn** Or "the ones perishing."

¹¹ **tn** Or "the ones driven into."

¹² **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹³ **tn** Heb "Woe[to] the crown[or "wreath"] of the splendor[or "pride"] of the drunkards of Ephraim." The "crown" is Samaria, the capital city of the northern kingdom (Ephraim). Priests and prophets are included among these drunkards in v. 7.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "the beauty of his splendor." In the translation the masculine pronoun ("his") has been replaced by "its" because the referent (the "crown") is the city of Samaria.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "which [is]."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "ones overcome with wine." The words "the crown of" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The syntactical relationship of the final phrase to what precedes is uncertain. הָלוּמֵי יַיִן (*halume yayin*, "ones overcome with wine") seems to correspond to שִׁכְרוֹרֵי אֶפְרַיִם (*shikkore 'efrayim*, "drunkards of Ephraim") in line 1. The translation assumes that the phrase "the splendid crown" is to be understood in the final line as well.

28:2 Look, the sovereign master¹⁷ sends a
strong, powerful one.¹⁸
With the force of a hailstorm or a destruc-
tive windstorm,¹⁹
with the might of a driving, torrential
rainstorm,²⁰
he will knock that crown²¹ to the ground
with his hand.²²

28:3 The splendid crown of Ephraim's
drunkards
will be trampled underfoot.

28:4 The withering flower, its beautiful
splendor,
situated at the head of a rich valley,
will be like an early fig before harvest –
as soon as someone notices it,
he grabs it and swallows it.²³

28:5 At that time²⁴ the LORD who com-
mands armies will become a beautiful
crown
and a splendid diadem for the remnant of
his people.

28:6 He will give discernment to the one
who makes judicial decisions,
and strength to those who defend the city
from attackers.²⁵

28:7 Even these men²⁶ stagger because of
wine,

they stumble around because of beer –
priests and prophets stagger because of
beer,

they are confused²⁷ because of wine,
they stumble around because of beer;
they stagger while seeing prophetic vi-
sions,²⁸

they totter while making legal decisions.²⁹

28:8 Indeed, all the tables are covered
with vomit;

no place is untouched.³⁰

28:9 Who is the LORD³¹ trying to teach?

¹⁷ **tn** The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here and in vv. 16, 22 is אֲדֹנָי (*'adonay*).

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "Look, a strong and powerful [one] belongs to the LORD."

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "like a rainstorm of hail, a wind of destruction."

²⁰ **tn** Heb "like a rainstorm of mighty, overflowing waters."

²¹ **tn** The words "that crown" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The object of the verb is unexpressed in the Hebrew text.

²² **tn** Or "by [his] power."

²³ **tn** Heb "which the one seeing sees, while still it is in his hand he swallows it."

²⁴ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

²⁵ **tn** Heb "and [he will become] a spirit of justice for the one who sits [i.e., presides] over judgment, // and strength [for] the ones who turn back battle at the city gate." The LORD will provide internal stability and national security.

²⁶ **tn** Heb "these." The demonstrative pronoun anticipates "priests and prophets" two lines later.

²⁷ **tn** According to HALOT 135 s.v. בָּלַע, the verb form is derived from בָּלַע (*bala*), "confuse", not the more common בָּלַע (*'bala*, "swallow"). See earlier notes at 3:12 and 9:16.

²⁸ **tn** Heb "in the seeing."

²⁹ **tn** Heb "[in] giving a decision."

³⁰ **tn** Heb "vomit, without a place." For the meaning of the phrase בְּלִי מָקוֹם (*b'li maqom*, "without a place"), see HALOT 133 s.v. בָּלַע.

³¹ **tn** Heb "he"; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in

To whom is he explaining a message?⁴
Those just weaned from milk!
Those just taken from their mother's
breast!²

28:10 Indeed, they will hear meaningless
gibberish,
senseless babbling,
a syllable here, a syllable there.³

28:11 For with mocking lips and a foreign
tongue

he will speak to these people.⁴

28:12 In the past he said to them,⁵

"This is where security can be found.

Provide security for the one who is ex-
hausted!

This is where rest can be found."⁶

But they refused to listen.

28:13 So the LORD's word to them will
sound like

meaningless gibberish,

senseless babbling,

a syllable here, a syllable there.⁷

As a result, they will fall on their back-
sides when they try to walk.⁸

the translation for clarity.

1 tn Heb "Who is he teaching knowledge? For whom is he explaining a message?" The translation assumes that the LORD is the subject of the verbs "teaching" and "explaining," and that the prophet is asking the questions. See v. 12. According to some vv. 9-10 record the people's sarcastic response to the LORD's message through Isaiah.

2 tn Heb "from the breasts." The words "their mother's" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The translation assumes that this is the prophet's answer to the questions asked in the first half of the verse. The LORD is trying to instruct people who are "infants" morally and ethically.

3 tn The meaning of this verse has been debated. The text has literally "indeed [or 'for'] a little there, a little there" (כי צו לצו צו לצו, *ki tsav latsav, tsav latsav, qav laqav, qav laqav*). The present translation assumes that the repetitive syllables are gibberish that resembles baby talk (cf v. 9b) and mimics what the people will hear when foreign invaders conquer the land (v. 11). In this case זָעִיר (*z'er*, "a little") refers to the short syllabic structure of the babbling (cf. CEV). Some take צו (*tsav*) as a derivative of צִוָּה (*tsavah*, "command") and translate the first part of the statement as "command after command, command after command." Proponents of this position (followed by many English versions) also take קָב (*qav*) as a noun meaning "measuring line" (see v. 17), understood here in the abstract sense of "standard" or "rule."

4 sn This verse alludes to the coming Assyrian invasion, when the people will hear a foreign language that sounds like gibberish to them. The LORD is the subject of the verb "will speak," as v. 12 makes clear. He once spoke in meaningful terms, but in the coming judgment he will speak to them, as it were, through the mouth of foreign oppressors. The apparent gibberish they hear will be an outward reminder that God has decreed their defeat.

5 tn Heb "who said to them."

6 sn This message encapsulates the LORD's invitation to his people to find security in his protection and blessing.

7 tn Heb "And the word of the LORD will be to them, 'tsavh latsavh,' etc." See the note at v. 10. In this case the "LORD's word" is not the foreigner's strange sounding words (as in v. 10), but the LORD's repeated appeals to them (like the one quoted in v. 12). As time goes on, the LORD's appeals through the prophets will have no impact on the people; they will regard prophetic preaching as gibberish.

8 tn Heb "as a result they will go and stumble backward." Perhaps an infant falling as it attempts to learn to walk is the background image here (cf. v. 9b). The Hebrew term לִבְנֵן (*l'ba'an*) could be taken as indicating purpose ("in order

and be injured, ensnared, and captured."⁹

The Lord Will Judge Jerusalem

28:14 Therefore, listen to the LORD's word,
you who mock,
you rulers of these people
who reside in Jerusalem!¹⁰

28:15 For you say,

"We have made a treaty with death,
with Sheol¹¹ we have made an agree-
ment."¹²

When the overwhelming judgment
sweeps by¹³

it will not reach us.

For we have made a lie our refuge,
we have hidden ourselves in a deceitful
word."¹⁴

28:16 Therefore, this is what the sovereign
master, the LORD, says:

"Look, I am laying¹⁵ a stone in Zion,
an approved¹⁶ stone,
set in place as a precious cornerstone for
the foundation.¹⁷

The one who maintains his faith will not
panic."¹⁸

that"), rather than simple result. In this case the people's insensitivity to the message is caused by the LORD as a means of expediting their downfall.

9 sn When divine warnings and appeals become gibberish to the spiritually insensitive, they have no guidance and are doomed to destruction.

10 map For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

11 sn Sheol is the underworld, land of the dead, according to the OT world view.

12 tn Elsewhere the noun חֹזֶה (*khazeh*) refers to a prophet who sees visions. In v. 18 the related term חֲזוֹת (*khazut*, "vision") is used. The parallelism in both verses (note "treaty") seems to demand a meaning "agreement" for both nouns. Perhaps חֹזֶה and חֲזוֹת are used in a metonymic sense in vv. 15 and 18. Another option is to propose a homonymic root. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:514, and HALOT 301 s.v. חֹזֶה.

13 tn Heb "the overwhelming scourge, when it passes by" (NRSV similar).

14 sn "Lie" and "deceitful word" would not be the terms used by the people. They would likely use the words "promise" and "reliable word," but the prophet substitutes "lie" and "deceitful word" to emphasize that this treaty with death will really prove to be disappointing.

15 tc The Hebrew text has a third person verb form, which does not agree with the first person suffix that precedes. The form should be emended to יָסַד (*yased*), a Qal active participle used in a present progressive or imminent future sense.

16 tn Traditionally "tested," but the implication is that it has passed the test and stands approved.

17 sn The reality behind the metaphor is not entirely clear from the context. The stone appears to represent someone or something that gives Zion stability. Perhaps the ideal Davidic ruler is in view (see 32:1). Another option is that the image of beginning a building project by laying a precious cornerstone suggests that God is about to transform Zion through judgment and begin a new covenant community that will experience his protection (see 4:3-6; 31:5; 33:20-24; 35:10).

18 tn Heb "will not hurry," i.e., act in panic.

28:17 I will make justice the measuring line,
fairness the plumb line;
hail will sweep away the unreliable refuge,¹
the floodwaters will overwhelm the hiding place.
28:18 Your treaty with death will be dissolved;²
your agreement³ with Sheol will not last.⁴
When the overwhelming judgment sweeps by,⁵
you will be overrun by it.⁶
28:19 Whenever it sweeps by, it will overtake you;
indeed,⁷ every morning it will sweep by,
it will come through during the day and the night.⁸
When this announcement is understood,
it will cause nothing but terror.
28:20 For the bed is too short to stretch out on,
and the blanket is too narrow to wrap around oneself.⁹
28:21 For the LORD will rise up, as he did at Mount Perazim,¹⁰
he will rouse himself, as he did in the Valley of Gibeon,¹¹
to accomplish his work,
his peculiar work,
to perform his task,
his strange task.¹²
28:22 So now, do not mock,
or your chains will become heavier!
For I have heard a message about decreed destruction,
from the sovereign master, the LORD who commands armies, against the entire land.¹³

28:23 Pay attention and listen to my message!¹⁴
Be attentive and listen to what I have to say!¹⁵
28:24 Does a farmer just keep on plowing at planting time?¹⁶
Does he keep breaking up and harrowing his ground?
28:25 Once he has leveled its surface,
does he not scatter the seed of the caraway plant,
sow the seed of the cumin plant,
and plant the wheat, barley, and grain in their designated places?¹⁷
28:26 His God instructs him;
he teaches him the principles of agriculture.¹⁸
28:27 Certainly¹⁹ caraway seed is not threshed with a sledge,
nor is the wheel of a cart rolled over cumin seed.²⁰
Certainly caraway seed is beaten with a stick,
and cumin seed with a flail.
28:28 Grain is crushed,
though one certainly does not thresh it forever.
The wheel of one's wagon rolls over it,
but his horses do not crush it.
28:29 This also comes from the LORD who commands armies,
who gives supernatural guidance and imparts great wisdom.²¹

Ariel is Besieged

29:1 Ariel is as good as dead²² –

¹ **tn** Heb "[the] refuge, [the] lie." See v. 15.

² **tn** On the meaning of כָּפָר (*kafar*) in this context, see HALOT 494 s.v. כָּפָר and J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:515, n. 9.

³ **tn** Normally the noun חֲזוֹן (*khazut*) means "vision." See the note at v. 15.

⁴ **tn** Or "will not stand" (NIV, NRSV).

⁵ **tn** See the note at v. 15.

⁶ **tn** Heb "you will become a trampling place for it."

⁷ **tn** Or "for" (KJV, ASV, NASB, NRSV).

⁸ **tn** The words "it will come through" are supplied in the translation. The verb "will sweep by" does double duty in the parallel structure.

⁹ **sn** The bed and blanket probably symbolize their false sense of security. A bed that is too short and a blanket that is too narrow may promise rest and protection from the cold, but in the end they are useless and disappointing. In the same way, their supposed treaty with death will prove useless and disappointing.

¹⁰ **sn** This probably alludes to David's victory over the Philistines at Baal Perazim. See 2 Sam 5:20.

¹¹ **sn** This probably alludes to the Lord's victory over the Canaanites at Gibeon, during the days of Joshua. See Josh 10:10-11.

¹² **sn** God's judgment of his own people is called "his peculiar work" and "his strange task," because he must deal with them the way he treated their enemies in the past.

¹³ **tn** Or "the whole earth" (KJV, ASV, NAB, NCV).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "to my voice."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "to my word"; cf. KJV, ASV, NRSV "hear my speech."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "All the day does the plowman plow in order to plant?" The phrase "all the day" here has the sense of "continually, always." See BDB 400 s.v. יום.

¹⁷ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "place wheat [?], and barley [?], and grain in its territory." The term שְׂוֹרָה (*shorah*) is sometimes translated "[in] its place," but the word is unattested elsewhere. It is probably due to dittography of the immediately following שְׂעִירָה (*s'rah*, "barley"). The meaning of נִסְמָן (*nisman*) is also uncertain. It may be due to dittography of the immediately following כֻּסְמֶת (*kusmet*, "grain").

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "he teaches him the proper way, his God instructs him."

¹⁹ **tn** Or "For" (KJV, ASV, NASB).

²⁰ **sn** Both of these seeds are too small to use the ordinary threshing techniques.

²¹ **sn** Verses 23-29 emphasize that God possesses great wisdom and has established a natural order. Evidence of this can be seen in the way farmers utilize divinely imparted wisdom to grow and harvest crops. God's dealings with his people will exhibit this same kind of wisdom and order. Judgment will be accomplished according to a divinely ordered timetable and, while severe enough, will not be excessive. Judgment must come, just as planting inevitably follows plowing. God will, as it were, thresh his people, but he will not crush them to the point where they will be of no use to him.

²² **tn** Heb "Woe [to] Ariel." The meaning of the name "Ariel" is uncertain. The name may mean "altar hearth" (see v. 2) or, if compound, "lion of God." The name is used here as a title for Mount Zion/Jerusalem (see vv. 7-8).

Ariel, the town David besieged!¹
 Keep observing your annual rituals,
 celebrate your festivals on schedule.²
29:2 I will threaten Ariel,
 and she will mourn intensely
 and become like an altar hearth³ before
 me.
29:3 I will lay siege to you on all sides;⁴
 I will besiege you with troops;⁵
 I will raise siege works against you.
29:4 You will fall;
 while lying on the ground⁶ you will
 speak;
 from the dust where you lie, your words
 will be heard.⁷
 Your voice will sound like a spirit speak-
 ing from the underworld;⁸
 from the dust you will chirp as if mutter-
 ing an incantation.⁹
29:5 But the horde of invaders will be like
 fine dust,
 the horde of tyrants¹⁰ like chaff that is
 blown away.
 It will happen suddenly, in a flash.
29:6 Judgment will come from the LORD
 who commands armies,¹¹
 accompanied by thunder, earthquake, and
 a loud noise,
 by a strong gale, a windstorm, and a con-
 suming flame of fire.

29:7 It will be like a dream, a night vision.
 There will be a horde from all the nations
 that fight against Ariel,
 those who attack her and her stronghold
 and besiege her.
29:8 It will be like a hungry man dream-
 ing that he is eating,
 only to awaken and find that his stomach
 is empty.¹²
 It will be like a thirsty man dreaming that
 he is drinking,
 only to awaken and find that he is still
 weak and his thirst unquenched.¹³
 So it will be for the horde from all the
 nations
 that fight against Mount Zion.

God's People Are Spiritually Insensitive

29:9 You will be shocked and amazed!¹⁴
 You are totally blind!¹⁵
 They are drunk,¹⁶ but not because of wine;
 they stagger,¹⁷ but not because of beer.
29:10 For the LORD has poured out on you
 a strong urge to sleep deeply.¹⁸
 He has shut your eyes (the prophets),
 and covered your heads (the seers).

29:11 To you this entire prophetic revela-
 tion¹⁹ is like words in a sealed scroll. When they
 hand it to one who can read²⁰ and say, "Read
 this," he responds, "I can't, because it is sealed."
29:12 Or when they hand the scroll to one who

¹ **tn** Heb "the town where David camped." The verb *חָנָה* (*khanah*, "camp") probably has the nuance "lay siege to" here. See v. 3. Another option is to take the verb in the sense of "lived, settled."

² **tn** Heb "Add year to year, let your festivals occur in cycles." This is probably a sarcastic exhortation to the people to keep up their religious rituals, which will not prevent the coming judgment. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:527.

³ **tn** The term *אֲרִיֵּאל* (*'ari'el*, "Ariel") is the word translated "altar hearth" here. The point of the simile is not entirely clear. Perhaps the image likens Jerusalem's coming crisis to a sacrificial fire.

⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text has *כְּדֹר* (*khadur*, "like a circle"), i.e., "like an encircling wall." Some emend this phrase to *כְּדָוִד* (*k'david*, "like David"), which is supported by the LXX (see v. 1). However, the rendering in the LXX could have arisen from a confusion of the *dalet* (ד) and *resh* (ר).

⁵ **tn** The meaning of *מִצָּבִים* (*mutsav*) is not certain. Because of the parallelism (note "siege works"), some translate "towers." The noun is derived from *נָצַב* (*natsav*, "take one's stand") and may refer to the troops stationed outside the city to prevent entrance or departure.

⁶ **tn** Heb "from the ground" (so NIV, NCV).

⁷ **tn** Heb "and from the dust your word will be low."

⁸ **tn** Heb "and your voice will be like a ritual pit from the earth." The Hebrew *אֹבֵד* (*'ov*, "ritual pit") refers to a pit used by a magician to conjure up underworld spirits. See the note on "incantations" in 8:19. Here the word is used metonymically for the voice that emerges from such a pit.

⁹ **tn** Heb "and from the dust your word will chirp." The words "as if muttering an incantation" are supplied in the translation for clarification. See the parallelism and 8:19.

¹⁰ **tn** Or "violent men"; cf. NASB "the ruthless ones."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "from the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] there will be visitation." The third feminine singular passive verb form *תִּפְקָד* (*tippaqed*, "she/it will be visited") is used here in an impersonal sense. See GKC 459 §144.b.

¹² **tn** Or "that he [or "his appetite"] is unsatisfied."

¹³ **tn** Or "that he is faint and that he [or "his appetite"] longs [for water]."

¹⁴ **tn** The form *הִתְמַחְמוּ* (*hitmahm^{hu}*) is a Hitpael imperative from *מָחָה* (*mahah*, "hesitate"). If it is retained, one might translate "halt and be amazed." The translation assumes an emendation to *הִתְמַחְמוּ* (*hitamm^{hu}*), a Hitpael imperative from *תָּמָה* (*tamah*, "be amazed"). In this case, the text, like Hab 1:5, combines the Hitpael and Qal imperatival forms of *תָּמָה* (*tamah*). A literal translation might be "Shock yourselves and be shocked!" The repetition of sound draws attention to the statement. The imperatives here have the force of an emphatic assertion. On this use of the imperative in Hebrew, see GKC 324 §110.c and IBHS 572 §34.4c.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "Blind yourselves and be blind!" The Hitpael and Qal imperatival forms of *שָׁעַרְעוּ* (*sha'a'*, "be blind") are combined to draw attention to the statement. The imperatives have the force of an emphatic assertion.

¹⁶ **tc** Some prefer to emend the perfect form of the verb to an imperative (e.g., NAB, NCV, NRSV), since the people are addressed in the immediately preceding and following contexts.

¹⁷ **tc** Some prefer to emend the perfect form of the verb to an imperative (e.g., NAB, NCV, NRSV), since the people are addressed in the immediately preceding and following contexts.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "a disposition [or "spirit"] of deep sleep." Through this mixed metaphor (sleep is likened to a liquid which one pours and in turn symbolizes spiritual dullness) the prophet emphasizes that God himself has given the people over to their spiritual insensitivity as a form of judgment.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "vision" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

²⁰ **tn** Heb "one who knows a/the scroll."

can't read¹ and say, "Read this," he says, "I can't read."²

29:13 The sovereign master³ says,
"These people say they are loyal to me;⁴
they say wonderful things about me,⁵
but they are not really loyal to me."⁶

Their worship consists of
nothing but man-made ritual.⁷

29:14 Therefore I will again do an amaz-
ing thing for these people –
an absolutely extraordinary deed.⁸

Wise men will have nothing to say,
the sages will have no explanations."⁹

29:15 Those who try to hide their plans
from the LORD are as good as dead,¹⁰
who do their work in secret and boast,¹¹
"Who sees us? Who knows what we're
doing?"¹²

29:16 Your thinking is perverse!¹³
Should the potter be regarded as clay?¹⁴
Should the thing made say¹⁵ about its
maker, "He didn't make me"?
Or should the pottery say about the pot-
ter, "He doesn't understand"?

Changes Are Coming

29:17 In just a very short time¹⁶
Lebanon will turn into an orchard,
and the orchard will be considered a
forest.¹⁷

¹ **tn** Heb "and if the scroll is handed to one who does not know a scroll."

² **tn** Heb "I do not know a scroll."

³ **tn** The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here is **אֲדֹנָי** (*'adonai*).

⁴ **tn** Heb "Because these people draw near to me with their mouth."

⁵ **tn** Heb "and with their lips they honor me."

⁶ **tn** Heb "but their heart is far from me." The heart is viewed here as the seat of the will, from which genuine loyalty derives.

⁷ **tn** Heb "their fear of me is a commandment of men that has been taught."

⁸ **tn** Heb "Therefore I will again do something amazing with these people, an amazing deed, an amazing thing." This probably refers to the amazing transformation predicted in vv. 17-24, which will follow the purifying judgment implied in vv. 15-16.

⁹ **tn** Heb "the wisdom of their wise ones will perish, the discernment of their discerning ones will keep hidden."

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "Woe [to] those who deeply hide counsel from the LORD." This probably alludes to political alliances made without seeking the LORD's guidance. See 30:1-2 and 31:1.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "and their works are in darkness and they say."

¹² **tn** The rhetorical questions suggest the answer, "no one." They are confident that their deeds are hidden from others, including God.

¹³ **tn** Heb "your overturning." The predicate is suppressed in this exclamation. The idea is, "O your perversity! How great it is!" See GKC 470 §147.c. The people "overturn" all logic by thinking their authority supersedes God's.

¹⁴ **tn** The expected answer to this rhetorical question is "of course not." On the interrogative use of **אִם** (*'im*), see BDB 50 s.v.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "that the thing made should say."

¹⁶ **tn** The Hebrew text phrases this as a rhetorical question, "Is it not yet a little, a short [time]?"

¹⁷ **tn** The meaning of this verse is debated, but it seems to depict a reversal in fortunes. The mighty forest of Lebanon

29:18 At that time¹⁸ the deaf will be able to
hear words read from a scroll,
and the eyes of the blind will be able to
see through deep darkness.¹⁹

29:19 The downtrodden will again rejoice
in the LORD;

the poor among humankind will take de-
light²⁰ in the Holy One of Israel.²¹

29:20 For tyrants will disappear,
those who taunt will vanish,
and all those who love to do wrong will
be eliminated²² –

29:21 those who bear false testimony
against a person,²³
who entrap the one who arbitrates at the
city gate²⁴

and deprive the innocent of justice by
making false charges.²⁵

29:22 So this is what the LORD, the one
who delivered Abraham, says to the
family of Jacob:²⁶

"Jacob will no longer be ashamed;
their faces will no longer show their em-
barrassment."²⁷

29:23 For when they see their children,
whom I will produce among them,²⁸
they will honor²⁹ my name.
They will honor the Holy One of Jacob;³⁰
they will respect³¹ the God of Israel.

29:24 Those who stray morally will gain
understanding;³²
those who complain will acquire insight.³³

(symbolic of the proud and powerful, see 2:13; 10:34) will be changed into a common orchard, while the common orchard (symbolic of the oppressed and lowly) will grow into a great forest. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:538.

¹⁸ **tn** Or "In that day" (KJV).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "and out of gloom and darkness the eyes of the blind will see."

²⁰ **tn** Perhaps this depicts the spiritual transformation of the once spiritually insensitive nation (see vv. 10-12, cf. also 6:9-10).

²¹ **tn** Or "will rejoice" (NIV, NCV, NLT).

²² **tn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

²³ **tn** Heb "and all the watchers of wrong will be cut off."

²⁴ **tn** Heb "the ones who make a man a sinner with a word." The Hiphil of **כָּחַת** (*khata'*) here has a delocutive sense: "declare a man sinful/guilty."

²⁵ **tn** Legal disputes were resolved at the city gate, where the town elders met. See Amos 5:10.

²⁶ **tn** Heb "and deprive by emptiness the innocent."

²⁷ **tn** Heb "So this is what the LORD says to the house of Jacob, the one who ransomed Abraham." The relative pronoun must refer back to "the LORD," not to the immediately preceding "Jacob." It is uncertain to what event in Abraham's experience this refers. Perhaps the name "Abraham" stands here by metonymy for his descendants through Jacob. If so, the Exodus is in view.

²⁸ **tn** Heb "and his face will no longer be pale."

²⁹ **tn** Heb "for when he sees his children, the work of my hands in his midst."

³⁰ **tn** Or "treat as holy" (also in the following line); NASB, NRSV "will sanctify."

³¹ **tn** *Holy One of Jacob* is similar to the phrase "Holy One of Israel" common throughout Isaiah; see the **sn** at Isa 1:4.

³² **tn** Or "fear," in the sense of "stand in awe of."

³³ **tn** Heb "and the ones who stray in spirit will know understanding."

³⁴ **tn** Heb "will learn instruction"; cf. NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT

Egypt Will Prove Unreliable

30:1 “The rebellious¹ children are as good as dead,”² says the LORD,
 “those who make plans without consult-
 ing me,³
 who form alliances without consulting
 my Spirit,⁴
 and thereby compound their sin.⁵
30:2 They travel down to Egypt
 without seeking my will,⁶
 seeking Pharaoh’s protection,
 and looking for safety in Egypt’s protec-
 tive shade.⁷
30:3 But Pharaoh’s protection will bring
 you nothing but shame,
 and the safety of Egypt’s protective shade
 nothing but humiliation.
30:4 Though his⁸ officials are in Zoan
 and his messengers arrive at Hanes,⁹
30:5 all will be put to shame¹⁰
 because of a nation that cannot help
 them,
 who cannot give them aid or help,
 but only shame and disgrace.”
30:6 This is a message¹¹ about the animals
 in the Negev:
 Through a land of distress and danger,
 inhabited by lionesses and roaring lions,¹²

by snakes and darting adders,¹³
 they transport¹⁴ their wealth on the backs
 of donkeys,
 their riches on the humps of camels,
 to a nation that cannot help them.¹⁵
30:7 Egypt is totally incapable of helping.¹⁶
 For this reason I call her
 ‘Proud one¹⁷ who is silenced.’”¹⁸
30:8 Now go, write it¹⁹ down on a tablet
 in their presence,²⁰
 inscribe it on a scroll,
 so that it might be preserved for a future
 time
 as an enduring witness.²¹
30:9 For these are rebellious people –
 they are lying children,
 children unwilling to obey the LORD’s
 law.²²
30:10 They²³ say to the visionaries, “See no
 more visions!”
 and to the seers, “Don’t relate messages
 to us about what is right!”²⁴
 Tell us nice things,
 relate deceptive messages.²⁵
30:11 Turn aside from the way,
 stray off the path.²⁶
 Remove from our presence the Holy One
 of Israel.”²⁷
30:12 For this reason this is what the Holy
 One of Israel says:

“will accept instruction.”

¹ **tn** Or “stubborn” (NCV); cf. NIV “obstinate.”

² **tn** *Heb* “Woe [to] rebellious children.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “making a plan, but not from me.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and pouring out a libation, but not [from] my spir-
 it.” This translation assumes that the verb נָסַךְ (*nasakh*) means
 “pour out,” and that the cognate noun נִסְכָּה (*massekhhah*)
 means “libation.” In this case “pouring out a libation” alludes
 to a ceremony that formally ratifies an alliance. Another op-
 tion is to understand the verb נָסַךְ as a homonym meaning
 “weave,” and the cognate noun נִסְכָּה as a homonym mean-
 ing “covering.” In this case forming an alliance is likened to
 weaving a garment.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “consequently adding sin to sin.”

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “those who go to descend to Egypt, but [of] my
 mouth they do not inquire.”

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “to seek protection in the protection of Pharaoh,
 and to seek refuge in the shade of Egypt.”

⁸ **sn** This probably refers to Judah’s officials and messen-
 gers.

⁹ **sn** Zoan was located in the Egyptian delta in the north;
 Hanes was located somewhere in southern region of lower
 Egypt, south of Memphis; the exact location is debated.

¹⁰ **tn** The present translation follows the marginal (*Qere*)
 reading of the Hebrew text; the consonantal text (*Kethib*) has
 “made to sink, decay.”

¹¹ **tn** Traditionally, “burden” (so KJV, ASV); NAB, NASB, NIV,
 NRSV “oracle.”

¹² **tc** *Heb* “[a land of] a lioness and a lion, from them.”
 Some emend מְהֵם (*mehem*, “from them”) to מְהֵם (*mehem*),
 an otherwise unattested Hiphil participle from מָהַם (*hamam*,
 “move noisily”). Perhaps it would be better to take the initial
 mem (מ) as enclitic and emend the form to מְהֵם (*homeh*), a Qal
 active participle from מָהַם (*hamah*, “to make a noise”); cf. J. N.
 Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:542, n. 9.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “flying burning ones.” See the note at 14:29.

¹⁴ **tn** Or “carry” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁵ **sn** This verse describes messengers from Judah trans-
 porting wealth to Egypt in order to buy Pharaoh’s protection
 through a treaty.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “As for Egypt, with vanity and emptiness they
 help.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “Rahab” (רָהַב, *rahav*), which also appears as a
 name for Egypt in Ps 87:4. The epithet is also used in the OT
 for a mythical sea monster symbolic of chaos. See the note
 at 51:9. A number of English versions use the name “Rahab”
 (e.g., ASV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV) while others attempt some
 sort of translation (cf. CEV “a helpless monster”; TEV, NLT
 “the Harmless Dragon”).

¹⁸ **tn** The MT reads “Rahab, they, sitting.” The translation
 above assumes an emendation of הֵם שָׁבַת (*hem shavet*) to הֵם
 שָׁבַת (*hammashbat*), a Hophal participle with prefixed definite
 article, meaning “the one who is made to cease,” i.e., “de-
 stroyed,” or “silenced.” See HALOT 444-45 s.v. יָשַׁב.

¹⁹ **tn** The referent of the third feminine singular pronomi-
 nal suffix is uncertain. Perhaps it refers to the preceding mes-
 sage, which accuses the people of rejecting the LORD’s help in
 favor of an alliance with Egypt.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “with them.” On the use of the preposition here,
 see BDB 86 s.v. אִתָּם.

²¹ **sn** Recording the message will enable the prophet to use
 it in the future as evidence that God warned his people of im-
 pending judgment and clearly spelled out the nation’s guilt.
 An official record of the message will also serve as proof of
 the prophet’s authority as God’s spokesman.

²² **tn** Or perhaps, “instruction” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV); NCV,
 TEV “teachings.”

²³ **tn** *Heb* “who” (so NASB, NRSV). A new sentence was start-
 ed here in the translation for stylistic reasons.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “Do not see for us right things.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “Tell us smooth things, see deceptive things.”

²⁶ **sn** The imagery refers to the way or path of truth, as re-
 vealed by God to the prophet.

²⁷ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel”
 in 1:4.

“You have rejected this message;¹
you trust instead in your ability to op-
press and trick;²
and rely on that kind of behavior.³
30:13 So this sin will become your down-
fall.

You will be like a high wall
that bulges and cracks and is ready to
collapse;

it crumbles suddenly, in a flash.⁴

30:14 It shatters in pieces like a clay jar,
so shattered to bits that none of it can be
salvaged.⁵

Among its fragments one cannot find a
shard large enough⁶

to scoop a hot coal from a fire⁷
or to skim off water from a cistern.”⁸

30:15 For this is what the master, the
LORD, the Holy One of Israel says:
“If you repented and patiently waited for
me, you would be delivered;⁹

if you calmly trusted in me you would
find strength,¹⁰

but you are unwilling.

30:16 You say, ‘No, we will flee on
horses,’

so you will indeed flee.

You say, ‘We will ride on fast horses,’
so your pursuers will be fast.

30:17 One thousand will scurry at the
battle cry of one enemy soldier;¹¹
at the battle cry of five enemy soldiers
you will all run away,¹²

until the remaining few are as isolated¹³
as a flagpole on a mountaintop
or a signal flag on a hill.”

The Lord Will Not Abandon His People

30:18 For this reason the LORD is ready to
show you mercy;
he sits on his throne, ready to have com-
passion on you.¹⁴
Indeed, the LORD is a just God;
all who wait for him in faith will be
blessed.¹⁵

30:19 For people will live in Zion;
in Jerusalem¹⁶ you will weep no more.¹⁷
When he hears your cry of despair, he
will indeed show you mercy;
when he hears it, he will respond to you.¹⁸

30:20 The sovereign master¹⁹ will give you
distress to eat
and suffering to drink;²⁰
but your teachers will no longer be hid-
den;

your eyes will see them.²¹

30:21 You²² will hear a word spoken be-
hind you, saying,
“This is the correct²³ way, walk in it,”
whether you are heading to the right or
the left.

30:22 You will desecrate your silver-plated
idols²⁴

and your gold-plated images.²⁵

You will throw them away as if they were
a menstrual rag,
saying to them, “Get out!”

30:23 He will water the seed you plant in
the ground,

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “Therefore the LORD waits to show you mercy, and therefore he is exalted to have compassion on you.” The logical connection between this verse and what precedes is problematic. The point seems to be that Judah’s impending doom does not bring God joy. Rather the prospect of their suffering stirs within him a willingness to show mercy and compassion, if they are willing to seek him on his terms.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “Blessed are all who wait for him.”

¹⁶ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “For people in Zion will live, in Jerusalem, you will weep no more.” The phrase “in Jerusalem” could be taken with what precedes. Some prefer to emend יושב (*yoshev*, “will live,” a Qal imperfect) to יושב (*yoshev*, a Qal active participle) and translate “For [you] people in Zion, who live in Jerusalem, you will weep no more.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “he will indeed show you mercy at the sound of your crying out; when he hears, he will answer you.”

¹⁹ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדֹנָי (*adonai*).

²⁰ **tn** Heb “and the Master will give to you bread – distress, and water – oppression.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “but your teachers will no longer be hidden, your eyes will be seeing your teachers.” The translation assumes that the form מְרַחֵם (*merekha*) is a plural participle, referring to spiritual leaders such as prophets and priests. Another possibility is that the form is actually singular (see GKC 273-74 §93.ss) or a plural of respect, referring to God as the master teacher. See HALOT 560-61 s.v. מְרַחֵם. For discussion of the views, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:560.

²² **tn** Heb “your ears” (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

²³ **tn** The word “correct” is supplied in the translation for clarification.

²⁴ **tn** Heb “the platings of your silver idols.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “the covering of your gold image.”

¹ **tn** The sentence actually begins with the word “because.” In the Hebrew text vv. 12-13 are one long sentence.

² **tn** Heb “and you trust in oppression and cunning.”

³ **tn** Heb “and you lean on it”; NAB “and depend on it.”

⁴ **tn** The verse reads literally, “So this sin will become for you like a breach ready to fall, bulging on a high wall, the breaking of which comes suddenly, in a flash.” Their sin produces guilt and will result in judgment. Like a wall that collapses their fall will be swift and sudden.

⁵ **tn** Heb “Its shattering is like the shattering of a jug of [i.e., “made by”] potters, [so] shattered one cannot save [any of it].”

⁶ **tn** The words “large enough” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

⁷ **tn** Heb “to remove fire from the place of kindling.”

⁸ **tn** On the meaning of גִּבְעָה (*geveh*, “cistern”) see HALOT 170 s.v.

⁹ **tn** Heb “in returning and in quietness you will be delivered.” Many English versions render the last phrase “shall be saved” or something similar (e.g., NAB, NASB, NRSV).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “in quietness and in trust is your strength” (NASB and NRSV both similar).

¹¹ **tn** Heb “One thousand from before [or “because of”] one battle cry.” גִּבְעָה (*ge'arah*) is often defined as “threat,” but in war contexts it likely refers to a shout or battle cry. See Ps 76:6.

¹² **tn** Heb “from before [or “because of”] the battle cry of five you will flee.

¹³ **tn** Heb “until you are left” (so NAB, NASB, NRSV).

and the ground will produce crops in abundance.¹

At that time² your cattle will graze in wide pastures.

30:24 The oxen and donkeys used in plowing³ will eat seasoned feed winnowed with a shovel and pitchfork.⁴

30:25 On every high mountain and every high hill there will be streams flowing with water, at the time of⁵ great slaughter when the fortified towers collapse.

30:26 The light of the full moon will be like the sun's glare and the sun's glare will be seven times brighter, like the light of seven days,⁶ when the LORD binds up his people's fractured bones⁷ and heals their severe wound.⁸

30:27 Look, the name⁹ of the LORD comes from a distant place in raging anger and awesome splendor.¹⁰ He speaks angrily and his word is like destructive fire.¹¹

¹ **tn** Heb "and he will give rain for your seed which you plant in the ground, and food [will be] the produce of the ground, and it will be rich and abundant."

² **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

³ **tn** Heb "the oxen and the donkeys that work the ground."

⁴ **sn** Crops will be so abundant that even the work animals will eat well.

⁵ **tn** Or "in the day of" (KJV).

⁶ **sn** Light here symbolizes restoration of divine blessing and prosperity. The number "seven" is used symbolically to indicate intensity. The exact meaning of the phrase "the light of seven days" is uncertain; it probably means "seven times brighter" (see the parallel line).

⁷ **tn** Heb "the fracture of his people" (so NASB).

sn The LORD is here compared to a physician setting a broken bone in a bandage or cast.

⁸ **tn** Heb "the injury of his wound." The joining of synonyms emphasizes the severity of the wound. Another option is to translate, "the wound of his blow." In this case the pronominal suffix might refer to the LORD, not the people, yielding the translation, "the wound which he inflicted."

⁹ **sn** The "name" of the LORD sometimes stands by metonymy for the LORD himself, see Exod 23:21; Lev 24:11; Pss 54:1 (54:3 HT); 124:8. In Isa 30:27 the point is that he reveals that aspect of his character which his name suggests – he comes as Yahweh ("he is present"), the ever present helper of his people who annihilates their enemies and delivers them. The name "Yahweh" originated in a context where God assured a fearful Moses that he would be with him as he confronted Pharaoh and delivered Israel from slavery in Egypt. See Exod 3.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "his anger burns, and heaviness of elevation." The meaning of the phrase "heaviness of elevation" is unclear, for מַסָּא'ה (*masa'ah*, "elevation") occurs only here. Some understand the term as referring to a cloud (elevated above the earth's surface), in which case one might translate, "and in heavy clouds" (cf. NAB "with lowering clouds"). Others relate the noun to מַסָּא' (*masa'*, "burden") and interpret it as a reference to judgment. In this case one might translate, "and with severe judgment." The present translation assumes that the noun refers to his glory and that "heaviness" emphasizes its degree.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "his lips are full of anger, and his tongue is like consuming fire." The LORD's lips and tongue are used metonymically for his word (or perhaps his battle cry; see v. 31).

30:28 His battle cry overwhelms like a flooding river¹² that reaches one's neck.

He shakes the nations in a sieve that isolates the chaff;¹³ he puts a bit into the mouth of the nations and leads them to destruction.¹⁴

30:29 You will sing as you do in the evening when you are celebrating a festival.

You will be happy like one who plays a flute as he goes to the mountain of the LORD, the Rock who shelters Israel.¹⁵

30:30 The LORD will give a mighty shout¹⁶ and intervene in power,¹⁷ with furious anger and flaming, destructive fire,¹⁸ with a driving rainstorm and hailstones.

30:31 Indeed, the LORD's shout will shatter Assyria;¹⁹

he will beat them with a club.

30:32 Every blow from his punishing cudgel,²⁰

with which the LORD will beat them,²¹ will be accompanied by music from the²² tambourine and harp, and he will attack them with his weapons.²³

¹² **tn** Heb "his breath is like a flooding river." This might picture the LORD breathing heavily as he runs down his enemy, but in light of the preceding verse, which mentions his lips and tongue, "breath" probably stands metonymically for the word or battle cry that he expels from his mouth as he shouts. In Isa 34:16 and Ps 33:6 the LORD's "breath" is associated with his command.

¹³ **tn** Heb "shaking nations in a sieve of worthlessness." It is not certain exactly how שָׁוָה (*shav*), "emptiness, worthlessness" modifies "sieve." A sieve is used to separate grain from chaff and isolate what is worthless so that it might be discarded. Perhaps the nations are likened to such chaff; God's judgment will sift them out for destruction.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "and a bit that leads astray [is] in the jaws of the peoples." Here the nations are likened to horse that can be controlled by a bit placed in its mouth. In this case the LORD uses his sovereign control over the "horse" to lead it to its demise.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "[you will have] joy of heart, like the one going with a flute to enter the mountain of the LORD to the Rock of Israel." The image here is not a foundational rock, but a rocky cliff where people could hide for protection (for example, the fortress of Masada).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "the LORD will cause the splendor of his voice to be heard."

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "and reveal the lowering of his arm."

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "and a flame of consuming fire."

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "Indeed by the voice of the LORD Assyria will be shattered."

²⁰ **tc** The Hebrew text has "every blow from a founded [i.e., "appointed"?] cudgel." The translation above, with support from a few medieval Hebrew MSS, assumes an emendation of מוֹסָדָה (*musadah*, "founded") to מוֹסָרוֹה (*musaroh*, "his discipline").

²¹ **tn** Heb "which the LORD lays on him."

²² **tn** Heb "will be with" (KJV similar).

²³ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "and with battles of brandishing [weapons?] he will fight against him." Some prefer to emend מִלְחָמוֹת (*uvimilkhamot*, "and with battles of") to מִבְּחֹלוֹת (*uvimkholot*, "and with dancing"). Note the immediately preceding references to musical instruments.

30:33 For¹ the burial place is already prepared;²
it has been made deep and wide for the king.³
The firewood is piled high on it.⁴
The LORD's breath, like a stream flowing with brimstone,
will ignite it.

Egypt Will Disappoint

31:1 Those who go down to Egypt for help are as good as dead,⁵
those who rely on war horses,
and trust in Egypt's many chariots⁶
and in their many, many horsemen.⁷
But they do not rely on the Holy One of Israel⁸
and do not seek help from the LORD.
31:2 Yet he too is wise⁹ and he will bring disaster;
he does not retract his decree.¹⁰
He will attack the wicked nation,¹¹
and the nation that helps¹² those who commit sin.¹³
31:3 The Egyptians are mere humans, not God;
their horses are made of flesh, not spirit.
The LORD will strike with¹⁴ his hand;
the one who helps will stumble
and the one being helped will fall.
Together they will perish.¹⁵

¹ **tn** Or "indeed."

² **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, "for arranged from before [or "yesterday"] is [?]." The meaning of תִּפְתָּח (taf'teh), which occurs only here, is unknown. The translation above (as with most English versions) assumes an emendation to תִּפְתָּח (tofet, "Topheth"; cf. NASB, NIV, NLT) and places the final he (ה) on the beginning of the next word as an interrogative particle. Topheth was a place near Jerusalem used as a burial ground (see Jer 7:32; 19:11).

³ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "Also it is made ready for the king, one makes it deep and wide." If one takes the final he (ה) תִּפְתָּח (taf'teh) and prefixes it to גַּם (gam) as an interrogative particle (see the preceding note), one can translate, "Is it also made ready for the king?" In this case the question is rhetorical and expects an emphatic affirmative answer, "Of course it is!"

⁴ **tn** Heb "its pile of wood, fire and wood one makes abundant."

sn Apparently this alludes to some type of funeral rite.

⁵ **tn** Heb "Woe [to] those who go down to Egypt for help."

⁶ **tn** Heb "and trust in chariots for they are many."

⁷ **tn** Heb "and in horsemen for they are very strong [or "numerous"]."

⁸ **sn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

⁹ **sn** This statement appears to have a sarcastic tone. The royal advisers who are advocating an alliance with Egypt think they are wise, but the LORD possesses wisdom as well and will thwart their efforts.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "and he does not turn aside [i.e., "retract"] his words"; NIV "does not take back his words."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "and he will arise against the house of the wicked."

¹² **sn** That is, Egypt.

¹³ **tn** Heb "and against the help of the doers of sin."

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "will extend"; KJV, ASV, NASB, NCV "stretch out."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "together all of them will come to an end."

The Lord Will Defend Zion

31:4 Indeed, this is what the LORD says to me:
"The LORD will be like a growling lion,
like a young lion growling over its prey.¹⁶
Though a whole group of shepherds gather against it,
it is not afraid of their shouts
or intimidated by their yelling.¹⁷
In this same way the LORD who commands armies will descend
to do battle on Mount Zion and on its hill.¹⁸
31:5 Just as birds hover over a nest,¹⁹
so the LORD who commands armies will protect Jerusalem.²⁰
He will protect and deliver it;
as he passes over²¹ he will rescue it.

31:6 You Israelites! Return to the one against whom you have so blatantly rebelled!²² **31:7** For at that time²³ everyone will get rid of²⁴ the silver and gold idols your hands sinfully made.²⁵

31:8 Assyria will fall by a sword, but not one human-made;²⁶
a sword not made by humankind will destroy them.²⁷

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "As a lion growls, a young lion over its prey." In the Hebrew text the opening comparison is completed later in the verse ("so the LORD will come down..."), after a parenthesis describing how fearless the lion is. The present translation divides the verse into three sentences for English stylistic reasons.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "Though there is summoned against it fullness of shepherds, by their voice it is not terrified, and to their noise it does not respond."

¹⁸ **tn** Some prefer to translate the phrase לִצְבוֹ' (litsbo' 'al) as "fight against," but the following context pictures the LORD defending, not attacking, Zion.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "just as birds fly." The words "over a nest" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

²⁰ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

²¹ **tn** The only other occurrence of this verb is in Exod 12:13, 23, 27, where the LORD "passes over" (i.e., "spares") the Israelite households as he comes to judge their Egyptian oppressors. The noun פֶּסַח (pesakh, "Passover") is derived from the verb. The use of the verb in Isa 31:5 is probably an intentional echo of the Exodus event. As in the days of Moses the LORD will spare his people as he comes to judge their enemies.

²² **tn** Heb "Return to the one [against] whom the sons of Israel made deep rebellion." The syntax is awkward here. A preposition is omitted by ellipsis after the verb (see GKC 446 §138.f, n. 2), and there is a shift from direct address (note the second plural imperative "return") to the third person (note "they made deep"). For other examples of abrupt shifts in person in poetic style, see GKC 462 §144.p.

²³ **tn** Or "in that day" (KJV).

²⁴ **tn** Heb "reject" (so NIV); NRSV, TEV, CEV, NLT "throw away."

²⁵ **tn** Heb "the idols of their idols of silver and their idols of gold which your hands made for yourselves [in] sin." חַטָּא (khata', "sin") is understood as an adverbial accusative of manner. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:573, n. 4.

²⁶ **tn** Heb "Assyria will fall by a sword, not of a man."

²⁷ **tn** Heb "and a sword not of humankind will devour him."

They will run away from this sword¹
and their young men will be forced to do
hard labor.

31:9 They will surrender their stronghold²
because of fear;³

their officers will be afraid of the LORD's
battle flag.⁴

This is what the LORD says –
the one whose fire is in Zion,
whose firepot is in Jerusalem.⁵

Justice and Wisdom Will Prevail

32:1 Look, a king will promote fairness;⁶
officials will promote justice.⁷

32:2 Each of them⁸ will be like a shelter
from the wind

and a refuge from a rainstorm;
like streams of water in a dry region
and like the shade of a large cliff in a
parched land.

32:3 Eyes⁹ will no longer be blind¹⁰
and ears¹¹ will be attentive.

32:4 The mind that acts rashly will pos-
sess discernment¹²
and the tongue that stutters will speak
with ease and clarity.

32:5 A fool will no longer be called honor-
able;
a deceiver will no longer be called prin-
ciple.

32:6 For a fool speaks disgraceful things;¹³
his mind plans out sinful deeds.¹⁴

He commits godless deeds¹⁵
and says misleading things about the
LORD;
he gives the hungry nothing to satisfy
their appetite¹⁶
and gives the thirsty nothing to drink.¹⁷

32:7 A deceiver's methods are evil,¹⁸
he dreams up evil plans¹⁹
to ruin the poor with lies,
even when the needy are in the right.²⁰
32:8 An honorable man makes honorable
plans;
his honorable character gives him secu-
rity.²¹

The Lord Will Give True Security

32:9 You complacent²² women,
get up and listen to me!
You carefree²³ daughters,
pay attention to what I say!

32:10 In a year's time²⁴
you carefree ones will shake with fear,
for the grape²⁵ harvest will fail,
and the fruit harvest will not arrive.

32:11 Tremble, you complacent ones!
Shake with fear, you carefree ones!
Strip off your clothes and expose your-
selves –

put sackcloth on your waist!²⁶

32:12 Mourn over the field,²⁷
over the delightful fields
and the fruitful vine!

32:13 Mourn²⁸ over the land of my people,

¹ **tn** Heb "as for a deceiver, his implements [or "weapons"] are evil."

² **tn** Or "he plans evil things"; NIV "he makes up evil schemes."

³ **tn** Heb "to ruin the poor with words of falsehood, even when the needy speak what is just."

⁴ **tn** Heb "and he upon honorable things stands."

⁵ **tn** Or "self-assured"; NASB, NRSV "who are at ease."

⁶ **tn** Or "self-confident"; NAB "overconfident."

⁷ **tn** Heb "days upon a year."

⁸ **tn** Or perhaps, "olive." See 24:13.

⁹ **tn** The imperative forms in v. 11 are problematic. The first (חרדו, *khirdu*, "tremble") is masculine plural in form, though spoken to a feminine plural addressee (שִׂאֲנָנוֹת, *sha'anannot*, "complacent ones"). The four imperative forms that follow (רָגַזְתֶּם, *r'gazah*, "shake with fear"; שִׁשְׁתֶּם, *p'shotah*, "strip off your clothes"; עָרִידוּ, *orah*, "expose yourselves"; and חָגְרוּ, *khagorah*, "put on") all appear to be lengthened (so-called "emphatic") masculine singular forms, even though they too appear to be spoken to a feminine plural addressee. GKC 131-32 §48.1 suggests emending חָרַדוּ (*khirdu*) to חָרָדוּ (*kharadah*) and understanding all five imperatives as feminine plural "aramaized" forms.

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text has "over mourning breasts." The reference to "breasts" would make sense in light of v. 11, which refers to the practice of women baring their breasts as a sign of sorrow (see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:585). However, one expects the preposition עַל (*al*) to introduce the source or reason for mourning (see vv. 12b-13a) and the participle בִּסְדִּים (*sodetim*, "mourning") seems odd modifying "breasts." The translation above assumes a twofold emendation: (1) שִׁדִּים (*shadayim*, "breasts") is emended to שָׂדִים (*sadayim*), "field," a term that also appears in Isa 56:9). The final *mem* (ם) would be enclitic in this case, not a plural indicator. (The Hebrew noun שָׂדֶה (*sadeh*, "field") forms its plural with an *an* [-*ot*] ending). (2) The plural participle בִּסְדִּים is emended to בִּסְדָּה (*s'fodah*), a lengthened imperative form, meaning "mourn." For an overview of various suggestions that have been made for this difficult line, see Oswalt, 586, n. 12).

¹¹ **tn** "Mourn" is supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. In the Hebrew text vv. 12-13 are one long sentence.

¹ **tn** Heb "he will flee for himself from before a sword."

² **tn** Heb "rocky cliff" (cf. ASV, NASB "rock"), viewed metaphorically as a place of defense and security.

³ **tn** Heb "His rocky cliff, because of fear, will pass away [i.e., "perish"]."

⁴ **tn** Heb "and they will be afraid of the flag, his officers."

⁵ **sn** The "fire" and "firepot" here symbolize divine judgment, which is heating up like a fire in Jerusalem, waiting to be used against the Assyrians when they attack the city.

⁶ **tn** Heb "will reign according to fairness."

⁷ **tn** Heb "will rule according to justice."

⁸ **tn** Heb "a man," but אִישׁ (*ish*) probably refers here to "each" of the officials mentioned in the previous verse.

⁹ **tn** Heb "Eyes that see."

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text as vocalized reads literally "will not gaze," but this is contradictory to the context. The verb form should be revocalized תִּשְׁקֹף (*t'sho'qaf*) from שָׁקַף (*sha'af*, "be blinded"); see Isa 6:10; 29:9.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "ears that hear."

¹² **tn** Heb "the heart of rashness will understand knowledge"; cf. NAB "The flighty will become wise and capable."

¹³ **tn** Or "foolishness," in a moral-ethical sense. See 9:17.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "and his heart commits sin"; KJV, ASV "his heart will work iniquity"; NASB "inclines toward wickedness."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "in order to do [or "so that he does"] what is godless [or "defiled"]."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "so that he leaves empty the appetite [or "desire"] of the hungry."

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "and the drink of the thirsty he causes to fail."

which is overgrown with thorns and
briers,
and over all the once-happy houses¹
in the city filled with revelry.²
32:14 For the fortress is neglected;
the once-crowded³ city is abandoned.
Hill⁴ and watchtower
are permanently uninhabited.⁵
Wild donkeys love to go there,
and flocks graze there.⁶
32:15 This desolation will continue un-
til new life is poured out on us from
heaven.⁷
Then the desert will become an orchard
and the orchard will be considered a
forest.⁸
32:16 Justice will settle down in the desert
and fairness will live in the orchard.⁹
32:17 Fairness will produce peace¹⁰
and result in lasting security.¹¹
32:18 My people will live in peaceful
settlements,
in secure homes,
and in safe, quiet places.¹²
32:19 Even if the forest is destroyed¹³

and the city is annihilated,¹⁴
32:20 you will be blessed,
you who plant seed by all the banks of
the streams,¹⁵
you who let your ox and donkey graze.¹⁶

The Lord Will Restore Zion

33:1 The destroyer is as good as dead,¹⁷
you who have not been destroyed!
The deceitful one is as good as dead,¹⁸
the one whom others have not deceived!
When you are through destroying, you
will be destroyed;
when you finish¹⁹ deceiving, others will
deceive you!
33:2 LORD, be merciful to us! We wait for
you.
Give us strength each morning!²⁰
Deliver us when distress comes.²¹
33:3 The nations run away when they hear
a loud noise;²²
the nations scatter when you spring into
action!²³
33:4 Your plunder²⁴ disappears as if lo-
custs were eating it;²⁵
they swarm over it like locusts!²⁶

¹ **tn** Heb “indeed, over all the houses of joy.” It is not certain if this refers to individual homes or to places where parties and celebrations were held.

² **sn** This same phrase is used in 22:2.

³ **tn** Or “noisy” (NAB, NIV, NCV).

⁴ **tn** Hebrew נֶעֱלָה (*ne'ela*), probably refers here to a specific area within the city of Jerusalem. See HALOT 861 s.v. II נֶעֱלָה.

⁵ **tn** The Hebrew text has בְּעֵד מִקְדָּרוֹ (v^oad m^earot). The force of בְּעֵד, which usually means “behind, through, round about,” or “for the benefit of,” is uncertain here. HALOT 616 s.v. *מִקְדָּרוֹ takes מִקְדָּרוֹ (m^earot) as a homonym of “cave” and define it here as “cleared field.” Despite these lexical problems, the general point of the statement seems clear – the city will be uninhabited.

⁶ **tn** Heb “the joy of wild donkeys, a pasture for flocks.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “until a spirit is emptied out on us from on high.” The words “this desolation will continue” are supplied in the translation for clarification and stylistic purposes. The verb קָדַח (*arah*), used here in the Niphal, normally means “lay bare, expose.” The term רוּחַ (*ruakh*, “spirit”) is often understood here as a reference to the divine spirit (cf. 44:3 and NASB, NIV, CEV, NLT), but it appears here without an article (cf. NRSV “a spirit”), pronominal suffix, or a genitive (such as “of the LORD”). The translation assumes that it carries an impersonal nuance “vivacity, vigor” in this context.

⁸ **sn** The same statement appears in 29:17b, where, in conjunction with the preceding line, it appears to picture a reversal. Here it seems to depict supernatural growth. The desert will blossom into an orchard, and the trees of the orchard will multiply and grow tall, becoming a forest.

⁹ **sn** This new era of divine blessing will also include a moral/ethical transformation, as justice and fairness fill the land and replace the social injustice so prevalent in Isaiah’s time.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and the product of fairness will be peace.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “and the work of fairness [will be] calmness and security forever.”

¹² **tn** Or “in safe resting places”; NAB, NRSV “quiet resting places.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and [?] when the forest descends.” The form וְיָרַד (*uvarad*) is often understood as an otherwise unattested denominative verb meaning “to hail” (HALOT 154 s.v. יָרַד). In this case one might translate, “and it hails when the forest is destroyed” (cf. KJV, ASV, NASB, NIV). Perhaps the text alludes to a powerful wind and hail storm that knocks down limbs and trees. Some prefer to emend the form to יָרַד (*yayrad*), “and it descends,” which provides better, though not perfect, sym-

metry with the parallel line (cf. NAB). Perhaps וְיָרַד should be dismissed as dittographic. In this case the statement (“when the forest descends”) lacks a finite verb and seems incomplete, but perhaps it is subordinate to v. 20.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and in humiliation the city is laid low.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “by all the waters.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “who set free the foot of the ox and donkey”; NIV “letting your cattle and donkeys range free.”

sn This verse seems to anticipate a time when fertile land is available to cultivate and crops are so abundant that the farm animals can be allowed to graze freely.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “Woe [to] the destroyer.”

sn In this context “the destroyer” appears to refer collectively to the hostile nations (vv. 3-4). Assyria would probably have been primary in the minds of the prophet and his audience.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “and the deceitful one”; NAB, NIV “O traitor”; NRSV “you treacherous one.” In the parallel structure וְיָי (*hay*, “woe [to]”) does double duty.

¹⁹ **tc** The form in the Hebrew text appears to derive from an otherwise unattested verb נָלַח (*nalah*). The translation follows the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a in reading נִלְחִיךְ, a Piel infinitival form from the verbal root נָלַח (*kalah*), meaning “finish.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “Be their arm each morning.” “Arm” is a symbol for strength. The *mem* suffixed to the noun has been traditionally understood as a third person suffix, but this is contrary to the context, where the people speak of themselves in the first person. The *mem* (מ) is probably enclitic with ellipsis of the pronoun, which can be supplied from the context. See J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:589, n. 1.

²¹ **tn** Heb “[Be] also our deliverance in the time of distress.”

²² **tn** Heb “at the sound of tumult the nations run away.”

²³ **tn** Heb “because of your exaltation the nations scatter.”

²⁴ **tn** The pronoun is plural; the statement is addressed to the nations who have stockpiled plunder from their conquests of others.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “and your plunder is gathered, the gathering of the locust.”

²⁶ **tn** Heb “like a swarm of locusts swarming on it.”

33:5 The LORD is exalted,¹
indeed,² he lives in heaven;³
he fills Zion with justice and fairness.
33:6 He is your constant source of
stability;⁴
he abundantly provides safety and great
wisdom;⁵
he gives all this to those who fear him.⁶
33:7 Look, ambassadors⁷ cry out in the
streets;
messengers sent to make peace⁸ weep
bitterly.
33:8 Highways are empty,⁹
there are no travelers.¹⁰
Treaties are broken,¹¹
witnesses are despised,¹²
human life is treated with disrespect.¹³
33:9 The land¹⁴ dries up¹⁵ and withers
away;
the forest of Lebanon shrivels up¹⁶ and
decays.
Sharon¹⁷ is like the desert;¹⁸
Bashan and Carmel¹⁹ are parched.²⁰
33:10 "Now I will rise up," says the LORD.
"Now I will exalt myself;
now I will magnify myself."²¹

¹ tn Or "elevated"; NCV, NLT "is very great."

² tn Or "for" (KJV, NASB, NIV).

³ tn Heb "on high" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV); CEV "in the heavens."

⁴ tn Heb "and he is the stability of your times."

⁵ tn Heb "a rich store of deliverance, wisdom, and knowledge."

⁶ tn Heb "the fear of the LORD, it is his treasure."

⁷ tn The meaning of the Hebrew word is unknown. Proposals include "heroes" (cf. KJV, ASV "valiant ones"; NASB, NIV "brave men"); "priests," "residents [of Jerusalem]." The present translation assumes that the term is synonymous with "messengers of peace," with which it corresponds in the parallel structure of the verse.

⁸ tn Heb "messengers of peace," apparently those responsible for negotiating the agreements that have been broken (see v. 8).

⁹ tn Or "desolate" (NAB, NASB); NIV, NRSV, NLT "deserted."

¹⁰ tn Heb "the one passing by on the road ceases."

¹¹ tn Heb "one breaks a treaty"; NAB "Covenants are broken."

¹² tc The Hebrew text reads literally, "he despises cities." The term ערים (*arim*, "cities") is probably a corruption of an original עדים (*edim*, "[legal] witnesses"), a reading that is preserved in the Qumran scroll 1QIsa. Confusion of *dalet* (ד) and *resh* (ר) is a well-attested scribal error.

¹³ tn Heb "he does not regard human beings."

¹⁴ tn Or "earth" (KJV); NAB "the country."

¹⁵ tn Or "mourns" (BDB 5 s.v. אָבַל). HALOT 6-7 lists homonyms אָבַל ("mourn") and אָבַל ("dry up"). They propose the second here on the basis of parallelism. See 24:4.

¹⁶ tn Heb "Lebanon is ashamed." The Hiphil is exhibitiv, expressing the idea, "exhibits shame." In this context the statement alludes to the withering of vegetation.

¹⁷ sn Sharon was a fertile plain along the Mediterranean coast. See 35:2.

¹⁸ tn Or "the Arabah" (NIV). See 35:1.

¹⁹ sn Both of these areas were known for their trees and vegetation. See 2:13; 35:2.

²⁰ tn Heb "shake off [their leaves]" (so ASV, NRSV); NAB "are stripped bare."

²¹ tn Or "lift myself up" (KJV); NLT "show my power and might."

33:11 You conceive straw,²²
you give birth to chaff;
your breath is a fire that destroys you.²³
33:12 The nations will be burned to
ashes;²⁴
like thorn bushes that have been cut
down, they will be set on fire.
33:13 You who are far away, listen to what
I have done!
You who are close by, recognize my
strength!"²⁵
33:14 Sinners are afraid in Zion;
panic²⁵ grips the godless.²⁶
They say,²⁷ "Who among us can coexist
with destructive fire?
Who among us can coexist with un-
quenchable²⁸ fire?"
33:15 The one who lives²⁹ uprightly³⁰
and speaks honestly;
the one who refuses to profit from op-
pressive measures
and rejects a bribe;³¹
the one who does not plot violent crimes³²
and does not seek to harm others³³ —
33:16 This is the person who will live in a
secure place;³⁴
he will find safety in the rocky, mountain
strongholds;³⁵
he will have food
and a constant supply of water.
33:17 You will see a king in his splendor;³⁶
you will see a wide land.³⁷
33:18 Your mind will recall the terror you
experienced,³⁸
and you will ask yourselves,³⁹ "Where is
the scribe?"

²² tn The second person verb and pronominal forms in this verse are plural. The hostile nations are the addressed, as the next verse makes clear.

²³ sn The hostile nations' plans to destroy God's people will come to nothing; their hostility will end up being self-destructive.

²⁴ tn Heb "will be a burning to lime." See Amos 2:1.

²⁵ tn Or "trembling" (ASV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT "shake with fear."

²⁶ tn Or "the defiled"; TEV "The sinful people of Zion"; NLT "The sinners in Jerusalem."

²⁷ tn The words "they say" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

²⁸ tn Or "perpetual"; or "everlasting" (KJV, ASV, NAB, NIV, NRSV).

²⁹ tn Heb "walks" (so NASB, NIV).

³⁰ tn Or, possibly, "justly"; NAB "who practices virtue."

³¹ tn Heb "[who] shakes off his hands from grabbing hold of a bribe."

³² tn Heb "[who] shuts his ear from listening to bloodshed."

³³ tn Heb "[who] closes his eyes from seeing evil."

³⁴ tn Heb "he [in the] exalted places will live."

³⁵ tn Heb "mountain strongholds, cliffs [will be] his elevated place."

³⁶ tn Heb "your eyes will see a king in his beauty"; NIV, NRSV "the king."

³⁷ tn Heb "a land of distances," i.e., an extensive land.

³⁸ tn Heb "your heart will meditate on terror."

³⁹ tn The words "and you will ask yourselves" are supplied in the translation for clarification and stylistic reasons.

Where is the one who weighs the money?
Where is the one who counts the tow-
ers?"¹

33:19 You will no longer see a defiant²
people
whose language you do not comprehend,³
whose derisive speech you do not under-
stand.⁴

33:20 Look at Zion, the city where we
hold religious festivals!

You⁵ will see Jerusalem,⁶

a peaceful settlement,

a tent that stays put;⁷

its stakes will never be pulled up;
none of its ropes will snap in two.

33:21 Instead the LORD will rule there as
our mighty king.⁸

Rivers and wide streams will flow
through it;⁹

no war galley will enter;¹⁰

no large ships will sail through.¹¹

33:22 For the LORD, our ruler,

the LORD, our commander,

the LORD, our king –

he will deliver us.

33:23 Though at this time your ropes are
slack,¹²

the mast is not secured.¹³

and the sail¹⁴ is not unfurled,

at that time you will divide up a great
quantity of loot;¹⁵

even the lame will drag off plunder.¹⁶

33:24 No resident of Zion¹⁷ will say, "I am
ill";

the people who live there will have their
sin forgiven.

The Lord Will Judge Edom

34:1 Come near, you nations, and listen!
Pay attention, you people!

The earth and everything it contains must
listen,

the world and everything that lives in it.¹⁸

34:2 For the LORD is angry at all the na-
tions

and furious with all their armies.

He will annihilate them and slaughter
them.

34:3 Their slain will be left unburied,¹⁹
their corpses will stink;²⁰

the hills will soak up their blood.²¹

34:4 All the stars in the sky will fade
away,²²

the sky will roll up like a scroll;

all its stars will wither,

like a leaf withers and falls from a vine

or a fig withers and falls from a tree.²³

34:5 He says,²⁴ "Indeed, my sword has
slaughtered heavenly powers.²⁵

Look, it now descends on Edom,²⁶
on the people I will annihilate in judg-
ment."

¹ **sn** The people refer to various Assyrian officials who were responsible for determining the amount of taxation or tribute Judah must pay to the Assyrian king.

² **tn** The Hebrew form נִּזְעִי (*no'az*) is a Niphal participle derived from נָזַע (*ya'az*, an otherwise unattested verb) or from נָזַע (*'azaz*, "be strong," unattested elsewhere in the Niphal). Some prefer to emend the form to לִּנְעִי (*lo'ez*) which occurs in Ps 114:1 with the meaning "speak a foreign language." See HALOT 809 s.v. נָזַע, 533 s.v. לִּנְעִי. In this case, one might translate "people who speak a foreign language."

³ **tn** Heb "a people too deep of lip to hear." The phrase "deep of lip" must be an idiom meaning "lips that speak words that are unfathomable [i.e., incomprehensible]."

⁴ **tn** Heb "derision of tongue there is no understanding." The Niphal of נָאָג (*la'ag*) occurs only here. In the Qal and Hiphil the verb means "to deride, mock." A related noun is used in 28:11.

⁵ **tn** Heb "your eyes" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

⁶ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

⁷ **tn** Or "that does not travel"; NASB "which shall not be folded."

⁸ **tn** Heb "But there [as] a mighty one [will be] the LORD for us."

⁹ **tn** Heb "a place of rivers, streams wide of hands [i.e., on both sides]."

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "a ship of rowing will not go into it."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "and a mighty ship will not pass through it."

¹² **tn** The words "though at this time" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The first half of the verse is addressed to Judah and contrasts the nation's present weakness with its future prosperity. Judah is compared to a ship that is incapable of sailing.

¹³ **tn** Heb "they do not fasten the base of their mast." On כֶּן (*ken*, "base") see BDB 487 s.v. III כֶּן and HALOT 483 s.v. III כֶּן.

¹⁴ **tn** Or perhaps, "flag."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "then there will be divided up loot of plunder [in] abundance."

¹⁶ **sn** Judah's victory over its enemies will be so thorough

there will be more than enough plunder for everyone, even slow-moving lame men who would normally get left out in the rush to gather the loot.

¹⁷ **tn** The words "of Zion" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "the world and its offspring"; NASB "the world and all that springs from it."

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "will be cast aside"; NASB, NIV "thrown out."

²⁰ **tn** Heb "[as for] their corpses, their stench will arise."

²¹ **tn** Heb "hills will dissolve from their blood."

²² **tc** Heb "and all the host of heaven will rot." The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a inserts "and the valleys will be split open," but this reading may be influenced by Mic 1:4. On the other hand, the statement, if original, could have been omitted by homoioarcton, a scribe's eye jumping from the conjunction prefixed to "the valleys" to the conjunction prefixed to the verb "rot."

²³ **tn** Heb "like the withering of a leaf from a vine, and like the withering from a fig tree."

²⁴ **tn** The words "he says" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The LORD speaks at this point.

²⁵ **tn** Heb "indeed [or "for"] my sword is drenched in the heavens." The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has הִרְיָהּ ("[my sword] appeared [in the heavens]"), but this is apparently an attempt to make sense out of a difficult metaphor. Cf. NIV "My sword has drunk its fill in the heavens."

²⁶ **sn** In v. 4 the "host of the heaven" refers to the heavenly luminaries (stars and planets, see, among others, Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5; 23:4-5; 2 Chr 33:3, 5) that populate the divine/heavenly assembly in mythological and prescientific Israelite thought (see Job 38:7; Isa 14:13). As in 24:21, they are viewed here as opposing God and being defeated in battle.

²⁶ **sn** Edom is mentioned here as epitomizing the hostile nations that oppose God.

34:6 The LORD's sword is dripping with blood,
it is covered¹ with fat;
it drips² with the blood of young rams
and goats
and is covered³ with the fat of rams'
kidneys.
For the LORD is holding a sacrifice⁴ in
Bozrah,⁵
a bloody⁶ slaughter in the land of Edom.
34:7 Wild oxen will be slaughtered⁷ along
with them,
as well as strong bulls.⁸
Their land is drenched with blood,
their soil is covered with fat.
34:8 For the LORD has planned a day of
revenge,⁹
a time when he will repay Edom for her
hostility toward Zion.¹⁰
34:9 Edom's¹¹ streams will be turned into
pitch
and her soil into brimstone;
her land will become burning pitch.
34:10 Night and day it will burn;¹²
its smoke will ascend continually.
Generation after generation it will be a
wasteland
and no one will ever pass through it
again.
34:11 Owls and wild animals¹³ will live
there,¹⁴
all kinds of wild birds¹⁵ will settle in it.
The LORD¹⁶ will stretch out over her
the measuring line of ruin

and the plumb line¹⁷ of destruction.¹⁸
34:12 Her nobles will have nothing left to
call a kingdom
and all her officials will disappear.¹⁹
34:13 Her fortresses will be overgrown
with thorns;
thickets and weeds will grow²⁰ in her for-
tified cities.
Jackals will settle there;
ostriches will live there.²¹
34:14 Wild animals and wild dogs will
congregate there;²²
wild goats will bleat to one another.²³
Yes, nocturnal animals²⁴ will rest there
and make for themselves a nest.²⁵
34:15 Owls²⁶ will make nests and lay
eggs²⁷ there;
they will hatch them and protect them.²⁸
Yes, hawks²⁹ will gather there,
each with its mate.
34:16 Carefully read the scroll of the
LORD!³⁰
Not one of these creatures will be miss-
ing,³¹
none will lack a mate.³²

¹ **tn** The verb is a rare Hotpaal passive form. See GKC 150 §54.h.

² **tn** The words "it drips" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

³ **tn** The words "and is covered" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

⁴ **tn** Heb "for there is a sacrifice to the LORD."

⁵ **sn** The LORD's judgment of Edom is compared to a bloody sacrificial scene.

⁶ **tn** Heb "great" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

⁷ **tn** Heb "will go down"; NAB "shall be struck down."

⁸ **tn** Heb "and bulls along with strong ones." Perhaps this refers to the leaders.

⁹ **tn** Heb "for a day of vengeance [is] for the LORD."

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "a year of repayment for the strife of Zion." The translation assumes that רִיב (*riv*) refers to Edom's hostility toward Zion. Another option is to understand רִיב (*riv*) as referring to the LORD's taking up Zion's cause. In this case one might translate, "a time when he will repay Edom and vindicate Zion."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "her"; the referent (Edom) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹² **tn** Heb "it will not be extinguished."

¹³ **tn** Heb קָאֵת (*qa'at*) refers to some type of bird (cf. Lev 11:18; Deut 14:17) that was typically found near ruins (see Zeph 2:14); קִפּוֹד (*qippod*) may also refer to a type of bird (NAB "hoot owl"; NIV "screech owl"; TEV "ravens"), but some have suggested a rodent may be in view (cf. NCV "small animals"; ASV "porcupine"; NASB, NRSV "hedgehog").

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "will possess it" (so NIV).

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew text has יְנִיֹּף וְעֹרֵב (*yanshof v'e'orev*). Both הַיְנִיֹּף ("owl"; see Lev 11:17; Deut 14:16) and עֹרֵב ("raven"; Lev 11:15; Deut 14:14) were types of wild birds.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "he"; the referent (the LORD) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "stones," i.e., the stones used in a plumb bob.

¹⁸ **sn** The metaphor in v. 11b emphasizes that God has carefully planned Edom's demise.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "will be nothing"; NCV, TEV, NLT "will all be gone."

²⁰ **tn** The words "will grow" are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

²¹ **tc** Heb "and she will be a settlement for wild dogs, a dwelling place for ostriches." The translation assumes an emendation of הַצִּיר (*khatsir*, "grass") to הַצֵּר (*khatsar*, "settlement"). One of the Qumran scrolls of Isaiah (1QIsa^a) supports this emendation (cf. HALOT 344 s.v. II הַצֵּר).

²² **tn** Heb "will meet" (so NIV); NLT "will mingle there."

²³ **tn** Heb "and a goat will call to its neighbor."

²⁴ **tn** The precise meaning of לִילִית (*lilit*) is unclear, though in this context the word certainly refers to some type of wild animal or bird. The word appears to be related to לַיְלָה (*laylah*, "night"). Some interpret it as the name of a female night demon, on the basis of an apparent Akkadian cognate used as the name of a demon. Later Jewish legends also identified Lilith as a demon. Cf. NRSV "Lilith."

²⁵ **tn** Heb "and will find for themselves a resting place."

²⁶ **tn** Hebrew קִפּוֹז (*qippoz*) occurs only here; the precise meaning of the word is uncertain.

²⁷ **tn** For this proposed meaning for Hebrew מַלֵּט (*malat*), see HALOT 589 s.v. מַלֵּט.

²⁸ **tn** Heb "and brood [over them] in her shadow."

²⁹ **tn** The precise meaning of הַיָּהָה (*dayyah*) is uncertain, though the term appears to refer to some type of bird of prey, perhaps a vulture.

³⁰ **tn** Heb "Seek from upon the scroll of the LORD and read."

sn It is uncertain what particular scroll is referred to here. Perhaps the phrase simply refers to this prophecy and is an admonition to pay close attention to the details of the message.

³¹ **tn** Heb "one from these will not be missing." הֵנָּה (*hen-nah*, "these") is feminine plural in the Hebrew text. It may refer only to the birds mentioned in v. 15b or may include all of the creatures listed in vv. 14b-15 (all of which are identified with feminine nouns).

³² **tn** Heb "each its mate they will not lack."

For the LORD has issued the decree,¹
and his own spirit gathers them.²
34:17 He assigns them their allotment;³
he measures out their assigned place.⁴
They will live there⁵ permanently;
they will settle in it through successive
generations.

The Land and Its People Are Transformed

35:1 Let the desert and dry region be
happy;⁶
let the wilderness⁷ rejoice and bloom
like a lily!
35:2 Let it richly bloom;⁸
let it rejoice and shout with delight!⁹
It is given the grandeur¹⁰ of Lebanon,
the splendor of Carmel and Sharon.
They will see the grandeur of the LORD,
the splendor of our God.
35:3 Strengthen the hands that have gone
limp,
steady the knees that shake!¹¹
35:4 Tell those who panic,¹²
“Be strong! Do not fear!
Look, your God comes to avenge!
With divine retribution he comes to de-
liver you.”¹³

35:5 Then blind eyes will open,
deaf ears will hear.
35:6 Then the lame will leap like a deer,
the mute tongue will shout for joy;
for water will flow¹⁴ in the desert,
streams in the wilderness.¹⁵
35:7 The dry soil will become a pool of
water,
the parched ground springs of water.
Where jackals once lived and sprawled
out,
grass, reeds, and papyrus will grow.
35:8 A thoroughfare will be there –
it will be called the Way of Holiness.¹⁶
The unclean will not travel on it;
it is reserved for those authorized to use
it¹⁷ –
fools¹⁸ will not stray into it.
35:9 No lions will be there,
no ferocious wild animals will be on it¹⁹ –
they will not be found there.
Those delivered from bondage will travel
on it,
35:10 those whom the LORD has ransomed
will return that way.²⁰
They will enter Zion with a happy shout.
Unending joy will crown them,²¹
happiness and joy will overwhelm²²
them;
grief and suffering will disappear.²³

¹ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “for a mouth, it has commanded.” The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a and a few medieval MSS have פִּיָּהוּ (*pihu*, “his mouth [has commanded]”), while a few other medieval MSS read פִּי הַיְּהוָה (*pi yehvah*, “the mouth of the LORD [has commanded]”).

² **tn** *Heb* “and his spirit, he gathers them.” The pronominal suffix (“them”) is feminine plural, referring to the birds mentioned in v. 15b or to all of the creatures listed in vv. 14b-15 (all of which are identified with feminine nouns).

³ **tn** *Heb* “and he causes the lot to fall for them.” Once again the pronominal suffix (“them”) is feminine plural, referring to the birds mentioned in v. 15b or to all of the creatures listed in vv. 14b-15 (all of which are identified with feminine nouns).

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and his hand divides for them with a measuring line.” The pronominal suffix (“them”) now switches to masculine plural, referring to all the animals and birds mentioned in vv. 11-15, some of which were identified with masculine nouns. This signals closure for this portion of the speech, which began in v. 11. The following couplet (v. 17b) forms an inclusio with v. 11a through verbal repetition.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “will possess it” (so NIV); NCV “they will own that land forever.”

⁶ **tn** The final *mem* (ם) on the verb יִשְׂשׂוּם (*y'susum*) is ditographic (note the initial *mem* on the following noun מִדְבָּר [midbar]). The ambiguous verbal form is translated as a jussive because it is parallel to the jussive form תִּגְלֵל (*tagel*). The jussive is used rhetorically here, not as a literal command or prayer.

⁷ **tn** Or “Arabab” (NASB); NAB, NIV, TEV “desert.”

⁸ **tn** The ambiguous verb form תִּפְרַח (*tifrah*) is translated as a jussive because it is parallel to the jussive form תִּגְלֵל (*tagel*).

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “and let it rejoice, yes [with] rejoicing and shouting.” גִּילָה (*gilar*) may be an archaic feminine nominal form (see GKC 421 §130.b).

¹⁰ **tn** Or “glory” (KJV, NIV, NRSV); also a second time later in this verse.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “staggering knees”; KJV, ASV, NRSV “feeble knees”; NIV “knees that give way.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “Say to the hasty of heart,” i.e., those whose hearts beat quickly from fear.

¹³ **tn** The jussive form וַיִּשְׁעֲבֹם (*y'shobam*), which is subordinated to the preceding imperfect with *vav* conjunctive, indicates purpose.

Sennacherib Invades Judah

36:1 In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah's reign,²⁴ King Sennacherib of Assyria marched up against all the fortified cities of Judah and captured them. **36:2** The king of

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “burst forth” (so NAB); KJV “break out.”

¹⁵ **tn** Or “Arabab” (NASB); KJV, NIV, NRSV, NLT “desert.”

¹⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “and there will be there a road and a way, and the Way of Holiness it will be called.” הַדֶּרֶךְ (*v'derekh*, “and a/the way”) is accidentally duplicated; the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a does not reflect the repetition of the phrase.

¹⁷ **tn** The precise meaning of this line is uncertain. The text reads literally “and it is for them, the one who walks [on the] way.” In this context those authorized to use the Way of Holiness would be morally upright people who are the recipients of God's deliverance, in contrast to the morally impure and foolish who are excluded from the new covenant community.

¹⁸ **tn** In this context “fools” are those who are morally corrupt, not those with limited intellectual capacity.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “will go up on it”; TEV “will pass that way.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “and the redeemed will walk, the ransomed of the LORD will return.”

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “[will be] on their head[s].” “Joy” may be likened here to a crown (cf. 2 Sam 1:10). The statement may also be an ironic twist on the idiom “earth/dust on the head” (cf. 2 Sam 1:2; 13:19; 15:32; Job 2:12), referring to a mourning practice.

²² **tn** *Heb* “will overtake” (NIV); NLT “they will be overcome with.”

²³ **tn** *Heb* “grief and groaning will flee”; KJV “sorrow and sighing shall flee away.”

²⁴ **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

Assyria sent his chief adviser¹ from Lachish to King Hezekiah in Jerusalem,² along with a large army. The chief adviser³ stood at the conduit of the upper pool which is located on the road to the field where they wash and dry cloth.⁴ **36:3** Eliakim son of Hilkiyah, the palace supervisor, accompanied by Shebna the scribe and Joah son of Asaph, the secretary, went out to meet him.

36:4 The chief adviser said to them, "Tell Hezekiah: 'This is what the great king, the king of Assyria, says: "What is your source of confidence?"⁵ **36:5** Your claim to have a strategy and military strength is just empty talk.⁶ In whom are you trusting, that you would dare to rebel against me? **36:6** Look, you must be trusting in Egypt, that splintered reed staff. If someone leans on it for support, it punctures his hand and wounds him. That is what Pharaoh king of Egypt does to all who trust in him! **36:7** Perhaps you will tell me, 'We are trusting in the LORD our God.' But Hezekiah is the one who eliminated his high places and altars and then told the people of Judah and Jerusalem, 'You must worship at this altar.' **36:8** Now make a deal with my master the king of Assyria, and I will give you two thousand horses, provided you can find enough riders for them. **36:9** Certainly you will not refuse one of my master's minor officials and trust in Egypt for chariots and horsemen.⁷ **36:10** Furthermore it was by the command of the LORD that I marched up against this land to destroy it. The LORD told me, 'March up against this land and destroy it!'"⁸

36:11 Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah said to the chief adviser, "Speak to your servants in Ar-

amaic,⁹ for we understand it. Don't speak with us in the Judahite dialect¹⁰ in the hearing of the people who are on the wall." **36:12** But the chief adviser said, "My master did not send me to speak these words only to your master and to you.¹¹ His message is also for the men who sit on the wall, for they will eat their own excrement and drink their own urine along with you!"¹²

36:13 The chief adviser then stood there and called out loudly in the Judahite dialect,¹³ "Listen to the message of the great king, the king of Assyria. **36:14** This is what the king says: 'Don't let Hezekiah mislead you, for he is not able to rescue you! **36:15** Don't let Hezekiah talk you into trusting in the LORD by saying, "The LORD will certainly rescue us; this city will not be handed over to the king of Assyria." **36:16** Don't listen to Hezekiah!' For this is what the king of Assyria says, 'Send me a token of your submission and surrender to me.¹⁴ Then each of you may eat from his own vine and fig tree and drink water from his own cistern, **36:17** until I come and take you to a land just like your own – a land of grain and new wine, a land of bread and vineyards. **36:18** Hezekiah is misleading you when he says, "The LORD will rescue us." Has any of the gods of the nations rescued his land from the power of the king of Assyria?¹⁵ **36:19** Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim?¹⁶ Indeed, did any gods rescue Samaria¹⁷ from my power?¹⁸ **36:20** Who among all the gods of these lands have rescued their lands from my power? So how can the LORD rescue Jerusalem from my power?"¹⁹ **36:21** They were silent and did not

¹ **sn** For a discussion of this title see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 229-30.

² **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

³ **tn** Heb "he"; the referent (the chief adviser) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

⁴ **tn** Heb "the field of the washer"; traditionally "the fuller's field" (so KJV, ASV, NAB, NASB, NRSV).

⁵ **tn** Heb "What is this object of trust in which you are trusting?"

⁶ **tn** Heb "you say only a word of lips, counsel and might for battle." Sennacherib's message appears to be in broken Hebrew at this point. The phrase "word of lips" refers to mere or empty talk in Prov 14:23.

⁷ **tn** Heb "How can you turn back the face of an official [from among] the least of my master's servants and trust in Egypt for chariots and horsemen?" In vv. 8-9 the chief adviser develops further the argument begun in v. 6. His reasoning seems to be as follows: "In your weakened condition you obviously need military strength. Agree to the king's terms and I will personally give you more horses than you are capable of outfitting. If I, a mere minor official, am capable of giving you such military might, just think what power the king has. There is no way the Egyptians can match our strength. It makes much better sense to deal with us."

⁸ **sn** In v. 10 the chief adviser develops further the argument begun in v. 7. He claims that Hezekiah has offended the LORD and that the LORD has commissioned Assyria as his instrument of discipline and judgment.

⁹ **sn** Aramaic was the diplomatic language of the Assyrian empire.

¹⁰ **tn** Or "in Hebrew" (NIV, NCV, NLT); NAB, NASB "in Judean."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "To your master and to you did my master send me to speak these words?" The rhetorical question expects a negative answer.

¹² **tn** Heb "[Is it] not [also] to the men..." The rhetorical question expects the answer, "Yes, it is."

sn The chief adviser alludes to the horrible reality of siege warfare, when the starving people in the besieged city would resort to eating and drinking anything to stay alive.

¹³ **tn** The Hebrew text includes "and he said."

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "make with me a blessing and come out to me."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "Have the gods of the nations rescued, each his land, from the hand of the king of Assyria?" The rhetorical question expects the answer, "Of course not!"

¹⁶ **tn** The rhetorical questions in v. 34a suggest the answer, "Nowhere, they seem to have disappeared in the face of Assyria's might."

¹⁷ **map** For location see Map2-B1; Map4-D3; Map5-E2; Map6-A4; Map7-C1.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "that they rescued Samaria from my hand?" But this gives the impression that the gods of Sepharvaim were responsible for protecting Samaria, which is obviously not the case. The implied subject of the plural verb "rescued" must be the generic "gods of the nations/lands" (vv. 18, 20).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "that the LORD might rescue Jerusalem from my hand?" The logic runs as follows: Since no god has ever been able to withstand the Assyrian onslaught, how can the people of Jerusalem possibly think the LORD will rescue them?

respond, for the king had ordered, “Don’t respond to him.”

36:22 Eliakim son of Hilkiah, the palace supervisor, accompanied by Shebna the scribe and Joah son of Asaph, the secretary, went to Hezekiah with their clothes torn in grief¹ and reported to him what the chief adviser had said. **37:1** When King Hezekiah heard this,² he tore his clothes, put on sackcloth, and went to the LORD’s temple. **37:2** Eliakim the palace supervisor, Shebna the scribe, and the leading priests,³ clothed in sackcloth, sent this message to the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz: **37:3** “This is what Hezekiah says:⁴ ‘This is a day of distress, insults,⁵ and humiliation,⁶ as when a baby is ready to leave the birth canal, but the mother lacks the strength to push it through.’ **37:4** Perhaps the LORD your God will hear all these things the chief adviser has spoken on behalf of his master, the king of Assyria, who sent him to taunt the living God.⁸ When the LORD your God hears, perhaps he will punish him for the things he has said.⁹ So pray for this remnant that remains.’”¹⁰

37:5 When King Hezekiah’s servants came to Isaiah, **37:6** Isaiah said to them, “Tell your master this: ‘This is what the LORD says: “Don’t be afraid because of the things you have heard – these insults the king of Assyria’s servants have hurled against me.” **37:7** Look, I will take control of his mind;¹² he will receive a report and return to his own land. I will cut him down¹³ with a sword in his own land.’”

37:8 When the chief adviser heard the king of Assyria had departed from Lachish, he left and went to Libnah, where the king was cam-

paigned.¹⁴ **37:9** The king¹⁵ heard that King Tirhakah of Ethiopia¹⁶ was marching out to fight him.¹⁷ He again sent¹⁸ messengers to Hezekiah, ordering them: **37:10** “Tell King Hezekiah of Judah this: ‘Don’t let your God in whom you trust mislead you when he says, “Jerusalem will not be handed over to the king of Assyria.”’ **37:11** Certainly you have heard how the kings of Assyria have annihilated all lands.¹⁹ Do you really think you will be rescued?²⁰ **37:12** Were the nations whom my predecessors²¹ destroyed – the nations of Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and the people of Eden in Telassar – rescued by their gods?²² **37:13** Where are the king of Hamath, the king of Arpad, and the kings of Lair,²³ Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?”

37:14 Hezekiah took the letter²⁴ from the messengers and read it.²⁵ Then Hezekiah went up to the LORD’s temple and spread it out before the LORD. **37:15** Hezekiah prayed before the LORD: **37:16** “O LORD who commands armies, O God of Israel, who is enthroned on the cherubim!²⁶ You alone are God over all the kingdoms of the earth. You made the sky²⁷ and the earth. **37:17** Pay attention, LORD, and hear! Open your eyes, LORD, and observe! Listen to this entire message Sennacherib sent and how he taunts the

¹ **tn** Heb “with their clothes torn”; the words “in grief” have been supplied in the translation to indicate that this was done as a sign of grief and mourning.

² **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

³ **tn** Heb “elders of the priests” (so KJV, NAB, NASB); NCV “the older priests”; NRSV, TEV, CEV “the senior priests.”

⁴ **tn** In the Hebrew text this verse begins with “they said to him” (cf. NRSV).

⁵ **tn** Or “rebuke” (KJV, NAB, NIV, NRSV), or “correction.”

⁶ **tn** Or “contempt”; NAB, NIV, NRSV “disgrace.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “when sons come to the cervical opening and there is no strength to give birth.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “all the words of the chief adviser whom his master, the king of Assyria, sent to taunt the living God.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “and rebuke the words which the LORD your God hears.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and lift up a prayer on behalf of the remnant that is found.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “by which the servants of the king of Assyria have insulted me.”

¹² **tn** Heb “I will put in him a spirit.” The precise sense of *רוּחַ* (*ruakh*, “spirit”) is uncertain in this context. It may refer to a spiritual being who will take control of his mind (see 1 Kgs 22:19), or it could refer to a disposition of concern and fear. In either case the LORD’s sovereignty over the king is apparent.

¹³ **tn** Heb “cause him to fall” (so KJV, ASV, NAB), that is, “kill him.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and the chief adviser returned and he found the king of Assyria fighting against Libnah, for he heard that he had departed from Lachish.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “he”; the referent (the king) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “Cush” (so NASB); NIV, NCV “the Cushite king of Egypt.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “heard concerning Tirhakah king of Cush, ‘He has come out to fight with you.’”

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew text has, “and he heard and he sent,” but the parallel in 2 Kgs 19:9 has *וַיִּשְׁלַח וַיָּבֵי* (*vayyashav vayyish-lakh*, “and he returned and he sent”), i.e., “he again sent.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “Look, you have heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all the lands, annihilating them.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “and will you be rescued?” The rhetorical question expects the answer, “No, of course not!”

²¹ **tn** Heb “fathers” (so KJV, NAB, NASB); NIV “forefathers”; NCV “ancestors.”

²² **tn** Heb “Did the gods of the nations whom my fathers destroyed rescue them – Gozan and Haran, and Rezeph and the sons of Eden who are in Telassar?”

²³ **sn** *Lair* was a city located in northeastern Babylon. See M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 235.

²⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text has the plural, “letters.” The final *mem* (ם) may be dittographic (note the initial *mem* on the form that immediately follows). Some Greek and Aramaic witnesses have the singular. If so, one still has to deal with the *yod* that is part of the plural ending. J. N. Oswalt refers to various commentators who have suggested ways to understand the plural form (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:652).

²⁵ **tn** In the parallel text in 2 Kgs 19:14 the verb has the plural suffix, “them,” but this probably reflects a later harmonization to the preceding textual corruption (of “letter” to “letters”).

²⁶ **sn** *Cherubim* (singular “cherub”) refers to the images of winged angelic creatures that were above the ark of the covenant.

²⁷ **tn** Or “the heavens.” The Hebrew term *שָׁמַיִם* (*shamayim*) may be translated “heavens” or “sky” depending on the context.

living God!¹ **37:18** It is true, LORD, that the kings of Assyria have destroyed all the nations² and their lands. **37:19** They have burned the gods of the nations,³ for they are not really gods, but only the product of human hands manufactured from wood and stone. That is why the Assyrians could destroy them.⁴ **37:20** Now, O LORD our God, rescue us from his power, so all the kingdoms of the earth may know that you alone are the LORD.”⁵

37:21 Isaiah son of Amoz sent this message to Hezekiah: “This is what the LORD God of Israel says: ‘Because you prayed to me concerning King Sennacherib of Assyria,’⁶ **37:22** this is what the LORD says about him:⁷

“The virgin daughter Zion⁸ despises you – she makes fun of you; daughter Jerusalem shakes her head after you.⁹

37:23 Whom have you taunted and hurled insults at?

At whom have you shouted and looked so arrogantly?¹⁰

At the Holy One of Israel!¹¹

37:24 Through your messengers you taunted the sovereign master.¹²

‘With my many chariots I climbed up the high mountains, the slopes of Lebanon. I cut down its tall cedars and its best evergreens.

I invaded its most remote regions,¹³ its thickest woods.

37:25 I dug wells and drank water.¹⁴

¹ **tn** Heb “Hear all the words of Sennacherib which he sent to taunt the living God.”

² **tn** The Hebrew text here has “all the lands,” but the parallel text in 2 Kgs 19:17 has “the nations.”

³ **tn** Heb “and they put their gods in the fire.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “so they destroyed them” (NASB similar).

⁵ **tn** The parallel text in 2 Kgs 19:19 reads, “that you, LORD, are the only God.”

⁶ **tn** The parallel text in 2 Kgs 19:20 reads, “That which you prayed to me concerning Sennacherib king of Assyria I have heard.” The verb “I have heard” does not appear in Isa 37:21, where אָשֶׁר (*asher*) probably has a causal sense: “because.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “this is the word which the LORD has spoken about him.”

⁸ **sn** Zion (Jerusalem) is pictured here as a young, vulnerable daughter whose purity is being threatened by the would-be Assyrian rapist. The personification hints at the reality which the young girls of the city would face if the Assyrians conquer it.

⁹ **sn** Shaking the head was a mocking gesture of derision.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “and lifted your eyes on high?” Cf. NIV “lifted your eyes in pride”; NRSV “haughtily lifted your eyes.”

¹¹ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

¹² **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדֹנָי (*adonay*).

¹³ **tn** Heb “the height of its extremity”; ASV “its farthest height.”

¹⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text has simply, “I dug and drank water.” But the parallel text in 2 Kgs 19:24 has “foreign waters.” זָרִים (*zarim*, “foreign”) may have accidentally dropped out of the Isaianic text by homoioteleuton (cf. NCV, NIV, NLT). Note that the preceding word, מַיִם (*mayim*, “water”) also ends in *mem* (ם). The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has “foreign waters” for this

With the soles of my feet I dried up all the rivers of Egypt.’

37:26¹⁵ Certainly you must have heard!¹⁶

Long ago I worked it out, in ancient times I planned¹⁷ it, and now I am bringing it to pass.

The plan is this:

Fortified cities will crash into heaps of ruins.¹⁸

37:27 Their residents are powerless;¹⁹ they are terrified and ashamed.

They are as short-lived as plants in the field

or green vegetation.²⁰

They are as short-lived as grass on the rooftops²¹

when it is scorched by the east wind.²²

37:28 I know where you live and everything you do

and how you rage against me.²³

37:29 Because you rage against me and the uproar you create has reached my ears,²⁴

line. However, in several other passages the 1QIsa^a scroll harmonizes with 2 Kgs 19 against the MT (Isa 36:5; 37:9, 20). Since the addition of “foreign” to this text in Isaiah by a later scribe would be more likely than its deletion, the MT reading should be accepted.

¹⁵ **tn** Having quoted the Assyrian king’s arrogant words in vv. 23-24, the LORD now speaks to the king.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “Have you not heard?” The rhetorical question expresses the LORD’s amazement that anyone might be ignorant of what he is about to say.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “formed” (so KJV, ASV).

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “and it is to cause to crash into heaps of ruins fortified cities.” The subject of the third feminine singular verb תִּהְיֶי (‘*hi*’) is the implied plan, referred to in the preceding lines with third feminine singular pronominal suffixes.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “short of hand”; KJV, ASV “of small power”; NASB “short of strength.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “they are plants in the field and green vegetation.” The metaphor emphasizes how short-lived these seemingly powerful cities really were. See Ps 90:5-6; Isa 40:6-8, 24.

²¹ **tn** Heb “[they are] grass on the rooftops.” See the preceding note.

²² **tc** The Hebrew text has “scorched before the standing grain” (perhaps meaning “before it reaches maturity”), but it is preferable to emend קָדַם (*qamah*, “standing grain”) to קָדִים (*qadim*, “east wind”) with the support of 1Q Isa^a; cf. J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:657, n. 8.

²³ **tc** Heb “your going out and your coming in and how you have raged against me.” Several scholars have suggested that this line is probably dittographic (note the beginning of the next line). However, most English translations include the statement in question at the end of v. 28 and the beginning of v. 29. Interestingly, the LXX does not have this clause at the end of v. 28 and the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a does not have it at the beginning of v. 29. In light of this ambiguous manuscript evidence, it appears best to retain the clause in both verses.

²⁴ **tc** Heb “and your complacency comes up into my ears.” The parallelism is improved if שְׂאֲנַנְךָ (*sha’anankha*, “your complacency”) is emended to שְׁאוֹנְךָ (*sh’oan’kha*, “your uproar”). See M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 237-38. However, the LXX seems to support the MT and Sennacherib’s cavalier dismissal of Yahweh depicts an arrogant complacency (J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 1:658, n. 10).

I will put my hook in your nose,¹
and my bridle between your lips,
and I will lead you back
the way you came.”

37:30² “This will be your reminder that I have spoken the truth:³ This year you will eat what grows wild,⁴ and next year⁵ what grows on its own. But the year after that⁶ you will plant seed and harvest crops; you will plant vines and consume their produce.⁷ **37:31** Those who remain in Judah will take root in the ground and bear fruit.⁸

37:32 “For a remnant will leave Jerusalem;
survivors will come out of Mount Zion.
The intense devotion of the LORD who
commands armies⁹ will accomplish
this.

37:33 So this is what the LORD says about
the king of Assyria:

‘He will not enter this city,
nor will he shoot an arrow here.¹⁰
He will not attack it with his shielded
warriors,¹¹

nor will he build siege works against it.

37:34 He will go back the way he came –
he will not enter this city,’ says the LORD.

37:35 I will shield this city and rescue
it for the sake of my reputation and
because of my promise to David my
servant.”¹²

37:36 The LORD’s messenger¹³ went out and
killed 185,000 troops¹⁴ in the Assyrian camp.
When they¹⁵ got up early the next morning, there

¹ **sn** The word-picture has a parallel in Assyrian sculpture. See M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 238.

² **tn** At this point the word concerning the king of Assyria (vv. 22-29) ends and the LORD again addresses Hezekiah and the people directly (see v. 21).

³ **tn** *Heb* “and this is your sign.” In this case the *אוֹת* (*ot*, “sign”) is a future reminder of God’s intervention designated before the actual intervention takes place. For similar “signs” see Exod 3:12 and Isa 7:14-25.

⁴ **sn** This refers to crops that grew up on their own (that is, without cultivation) from the seed planted in past years.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “and in the second year” (so ASV).

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “in the third year” (so KJV, NAB).

⁷ **tn** The four plural imperative verb forms in v. 30b are used rhetorically. The LORD commands the people to plant, harvest, etc. to emphasize the certainty of restored peace and prosperity.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “The remnant of the house of Judah that is left will add roots below and produce fruit above.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the zeal of the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts].” In this context the LORD’s “zeal” refers to his intense devotion to and love for his people which prompts him to protect and restore them.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “there” (so KJV, NASB, NRSV). In terms of English style “here” is expected in collocation with “this” in the previous line.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “[with] a shield” (so ASV, NASB, NRSV).

¹² **tn** *Heb* “for my sake and for the sake of David my servant.”

¹³ **tn** Traditionally, “the angel of the Lord” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

¹⁴ **tn** The word “troops” is supplied in the translation for smoothness and clarity.

¹⁵ **tn** This refers to the Israelites and/or the rest of the As-

were all the corpses!¹⁶ **37:37** So King Sennacherib of Assyria broke camp and went on his way. He went home and stayed in Nineveh.¹⁷ **37:38** One day,¹⁸ as he was worshiping¹⁹ in the temple of his god Nisroch,²⁰ his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer struck him down with the sword.²¹ They ran away to the land of Ararat; his son Esarhaddon replaced him as king.

The Lord Hears Hezekiah’s Prayer

38:1 In those days Hezekiah was stricken with a terminal illness.²² The prophet Isaiah son of Amoz visited him and told him, “This is what the LORD says, ‘Give instructions to your household, for you are about to die; you will not get well.’” **38:2** Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed to the LORD, **38:3** “Please, LORD. Remember how I have served you²³ faithfully and with wholehearted devotion,²⁴ and how I have carried out your will.”²⁵ Then Hezekiah wept bitterly.²⁶

38:4 The LORD told Isaiah,²⁷ **38:5** “Go and tell Hezekiah: ‘This is what the LORD God of your ancestor²⁸ David says: “I have heard your prayer; I have seen your tears. Look, I will add fifteen years to your life, **38:6** and rescue you and this city from the king of Assyria. I will shield this city.”’” **38:21²⁹** Isaiah ordered, “Let them take a fig cake and apply it to the ulcerated sore and he will get well.” **38:22** Hezekiah said, “What is the confirming sign that I will go up to

syrian army.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “look, all of them were dead bodies”; NLT “they found corpses everywhere.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “and Sennacherib king of Assyria departed and went and returned and lived in Nineveh.”

¹⁸ **sn** The assassination of King Sennacherib probably took place in 681 B.C.

¹⁹ **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

²⁰ **sn** No such Mesopotamian god is presently known. Perhaps the name *Nisroch* is a corruption of Nusku.

²¹ **sn** Extra-biblical sources also mention the assassination of Sennacherib, though they refer to only one assassin. See M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 239-40.

²² **tn** *Heb* “was sick to the point of dying”; NRSV “became sick and was at the point of death.”

²³ **tn** *Heb* “walked before you.” For a helpful discussion of the background and meaning of this Hebrew idiom, see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 254.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and with a complete heart”; KJV, ASV “with a perfect heart.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “and that which is good in your eyes I have done.”

²⁶ **tn** *Heb* “wept with great weeping”; NCV “cried loudly”; TEV “began to cry bitterly.”

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* “and the word of the LORD came to Isaiah, saying.”

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “father” (so KJV, NAB, NIV).

²⁹ **tc** If original to Isaiah 38, vv. 21-22 have obviously been misplaced in the course of the text’s transmission, and would most naturally be placed here, between Isa 38:6 and 38:7. See 2 Kgs 20:7-8, where these verses are placed at this point in the narrative, not at the end. Another possibility is that these verses were not in the original account, and a scribe, familiar with the 2 Kgs version of the story, appended vv. 21-22 to the end of the account in Isaiah 38.

the LORD's temple?" 38:7 Isaiah replied,¹ "This is your sign from the LORD confirming that the LORD will do what he has said: 38:8 Look, I will make the shadow go back ten steps on the stairs of Ahaz."² And then the shadow went back ten steps.³

Hezekiah's Song of Thanks

38:9 This is the prayer of King Hezekiah of Judah when he was sick and then recovered from his illness:

38:10 "I thought,⁴
'In the middle of my life⁵ I must walk
through the gates of Sheol,
I am deprived⁶ of the rest of my years.'
38:11 "I thought,
'I will no longer see the LORD⁷ in the
land of the living,
I will no longer look on humankind with
the inhabitants of the world.⁸
38:12 My dwelling place⁹ is removed and
taken away¹⁰ from me
like a shepherd's tent.
I rolled up my life like a weaver rolls
cloth,¹¹
from the loom he cuts me off.¹²

¹ **tn** The words "Isaiah replied" are supplied in the translation for clarification. In the present form of the Hebrew text v. 7 is joined directly to v. 6, but vv. 21-22, if original to Isaiah 38, must be inserted here. See 2 Kgs 20:7-8.

² **tn** *Heb* "the shadow on the steps which [the sun] had gone down, on the steps of Ahaz, with the sun, back ten steps."

sn These steps probably functioned as a type of sundial. See HALOT 614 s.v. מַעְקֵל and M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB), 256.

³ **tn** *Heb* "and the sun returned ten steps on the steps which it had gone down."

⁴ **tn** Or "I said" (KJV, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

⁵ **tn** The precise meaning of the phrase בְּדַמִּי יָמַי (*bidmi yamay*, "in the [?] of my days") is uncertain. According to HALOT 226 s.v. דָּמִי this word is a *hapax legomenon* meaning "half." Others derive the form from דָּמִי (*dami*, "quiet, rest, peacefulness").

⁶ **tn** The precise meaning of the verb is uncertain. The Pual of פָּקַד (*paqad*) occurs only here and in Exod 38:21, where it appears to mean "passed in review" or "mustered." Perhaps the idea is, "I have been called away for the remainder of my years." To bring out the sense more clearly, one can translate, "I am deprived of the rest of my years."

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew text has יְהִי יָהּ (*yah yah*, the abbreviated form of יְהוָה [YHWH] repeated), but this is probably a corruption of יְהוָה.

⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text has כְּחַדֵּל (*khadel*), which appears to be derived from a verbal root meaning "to cease, refrain." But the form has probably suffered an error of transmission; the original form (attested in a few medieval Hebrew MSS) was likely כְּחֵלֶד (*kheled*, "world").

⁹ **tn** According to HALOT 217 s.v. דוּר this noun is a *hapax legomenon* meaning "dwelling place," derived from a verbal root meaning "live" (see Ps 84:10). For an interpretation that understands the form as the well-attested noun meaning "generation," see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:679, n. 4.

¹⁰ **tn** The verb form appears to be a Niphal from גָּלַה (*galah*), which normally means "uncovered, revealed" in the Niphal. Because of the following reference to a shepherd's tent, some prefer to emend the form to גָּלָה, a Niphal from גָּלָה (*galal*, "roll") and translate "is rolled [or "folded"] up."

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "I rolled up, like a weaver, my life" (so ASV).

¹² **sn** For a discussion of the imagery employed here, see J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* (NICOT), 1:684.

You turn day into night and end my life.¹³

38:13 I cry out¹⁴ until morning;
like a lion he shatters all my bones;
you turn day into night and end my life.¹⁵
38:14 Like a swallow or a thrush I chirp,
I coo¹⁶ like a dove;
my eyes grow tired from looking up to
the sky.¹⁷

O sovereign master,¹⁸ I am oppressed;
help me!¹⁹

38:15 What can I say?

He has decreed and acted.²⁰

I will walk slowly all my years because I
am overcome with grief.²¹

38:16 O sovereign master, your decrees
can give men life;

may years of life be restored to me.²²

Restore my health²³ and preserve my life.²⁴

38:17 "Look, the grief I experienced was
for my benefit.²⁵

You delivered me²⁶ from the Pit of
oblivion.²⁶

For you removed all my sins from your
sight.²⁷

38:18 Indeed²⁸ Sheol does not give you
thanks;

death does not²⁹ praise you.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "from day to night you bring me to an end."

¹⁴ **tn** The verb form in the Hebrew text is a Piel from שָׁוָה (*shavah*). There are two homonyms שָׁוָה, one meaning in the Piel "level, smooth out," the other "set, place." Neither fits in v. 13. It is likely that the original reading was שִׁוְוָתִי (*shivva'ti*, "I cry out") from the verbal root שָׁוָה (*shava'*), which occurs exclusively in the Piel.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "from day to night you bring me to an end."

¹⁶ **tn** Or "moan" (ASV, NAB, NASB, NRSV); KJV, CEV "mourn."

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "my eyes become weak, toward the height."

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew term translated "sovereign master" here and in v. 16 is אֲדֹנָי (*'adonay*).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "stand surety for me." Hezekiah seems to be picturing himself as a debtor who is being exploited; he asks that the LORD might relieve his debt and deliver him from the oppressive creditor.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "and he has spoken and he has acted."

²¹ **tn** *Heb* "because of the bitterness of my soul."

²² **tn** The translation offered here is purely speculative. The text as it stands is meaningless and probably corrupt. It reads literally, "O lord, on account of them [the suffix is masculine plural], they live, and to all in them [the suffix is feminine plural], life of my spirit."

²³ **tn** The prefixed verbal form could be taken as indicative, "you restore my health," but the following imperative form suggests it be understood as an imperfect of request.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "Look, for peace bitterness was to me bitter"; NAB "thus is my bitterness transformed into peace."

²⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text reads, "you loved my soul," but this does not fit syntactically with the following prepositional phrase. חָשַׁקְתָּ (*khashaqta*, "you loved"), may reflect an aural error; most emend the form to חָשַׁכְתָּ (*khaskakht*, "you held back").

²⁶ **tn** בְּלִי (*b'li*) most often appears as a negation, meaning "without," suggesting the meaning "nothingness, oblivion," here. Some translate "decay" or "destruction."

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* "for you threw behind your back all my sins."

²⁸ **tn** Or "For" (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

²⁹ **tn** The negative particle is understood by ellipsis in this line. See GKC 483 §152.z.

Those who descend into the Pit do not anticipate your faithfulness.

38:19 The living person, the living person, he gives you thanks, as I do today.

A father tells his sons about your faithfulness.

38:20 The LORD is about to deliver me,¹ and we will celebrate with music² for the rest of our lives in the LORD's temple."³

Messengers from Babylon Visit Hezekiah

39:1 At that time Merodach-Baladan son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a gift to Hezekiah, for he heard that Hezekiah had been ill and had recovered. **39:2** Hezekiah welcomed⁴ them and showed them his storehouse with its silver, gold, spices, and high-quality olive oil, as well as his whole armory and everything in his treasuries. Hezekiah showed them everything in his palace and in his whole kingdom.⁵ **39:3** Isaiah the prophet visited King Hezekiah and asked him, "What did these men say? Where do they come from?" Hezekiah replied, "They come from the distant land of Babylon." **39:4** Isaiah⁶ asked, "What have they seen in your palace?" Hezekiah replied, "They have seen everything in my palace. I showed them everything in my treasuries." **39:5** Isaiah said to Hezekiah, "Listen to the word of the LORD who commands armies: **39:6** 'Look, a time is coming when everything in your palace and the things your ancestors⁷ have accumulated to this day will be carried away to Babylon; nothing will be left,' says the LORD. **39:7** 'Some of your very own descendants whom you father⁸ will be taken away and will be made eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.'" **39:8** Hezekiah said to Isaiah, "The LORD's word which you have announced is appropriate."⁹ Then he thought,¹⁰

"For¹¹ there will be peace and stability during my lifetime."

The Lord Returns to Jerusalem

40:1 "Comfort, comfort my people," says your¹² God.

40:2 "Speak kindly to¹³ Jerusalem,¹⁴ and tell her that her time of warfare is over,¹⁵ that her punishment is completed.¹⁶ For the LORD has made her pay double¹⁷ for all her sins."

40:3 A voice cries out, "In the wilderness clear a way for the LORD; construct in the desert a road for our God.

40:4 Every valley must be elevated, and every mountain and hill leveled. The rough terrain will become a level plain,

the rugged landscape a wide valley.

40:5 The splendor¹⁸ of the LORD will be revealed, and all people¹⁹ will see it at the same time.

For²⁰ the LORD has decreed it."²¹

40:6 A voice says, "Cry out!"

Another asks,²² "What should I cry out?" The first voice responds:²³ "All people are like grass,²⁴

and all their promises²⁵ are like the

¹¹ **tn** Or "surely"; cf. CEV "At least."

¹² **tn** The pronominal suffix is second masculine plural. The identity of the addressee is uncertain: (1) God's people may be addressed, or (2) the unidentified heralds commanded to comfort Jerusalem.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "speak to the heart of Jerusalem." Jerusalem is personified as a woman.

¹⁴ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "that she is filled [with] her warfare." Some understand מלחמה (*tsavah*, "warfare") as meaning "hard service" or "compulsory labor" in this context.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "that her punishment is accepted [as satisfactory]."

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "for she has received from the hand of the LORD double." The principle of the double portion in punishment is also seen in Jer 16:18; 17:18 and Rev 18:6. For examples of the double portion in Israelite law, see Exod 22:4, 7, 9 (double restitution by a thief) and Deut 21:17 (double inheritance portion for the firstborn).

¹⁸ **tn** Or "glory." The LORD's "glory" is his theophanic radiance and royal splendor (see Isa 6:3; 24:23; 35:2; 60:1; 66:18-19).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "flesh" (so KJV, ASV, NASB); NAB, NIV "mankind"; TEV "the whole human race."

²⁰ **tn** Or "indeed."

²¹ **tn** *Heb* "the mouth of the LORD has spoken" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

²² **tn** *Heb* "and he says." Apparently a second "voice" responds to the command of the first "voice."

²³ **tn** The words "the first voice responds" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The first voice tells the second one what to declare.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "all flesh is grass." The point of the metaphor is explained in v. 7.

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* "and all his loyalty." The antecedent of the third masculine suffix is בָּשָׂר (*basar*, "flesh"), which refers collectively to mankind. The LXX, apparently understanding the antecedent as "grass," reads "glory," but תְּהִלָּה (*khesed*) rarely, if ever, has this nuance. The normal meaning of תְּהִלָּה ("faithful-

¹ **tn** The infinitive construct is used here to indicate that an action is imminent. See GKC 348-49 §114.i, and *IBHS* 610 §36.2.3g.

² **tn** *Heb* "and music [or perhaps, "stringed instruments"] we will play."

³ **tn** *Heb* "all the days of our lives in the house of the LORD." **sn** Note that vv. 21-22 have been placed between vv. 6-7, where they logically belong. See 2 Kgs 20:7-8.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* "was happy with"; NAB, NASB "was pleased"; NIV "received the envoys gladly."

⁵ **tn** *Heb* "there was nothing which Hezekiah did not show them in his house and in all his kingdom."

⁶ **tn** *Heb* "he"; the referent (Isaiah) has been specified in the translation for clarity.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "fathers" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "Some of your sons, who go out from you, whom you father."

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "good" (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NAB "favorable."

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* "and he said." The verb אָמַר (*amar*, "say") is sometimes used of what one thinks (that is, says to oneself).

flowers in the field.
40:7 The grass dries up,
 the flowers wither,
 when the wind sent by the LORD¹ blows
 on them.
 Surely humanity² is like grass.
40:8 The grass dries up,
 the flowers wither,
 but the decree of our God is forever reli-
 able.³
40:9 Go up on a high mountain, O herald
 Zion!
 Shout out loudly, O herald Jerusalem!⁴
 Shout, don't be afraid!
 Say to the towns of Judah,
 "Here is your God!"
40:10 Look, the sovereign LORD comes as
 a victorious warrior;⁵
 his military power establishes his rule.⁶
 Look, his reward is with him;
 his prize goes before him.⁷
40:11 Like a shepherd he tends his flock;
 he gathers up the lambs with his arm;
 he carries them close to his heart;⁸
 he leads the ewes along.

The Lord is Incomparable

40:12 Who has measured out the waters⁹
 in the hollow of his hand,
 or carefully¹⁰ measured the sky,¹¹
 or carefully weighed¹² the soil of the
 earth,
 or weighed the mountains in a balance,
 or the hills on scales?¹³
40:13 Who comprehends¹⁴ the mind¹⁵ of the
 LORD,
 or gives him instruction as his coun-
 selor?¹⁶
40:14 From whom does he receive direc-
 tions?¹⁷
 Who¹⁸ teaches him the correct way to do
 things,¹⁹
 or imparts knowledge to him,
 or instructs him in skillful design?²⁰
40:15 Look, the nations are like a drop in
 a bucket;
 they are regarded as dust on the scales.
 He lifts²¹ the coastlands²² as if they were
 dust.

ness, loyalty, devotion") fits very well in the argument. Human beings and their faithfulness (verbal expressions of faithfulness are specifically in view; cf. NRSV "constancy") are short-lived and unreliable, in stark contrast to the decrees and promises of the eternal God.

¹ **tn** The Hebrew text has *רוּחַ יְהוָה* (*ruakh yehvah*), which in this context probably does not refer to the LORD's personal Spirit. The phrase is better translated "the breath of the LORD," or "the wind of [i.e., sent by] the LORD." The LORD's sovereign control over nature, including the hot desert winds that dry up vegetation, is in view here (cf. Ps 147:18; Isa 59:19).

² **tn** Heb "the people" (so KJV, ASV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

³ **tn** Heb "but the word of our God stands forever." In this context the divine "word" specifically refers to his decreed promise assuring Jerusalem that her suffering is over and his glorious return imminent (vv. 1-5).

⁴ **tn** The second feminine singular imperatives are addressed to personified Zion/Jerusalem, who is here told to ascend a high hill and proclaim the good news of the LORD's return to the other towns of Judah. Isa 41:27 and 52:7 speak of a herald sent to Zion, but the masculine singular form *מְבַשֵּׂר* (*m^bvaser*) is used in these verses, in contrast to the feminine singular form *מְבַשֶּׂרֶת* (*m^bvaseret*) employed in 40:9, where Zion is addressed as a herald.

⁵ **tn** Heb "comes as a strong one"; ASV "will come as a mighty one." The preposition *בְּ* (*bet*) here carries the nuance "in the capacity of." It indicates that the LORD possesses the quality expressed by the noun. See GKC 379 §119.i and HALOT 104 s.v. *בָּ*.

⁶ **tn** Heb "his arm rules for him" (so NIV, NRSV). The LORD's "arm" symbolizes his military power (see Isa 51:9-10; 63:5).

⁷ **tn** As the LORD returns to Jerusalem as a victorious warrior, he brings with him the spoils of victory, called here his "reward" and "prize." These terms might also be translated "wages" and "recompense." Verse 11 indicates that his rescued people, likened to a flock of sheep, are his reward.

⁸ **tn** Heb "in his bosom" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV), an expression which reflects closeness and protective care.

⁹ **tn** The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has *מֵי יָם* ("waters of the sea"), a reading followed by NAB.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "with a span." A "span" was the distance between the ends of the thumb and the little finger of the spread hand" (BDB 285 s.v. *זָרַת*).

¹¹ **tn** Or "the heavens." The Hebrew term *שָׁמַיִם* (*shamayim*) may be translated "heavens" or "sky" depending on the context.

¹² **tn** Heb "or weighed by a third part [of a measure]."

¹³ **sn** The implied answer to the rhetorical questions of v. 12 is "no one but the LORD. The LORD, and no other, created the world. Like a merchant weighing out silver or commodities on a scale, the LORD established the various components of the physical universe in precise proportions.

¹⁴ **tn** Perhaps the verb is used metonymically here in the sense of "advises" (note the following line).

¹⁵ **tn** In this context *רוּחַ* (*ruakh*) likely refers to the LORD's "mind," or mental faculties, rather than his personal Spirit (see BDB 925 s.v.).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "or [as] the man of his counsel causes him to know?"

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "With whom did he consult, so that he gave discernment to him?"

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "and taught him." The *vav* (ו) consecutive with prefixed verbal form continues the previous line. The translation employs an interrogative pronoun for stylistic reasons.

¹⁹ **tn** The phrase *אֹרַח מִשְׁפָּט* (*orakh mishpat*) could be translated "path of justice" (so NASB, NRSV), but in this context, where creative ability and skill is in view, the phrase is better understood in the sense of "the way that is proper or fitting" (see BDB 1049 s.v. *מִשְׁפָּט* 6); cf. NIV, NCV "the right way."

²⁰ **tn** Heb "or the way of understanding causes him to know?"

²¹ **sn** The implied answer to the rhetorical questions in vv. 13-14 is, "No one." In contrast to Marduk, the creator-god of Mesopotamian myths who receives help from the god of wisdom, the LORD neither needs nor receives any such advice or help. See R. Whybray, *Heavenly Counsellor* (SOTSMS), 64-77.

²² **tn** Or "weighs" (NIV); NLT "picks up."

²³ **tn** Or "islands" (NASB, NIV, NLT).

40:16 Not even Lebanon could supply enough firewood for a sacrifice;¹ its wild animals would not provide enough burnt offerings.²
40:17 All the nations are insignificant before him; they are regarded as absolutely nothing.³
40:18 To whom can you compare God? To what image can you liken him?
40:19 A craftsman casts⁴ an idol; a metalsmith overlays it with gold and forges silver chains for it.
40:20 To make a contribution one selects wood that will not rot;⁵ he then seeks a skilled craftsman to make⁶ an idol that will not fall over.
40:21 Do you not know? Do you not hear? Has it not been told to you since the very beginning? Have you not understood from the time the earth's foundations were made?
40:22 He is the one who sits on the earth's horizon;⁷ its inhabitants are like grasshoppers before him.⁸
He is the one who stretches out the sky like a thin curtain,⁹ and spreads it out¹⁰ like a pitched tent.¹¹
40:23 He is the one who reduces rulers to nothing; he makes the earth's leaders insignificant.

¹ **tn** The words "for a sacrifice" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

² **sn** The point is that not even the Lebanon forest could supply enough wood and animals for an adequate sacrifice to the LORD.

³ **tn** Heb "[as derived] from nothing and unformed."

⁴ **tn** Heb "pours out"; KJV "melteth."

⁵ **tn** The first two words of the verse (הַמִּסְכָּן תְּרוּמָה, *hamsukan t'rumah*) are problematic. Some take מִסְכָּן as an otherwise unattested Pual participle from סָכַן (*sakhan*, "be poor") and translate "the one who is impoverished." תְּרוּמָה (*t'rumah*, "contribution") can then be taken as an adverbial accusative, "with respect to a contribution," and the entire line translated, "the one who is too impoverished for such a contribution [i.e., the metal idol of v. 19?]. selects wood that will not rot." However, מִסְכָּן is probably the name of a tree used in idol manufacturing (cognate with Akkadian *musukkanu*, cf. H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena* [SBLDS], 133). מִסְכָּן may be a scribal interpretive addition attempting to specify מִסְכָּן (*ets*) or מִסְכָּן may be a scribal attempt to categorize מִסְכָּן. How an idol constitutes a תְּרוּמָה ("contribution") is not entirely clear.

⁶ **tn** Or "set up" (ASV, NAB, NIV, NRSV); KJV, NASB "to prepare."

⁷ **tn** Heb "the circle of the earth" (so KJV, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

⁸ **tn** The words "before him" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

⁹ **tn** The otherwise unattested noun דָּק (*daq*), translated here "thin curtain," is apparently derived from the verbal root דָּקַק ("crush") from which is derived the adjective דָּק (*daq*, "thin"; see HALOT 229 s.v. דָּק). The nuance "curtain" is implied from the parallelism (see "tent" in the next line).

¹⁰ **tn** The meaning of the otherwise unattested verb מָתַח (*matakh*, "spread out") is determined from the parallelism (note the corresponding verb "stretch out" in the previous line) and supported by later Hebrew and Aramaic cognates. See HALOT 654 s.v. מָתַח.

¹¹ **tn** Heb "like a tent [in which] to live"; NAB, NASB "like a tent to dwell (live NIV, NRSV) in."

40:24 Indeed, they are barely planted; yes, they are barely sown; yes, they barely take root in the earth, and then he blows on them, causing them to dry up, and the wind carries them away like straw.

40:25 "To whom can you compare me?"

Whom do I resemble?"

says the Holy One.¹²

40:26 Look up at the sky!¹³

Who created all these heavenly lights?¹⁴

He is the one who leads out their ranks;¹⁵ he calls them all by name.

Because of his absolute power and awesome strength,

not one of them is missing.

40:27 Why do you say, Jacob,

Why do you say, Israel,

"The LORD is not aware of what is happening to me,"¹⁶

My God is not concerned with my vindication?"¹⁷

40:28 Do you not know?

Have you not heard?

The LORD is an eternal God, the Creator of the whole earth.¹⁸

He does not get tired or weary;

there is no limit to his wisdom.¹⁹

40:29 He gives strength to those who are tired;

to the ones who lack power, he gives renewed energy.

40:30 Even youths get tired and weary; even strong young men clumsily stumble.²⁰

40:31 But those who wait for the LORD's help²¹ find renewed strength;

¹² **sn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

¹³ **tn** Heb "Lift on high your eyes and see."

¹⁴ **tn** The words "heavenly lights" are supplied in the translation for clarification. See the following lines.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "the one who brings out by number their host." The stars are here likened to a huge army that the LORD leads out. Perhaps the next line pictures God calling roll. If so, the final line may be indicating that none of them dares "go AWOL." ("AWOL" is a military acronym for "absent without leave.")

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "my way is hidden from the LORD" (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "and from my God my justice passes away"; NRSV "my right is disregarded by my God."

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "the ends of the earth," but this is a merism, where the earth's extremities stand for its entirety, i.e., the extremities and everything in between them.

¹⁹ **sn** Exiled Israel's complaint (v. 27) implies that God might be limited in some way. Perhaps he, like so many of the pagan gods, has died. Or perhaps his jurisdiction is limited to Judah and does not include Babylon. Maybe he is unable to devise an adequate plan to rescue his people, or is unable to execute it. But v. 28 affirms that he is not limited temporally or spatially nor is his power and wisdom restricted in any way. He can and will deliver his people, if they respond in hopeful faith (v. 31a).

²⁰ **tn** Heb "stumbling they stumble." The verbal idea is emphasized by the infinitive absolute.

²¹ **tn** The words "for the LORD's help" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

they rise up as if they had eagles' wings,¹
they run without growing weary,
they walk without getting tired.

The Lord Challenges the Nations

41:1 "Listen to me in silence, you coast-lands!²
Let the nations find renewed strength!
Let them approach and then speak;
let us come together for debate!³
41:2 Who stirs up this one from the east?⁴
Who⁵ officially commissions him for service?⁶
He hands nations over to him,⁷
and enables him to subdue⁸ kings.
He makes them like dust with his sword,
like windblown straw with his bow.⁹
41:3 He pursues them and passes by un-
harméd;¹⁰
he advances with great speed.¹¹
41:4 Who acts and carries out decrees?¹²
Who¹³ summons the successive genera-
tions from the beginning?
I, the LORD, am present at the very begin-
ning,
and at the very end – I am the one.¹⁴
41:5 The coastlands¹⁵ see and are afraid;
the whole earth¹⁶ trembles;

¹ **tn** Heb "they rise up [on] wings like eagles" (TEV similar).

² **tn** Or "islands" (KJV, NIV, CEV); TEV "distant lands"; NLT "lands beyond the sea."

³ **tn** The Hebrew term מִשְׁפָּט (*mishpat*) could be translated "judgment," but here it seems to refer to the dispute or debate between the LORD and the nations.

⁴ **sn** The expression *this one from the east* refers to the Persian conqueror Cyrus, as later texts indicate (see 44:28–45:6; 46:11; 48:14–16).

⁵ **tn** The interrogative particle is understood by ellipsis.

⁶ **tn** Heb "[in] righteousness called him to his foot."

⁷ **tn** Heb "he [the LORD] places before him [Cyrus] nations."

⁸ **tn** The verb יָרָד (*yard*) is an otherwise unattested Hiphil form from יָרַד (*radah*, "rule"). But the Hiphil makes no sense with "kings" as object; one must understand an ellipsis and supply "him" (Cyrus) as the object. The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has יָרַד (*yord*), which appears to be a Hiphil form from יָרַד (*yard*, "go down"). Others suggest reading יָרַד (*varod*), a Qal form from יָרַד (*radad*, "beat down").

⁹ **sn** The point is that they are powerless before Cyrus' military power and scatter before him.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "[in] peace"; KJV, ASV "safely"; NASB "in safety"; NIV "unscathed."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "a way with his feet he does not come [or "enter"]." One could translate, "by a way he was not [previously] entering with his feet." This would mean that he is advancing into new territory and expanding his conquests. The present translation assumes this is a hyperbolic description to his speedy advance. He moves so quickly he does not enter the way with his feet, i.e., his feet don't even touch the ground. See C. R. North, *Second Isaiah*, 94.

¹² **tn** Heb "Who acts and accomplishes?"; NASB "Who has performed and accomplished it."

¹³ **tn** The interrogative particle is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "I, the LORD, [am with] the first, and with the last ones I [am] he."

¹⁵ **tn** Or "islands" (NIV, CEV); NCV "faraway places"; NLT "lands beyond the sea."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "the ends of the earth," but this is a merism, where the earth's extremities stand for its entirety, i.e., the extremities and everything in between them.

they approach and come.

41:6 They help one another;¹⁷
one says to the other, 'Be strong!'

41:7 The craftsman encourages the met-
alsmith,
the one who wields the hammer encour-
ages¹⁸ the one who pounds on the anvil.
He approves the quality of the welding,¹⁹
and nails it down so it won't fall over."

The Lord Encourages His People

41:8 "You, my servant Israel,
Jacob whom I have chosen,
offsprings of Abraham my friend,²⁰
41:9 you whom I am bringing back²¹ from
the earth's extremities,
and have summoned from the remote
regions –
I told you, "You are my servant."
I have chosen you and not rejected you.
41:10 Don't be afraid, for I am with you!
Don't be frightened, for I am your God!²²
I strengthen you –
yes, I help you –
yes, I uphold you with my saving right
hand!²³
41:11 Look, all who were angry at you
will be ashamed and humiliated;
your adversaries²⁴ will be reduced to
nothing²⁵ and perish.
41:12 When you will look for your oppo-
nents,²⁶ you will not find them;
your enemies²⁷ will be reduced to abso-
lutely nothing.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "each his neighbor helps"; NCV "The workers help each other."

¹⁸ **tn** The verb "encourages" is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "saying of the welding, 'It is good.'"

²⁰ **tn** Or perhaps, "covenantal partner" (see 1 Kgs 5:15 HT [5:1 ET]; 2 Chr 20:7).

²¹ **tn** Heb "whom I have taken hold of [i.e., to lead back]."

²² **tn** According to BDB (1043 s.v. שָׁחַח), the verb שָׁחַח (*tish-ta*) in the second line of the poetic couplet is a Hitpael form from the root שָׁחַח (*sha'ah*, "gaze," with metathesis of the stem prefix and the first root letter). Taking the Hitpael as iterative, one may then translate "do not anxiously look about." However, the alleged Hitpael form of שָׁחַח (*sha'ah*) only occurs here and in verse 23. HALOT 1671 s.v. שָׁחַח proposes that the verb is instead a Qal form from the root שָׁחַח ("fear") which is attested in cognate Semitic languages, including Ugaritic (discovered after the publishing of BDB), suggests the existence of this root. The poetic structure of v. 10 also supports the proposal, for the form in question is in synonymous parallelism to יָרַע (*yare*), "fear".

²³ **tn** The "right hand" is a symbol of the LORD's power to deliver (Exod 15:6, 12) and protect (Ps 63:9 HT [63:8 ET]). Here צִדֵּק (*tsedeq*) has its well-attested nuance of "vindicated righteousness," i.e., "victory, deliverance" (see 45:8; 51:5, and BDB 841–42 s.v.).

²⁴ **tn** Heb "the men of your strife"; NASB "those who contend with you."

²⁵ **tn** Heb "like nothing"; NAB "come to naught."

²⁶ **tn** Heb "the men of your struggle"; NASB "those who quarrel with you."

²⁷ **tn** Heb "the men of your battle"; NAB "who do battle with you."

41:13 For I am the LORD your God,
the one who takes hold of your right
hand,
who says to you, ‘Don’t be afraid, I am
helping you.’
41:14 Don’t be afraid, despised insignifi-
cant Jacob,¹
men of² Israel.
I am helping you,” says the LORD,
your protector,³ the Holy One of Israel.⁴
41:15 “Look, I am making you like⁵ a
sharp threshing sledge,
new and double-edged.⁶
You will thresh the mountains and crush
them;
you will make the hills like straw.⁷
41:16 You will winnow them and the wind
will blow them away;
the wind will scatter them.
You will rejoice in the LORD;
you will boast in the Holy One of Israel.
41:17 The oppressed and the poor look for
water, but there is none;
their tongues are parched from thirst.
I, the LORD, will respond to their prayers;⁸
I, the God of Israel, will not abandon
them.
41:18 I will make streams flow down the
slopes
and produce springs in the middle of the
valleys.
I will turn the desert into a pool of water
and the arid land into springs.
41:19 I will make cedars, acacias, myrtles,
and olive trees grow in the wilderness;
I will make evergreens, firs, and cypress-
es grow together in the desert.
41:20 I will do this so⁹ people¹⁰ will ob-
serve and recognize,
so they will pay attention and understand
that the LORD’s power¹¹ has accomplished
this,
and that the Holy One of Israel has
brought it into being.”¹²

¹ **tn** Heb “O worm Jacob” (NAB, NIV). The worm metaphor suggests that Jacob is insignificant and despised.

² **tn** On the basis of the parallelism (note “worm”) and an alleged Akkadian cognate, some read “louse” or “weevil.” Cf. NAB “O maggot Israel”; NRSV “you insect Israel.”

³ **tn** Heb “your kinsman redeemer.” אֲגֹאֵל (*ga’al*, “kinsman redeemer”) was a protector of the extended family’s interests.

⁴ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

⁵ **tn** Heb “into” (so NIV); ASV “have made thee to be.”

⁶ **tn** Heb “owner of two-mouths,” i.e., double-edged.

⁷ **sn** The mountains and hills symbolize hostile nations that are obstacles to Israel’s restoration.

⁸ **tn** Heb “will answer them” (so ASV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

⁹ **tn** The words “I will do this” are supplied in the translation for clarification. The Hebrew text has here simply, “in order that.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “they”; NAB, NRSV “that all may see”; CEV, NLT “Everyone will see.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “hand” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹² **tn** Or “created it” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV); TEV “has made it happen.”

The Lord Challenges the Pagan Gods

41:21 “Present your argument,” says the LORD.

“Produce your evidence,”¹³ says Jacob’s king.¹⁴

41:22 “Let them produce evidence! Let them tell us what will happen!

Tell us about your earlier predictive oracles,¹⁵

so we may examine them¹⁶ and see how they were fulfilled.¹⁷

Or decree for us some future events!

41:23 Predict how future events will turn out,¹⁸

so we might know you are gods.

Yes, do something good or bad,
so we might be frightened and in awe.¹⁹

41:24 Look, you are nothing, and your ac-
complishments are nonexistent;

the one who chooses to worship you is
disgusting.²⁰

41:25 I have stirred up one out of the
north²¹ and he advances,

one from the eastern horizon who prays
in my name.²²

He steps on²³ rulers as if they were clay,
like a potter treading the clay.

41:26 Who decreed this from the begin-
ning, so we could know?

Who announced it²⁴ ahead of time, so we
could say, ‘He’s correct’?

Indeed, none of them decreed it!

Indeed, none of them announced it!

Indeed, no one heard you say anything!

41:27 I first decreed to Zion, ‘Look, here’s
what will happen!’²⁵

I sent a herald to Jerusalem.²⁶

41:28 I look, but there is no one,
among them there is no one who serves
as an adviser,

¹³ **tn** Heb “strong [words],” see HALOT 870 s.v. עֲצוּמוֹת.

¹⁴ **sn** Apparently this challenge is addressed to the pagan idol gods, see vv. 23-24.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “As for the former things, tell us what they are!”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “so we might set [them to] our heart.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “and might know their outcome.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “Declare the coming things, with respect to the end.”

¹⁹ **tc** The translation assumes the Qere (וְיִרְאוּ [v^enir’eh], from יָרָא [yare], “be afraid”).

tn Heb “so we might be frightened and afraid together.” On the meaning of the verb שָׁתָה (shata), see the note at v. 10.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “an object of disgust [is he who] chooses you.”

²¹ **sn** That is, Cyrus the Persian. See the note at v. 2.

²² **tn** Heb “[one] from the rising of the sun [who] calls in my name.”

²³ **tn** The Hebrew text has וַיָּבֹא (yavo’, “and he comes”), but this is likely a corruption of an original וַיָּבֵא (vayyavas), from בָּשָׁב (bus, “step on”).

²⁴ **tn** The words “who announced it” are supplied in the translation for clarification. The interrogative particle and verb are understood by ellipsis (see the preceding line).

²⁵ **tn** The Hebrew text reads simply, “First to Zion, ‘Look here they are!’” The words “I decreed” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

²⁶ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

that I might ask questions and receive answers.

41:29 Look, all of them are nothing,¹ their accomplishments are nonexistent; their metal images lack any real substance.²

The Lord Commissions His Special Servant

42:1³ “Here is my servant whom I support, my chosen one in whom I take pleasure. I have placed my spirit on him; he will make just decrees⁴ for the nations.⁵

42:2 He will not cry out or shout; he will not publicize himself in the streets.⁶

42:3 A crushed reed he will not break, a dim wick he will not extinguish;⁷ he will faithfully make just decrees.⁸

42:4 He will not grow dim or be crushed⁹ before establishing justice on the earth; the coastlands¹⁰ will wait in anticipation for his decrees.”¹¹

42:5 This is what the true God,¹² the LORD, says – the one who created the sky and stretched it out, the one who fashioned the earth and everything that lives on it,¹³ the one who gives breath to the people on it, and life to those who live on it.¹⁴

¹ **tc** The Hebrew text has אָנָן (*aven*, “deception,” i.e., “false”), but the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has אֵין (“nothing”), which forms a better parallel with אָפֶס (*efes*, “nothing”) in the next line. See also 40:17 and 41:12.

² **tn** Heb “their statues are wind and nothing”; NASB “wind and emptiness”; NIV “wind and confusion.”

³ **sn** Verses 1-7 contain the first of Isaiah’s “servant songs,” which describe the ministry of a special, ideal servant who accomplishes God’s purposes for Israel and the nations. This song depicts the servant as a just king who brings justice to the earth and relief for the oppressed. The other songs appear in 49:1-13; 50:4-11; and 52:13-53:12.

⁴ **tn** Heb “he will bring out justice” (cf. ASV, NASB, NRSV).

⁵ **sn** Like the ideal king portrayed in Isa 11:1-9, the servant is energized by the divine spirit and establishes justice on the earth.

⁶ **tn** Heb “he will not cause his voice to be heard in the street.”

⁷ **sn** The “crushed reed” and “dim wick” symbolize the weak and oppressed who are on the verge of extinction.

⁸ **tn** Heb “faithfully he will bring out justice” (cf. NASB, NRSV).

⁹ **tn** For rhetorical effect the terms used to describe the “crushed (רָצוּץ, *ratsatz*) reed” and “dim (קָהָה, *kahah*) wick” in v. 3 are repeated here.

¹⁰ **tn** Or “islands” (NIV); NLT “distant lands beyond the sea.”

¹¹ **tn** Or “his law” (KJV, ASV, NASB, NIV) or “his instruction” (NLT).

¹² **tn** Heb “the God.” The definite article here indicates distinctiveness or uniqueness.

¹³ **tn** Heb “and its offspring” (so NASB); NIV “all that comes out of it.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and spirit [i.e., “breath”] to the ones walking in it” (NAB, NASB, and NRSV all similar).

42:6 “I, the LORD, officially commission you,¹⁵

I take hold of your hand.

I protect you¹⁶ and make you a covenant mediator for people,¹⁷ and a light¹⁸ to the nations,¹⁹

42:7 to open blind eyes,²⁰ to release prisoners²¹ from dungeons, those who live in darkness from prisons.

The Lord Intervenes

42:8 I am the LORD! That is my name! I will not share my glory with anyone else,

or the praise due me with idols.

42:9 Look, my earlier predictive oracles have come to pass;²²

now I announce new events.

Before they begin to occur,

I reveal them to you.”²³

42:10 Sing to the LORD a brand new song! Praise him²⁴ from the horizon of the earth, you who go down to the sea, and everything that lives in it,²⁵

you coastlands²⁶ and those who live there!

42:11 Let the desert and its cities shout out, the towns where the nomads of Kedar live! Let the residents of Sela shout joyfully; let them shout loudly from the mountain-tops.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “call you in righteousness.” The pronoun “you” is masculine singular, referring to the servant. See the note at 41:2.

¹⁶ **tn** The translation assumes the verb is derived from the root נָצַר (*natsar*, “protect”). Some prefer to derive it from the root יָצַר (*yatsar*, “form”).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “a covenant of people.” A person cannot literally be a covenant; בְּרִית (*berit*) is probably metonymic here, indicating a covenant mediator. The precise identity of אָמ (*am*, “people”) is uncertain. In v. 5 אָמ refers to mankind, and the following reference to “nations” also favors this. But in 49:8, where the phrase אָמ בְּרִית occurs again, Israel seems to be in view.

¹⁸ **sn** Light here symbolizes deliverance from bondage and oppression; note the parallelism in 49:6b and in 51:4-6.

¹⁹ **tn** Or “the Gentiles” (so KJV, ASV, NIV); the same Hebrew word can be translated “nations” or “Gentiles” depending on the context.

²⁰ **sn** This does not refer to literal physical healing of the blind. As the next two lines suggest, this refers metonymically to freeing captives from their dark prisons where their eyes have grown unaccustomed to light.

²¹ **sn** This does not refer to hardened, dangerous criminals, who would have been executed for their crimes in ancient Near Eastern society. This verse refers to political prisoners or victims of social injustice.

²² **tn** Heb “the former things, look, they have come.”

²³ **tn** Heb “before they sprout up, I cause you to hear.” The pronoun “you” is plural, referring to the people of Israel. In this verse “the former things” are the Lord’s earlier predictive oracles which have come to pass, while “the new things” are predicted events that have not yet begun to take place. “The former things” are earlier events in Israel’s history which God announced beforehand, such as the Exodus (see 43:16-18). “The new things” are the predictions about the servant (42:1-7), and may also include Cyrus’ conquests (41:25-27).

²⁴ **tn** Heb “his praise.” The phrase stands parallel to “new song” in the previous line.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “and its fullness”; NASB, NIV “and all that is in it.”

²⁶ **tn** Or “islands” (NASB, NIV); NLT “distant coastlands.”

42:12 Let them give the LORD the honor he deserves;¹
let them praise his deeds in the coast-lands.²

42:13 The LORD emerges like a hero,
like a warrior he inspires himself for battle;³

he shouts, yes, he yells,
he shows his enemies his power.⁴

42:14 "I have been inactive⁵ for a long time;

I kept quiet and held back.

Like a woman in labor I groan;

I pant and gasp.⁶

42:15 I will make the trees on the mountains and hills wither up;⁷

I will dry up all their vegetation.

I will turn streams into islands,⁸
and dry up pools of water.⁹

42:16 I will lead the blind along an unfamiliar way;¹⁰

I will guide them down paths they have never traveled.¹¹

I will turn the darkness in front of them into light,

and level out the rough ground.¹²

This is what I will do for them.

I will not abandon them.

42:17 Those who trust in idols
will turn back and be utterly humiliated,¹³
those who say to metal images, "You are our gods."¹⁴

The Lord Reasons with His People

42:18 "Listen, you deaf ones!

¹ **tn** Heb "Let them ascribe to the LORD glory."

² **tn** Heb "and his praise in the coastlands [or "islands"] let them declare."

³ **tn** Heb "like a man of war he stirs up zeal" (NIV similar).

⁴ **tn** Or perhaps, "he triumphs over his enemies" (cf. NIV); NLT "will crush all his enemies."

⁵ **tn** Heb "silent" (so NASB, NIV, TEV, NLT); CEV "have held my temper."

⁶ **sn** The imagery depicts the LORD as a warrior who is eager to fight and can no longer hold himself back from the attack.

⁷ **tn** Heb "I will dry up the mountains and hills." The "mountains and hills" stand by synecdoche for the trees that grow on them. Some prefer to derive the verb from a homonymic root and translate, "I will lay waste."

⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text reads, "I will turn streams into coastlands [or "islands"]." Scholars who believe that this reading makes little sense have proposed an emendation of צִיִּים (*ṣayim*, "islands") to צִיָּה (*ṣayyah*, "dry places"; cf. NCV, NLT, TEV). However, since all the versions support the MT reading, there is insufficient grounds for an emendation here. Although the imagery of changing rivers into islands is somewhat strange, J. N. Oswalt describes this imagery against the backdrop of rivers of the Near East. The receding of these rivers at times occasioned the appearance of previously submerged islands (Isaiah [NICOT], 2:126).

⁹ **sn** The imagery of this verse, which depicts the LORD bringing a curse of infertility to the earth, metaphorically describes how the LORD will destroy his enemies.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "a way they do not know" (so NASB); NRSV "a road they do not know."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "in paths they do not know I will make them walk."

¹² **tn** Heb "and the rough ground into a level place."

¹³ **tn** Heb "be ashamed with shame"; ASV, NASB "be utterly put to shame."

Take notice,¹⁴ you blind ones!

42:19 My servant is truly blind,
my messenger is truly deaf.
My covenant partner,¹⁵ the servant of the LORD, is truly blind.¹⁶

42:20 You see¹⁷ many things, but don't comprehend;¹⁸

their ears are open, but do not hear."

42:21 The LORD wanted to exhibit his justice

by magnifying his law and displaying it.¹⁹

42:22 But these people are looted and plundered;

all of them are trapped in pits²⁰
and held captive²¹ in prisons.

They were carried away as loot with no one to rescue them;

they were carried away as plunder, and no one says, "Bring that back!"²²

42:23 Who among you will pay attention to this?

Who will listen attentively in the future?²³

42:24 Who handed Jacob over to the robber?

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "look to see"; NAB, NCV "look and see"; NRSV "look up and see."

¹⁵ **tc** The precise meaning of מְשֻׁלָּם (*mēshullam*) in this context is uncertain. In later biblical Hebrew the form (which appears to be a Pual participle from the root שָׁלַם, *shalam*) occurs as a proper name, Meshullam. The Pual of שָׁלַם ("be complete") is attested with the meaning "repaid, requited," but that makes little sense here. BDB 1023 s.v. שָׁלַם relates the form to the denominative verb שָׁלַם ("be at peace") and paraphrases "one in a covenant of peace" (J. N. Oswalt suggests "the covenanted one"; Isaiah [NICOT], 2:128, n. 59). Some emend the form to מֹשְׁלָם (*mōshelam*, "their ruler") or to מְשֻׁלָּחִי (*mēshullakhi*, "my sent [or "commissioned"] one"), which fits nicely in the parallelism (note "my messenger" in the previous line). The translation above assumes an emendation to בְּנִי שְׁלֵמִי (*k'emo sho'lemi*, "like my ally"). Isaiah uses בְּנִי in 30:22 and perhaps 51:5; for שְׁלֵמִי ("my ally") see Ps 7:5 HT (7:4 ET).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "Who is blind but my servant, and deaf like my messenger I send? Who is blind like my commissioned one, blind like the servant of the LORD?" The point of the rhetorical questions is that no one is as blind/deaf as this servant. In this context the LORD's "servant" is exiled Israel (cf. 41:8-9), which is spiritually blind and deaf and has failed to fulfill God's purpose for it. This servant stands in contrast to the ideal "Israel" of the servant songs.

¹⁷ **tn** The consonantal text (*Kethib*) has a perfect, 2nd person masculine singular; the marginal reading (*Qere*) has an infinitive absolute, which functions here as a finite verb.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "but you do not guard [i.e., retain in your memory];" NIV "but have paid no attention."

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "The LORD was pleased for the sake of his righteousness [or "justice"], he was magnifying [the] law and was making [it] glorious." The LORD contrasts his good intentions for the people with their present crisis (v. 22). To demonstrate his just character and attract the nations, the LORD wanted to showcase his law among and through Israel (Deut 4:5-8). But Israel disobeyed (v. 24) and failed to carry out their commission.

²⁰ **tc** The Hebrew text has בְּחֻרִים (*bakhurim*, "young men"), but the text should be emended to בְּחֹרִים (*b'horim*, "in holes").

²¹ **tn** Heb "and made to be hidden"; NAB, NASB, NIV, TEV "hidden away in prisons."

²² **tn** Heb "they became loot and there was no one rescuing, plunder and there was no one saying, 'Bring back!'"

²³ **tn** The interrogative particle is understood in the second line by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

Who handed Israel over to the looters?¹
 Was it not the LORD, against whom we
 sinned?
 They refused to follow his commands;
 they disobeyed his law.²
42:25 So he poured out his fierce anger on
 them,
 along with the devastation³ of war.
 Its flames encircled them, but they did
 not realize it;⁴
 it burned against them, but they did
 notice.⁵

The Lord Will Rescue His People

43:1 Now, this is what the LORD says,
 the one who created you, O Jacob,
 and formed you, O Israel:
 “Don’t be afraid, for I will protect⁶ you.
 I call you by name, you are mine.
43:2 When you pass through the waters, I
 am with you;
 when you pass⁷ through the streams, they
 will not overwhelm you.
 When you walk through the fire, you will
 not be burned;
 the flames will not harm⁸ you.
43:3 For I am the LORD your God,
 the Holy One of Israel,⁹ your deliverer.
 I have handed over Egypt as a ransom
 price,
 Ethiopia and Seba¹⁰ in place of you.
43:4 Since you are precious and special in
 my sight,¹¹
 and I love you,
 I will hand over people in place of you,
 nations in place of your life.
43:5 Don’t be afraid, for I am with you.
 From the east I will bring your descen-
 dants;
 from the west I will gather you.

43:6 I will say to the north, ‘Hand them
 over!’
 and to the south, ‘Don’t hold any back!’
 Bring my sons from distant lands,
 and my daughters from the remote re-
 gions of the earth,
43:7 everyone who belongs to me,¹²
 whom I created for my glory,
 whom I formed – yes, whom I made!

The Lord Declares His Sovereignty

43:8 Bring out the people who are blind,
 even though they have eyes,
 those who are deaf, even though they
 have ears!
43:9 All nations gather together,
 the peoples assemble.
 Who among them announced this?
 Who predicted earlier events for us?¹³
 Let them produce their witnesses to tes-
 tify they were right;
 let them listen and affirm, ‘It is true.’
43:10 You are my witnesses,” says the
 LORD,
 “my servant whom I have chosen,
 so that you may consider¹⁴ and believe
 in me,
 and understand that I am he.
 No god was formed before me,
 and none will outlive me.¹⁵
43:11 I, I am the LORD,
 and there is no deliverer besides me.
43:12 I decreed and delivered and pro-
 claimed,
 and there was no other god among you.
 You are my witnesses,” says the LORD,
 “that I am God.
43:13 From this day forward I am he;
 no one can deliver from my power;¹⁶
 I will act, and who can prevent it?”

The Lord Will Do Something New

43:14 This is what the LORD says,
 your protector,¹⁷ the Holy One of Israel:¹⁸
 “For your sake I send to Babylon
 and make them all fugitives,¹⁹
 turning the Babylonians’ joyful shouts
 into mourning songs.²⁰

¹ **tn** Heb “Who gave to the robber Jacob, and Israel to the looters?” In the first line the consonantal text (*Kethib*) has מְשֹׁחֵה (m^{sh}shoh), a Polel participle from שָׁחַה (shasah, “plunder”). The marginal reading (*Qere*) is מְשִׁיחָה (m^{sh}shissah), a noun meaning “plunder.” In this case one could translate “Who handed Jacob over as plunder?”

² **tn** Heb “they were not willing in his ways to walk, and they did not listen to his law.”

³ **tn** Heb “strength” (so KJV, NASB); NAB “fury”; NASB “fierceness”; NIV “violence.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “and it blazed against him all around, but he did not know.” The subject of the third feminine singular verb “blazed” is the divine feminine יְהוָה (*khemah*, “anger”) mentioned in the previous line.

⁵ **tn** Heb “and it burned against him, but he did not set [it] upon [the] heart.”

⁶ **tn** Or “redeem.” See the note at 41:14. Cf. NCV “saved you”; CEV “rescued you”; NLT “ransomed you.”

⁷ **tn** The verb is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

⁸ **tn** Heb “burn” (so NASB); NAB, NRSV, NLT “consume”; NIV “set you ablaze.”

⁹ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

¹⁰ **sn** Seba is not the same as Sheba in southern Arabia; cf. Gen 1:10; 1 Chr 1:9.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “Since you are precious in my eyes and you are honored.”

¹² **tn** Heb “everyone who is called by my name” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹³ **tn** Heb “and the former things was causing us to hear?”

¹⁴ **tn** Or “know” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “and after me, there will not be”; NASB “there will be none after Me.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “hand” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT “No one can oppose what I do.”

¹⁷ **tn** Or “kinsman redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

¹⁸ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “and I bring down [as] fugitives all of them.”

²⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “as for the Babylonians, in ships their joyful shout.” This might be paraphrased, “even the Babylonians in the ships [over which] they joyfully shouted.” The point would be that the LORD caused the Babylonians to flee for safety in the ships in which they took such great pride. A slight change in vocalization yields the reading

43:15 I am the LORD, your Holy One,¹ the one who created Israel, your king.”

43:16 This is what the LORD says, the one who made a road through the sea, a pathway through the surging waters,

43:17 the one who led chariots and horses to destruction,²

together with a mighty army.

They fell down,³ never to rise again; they were extinguished, put out like a burning wick:

43:18 “Don’t remember these earlier events;⁴

don’t recall these former events.

43:19 “Look, I am about to do something new.

Now it begins to happen!⁵ Do you not recognize⁶ it?

Yes, I will make a road in the desert and paths⁷ in the wilderness.

43:20 The wild animals of the desert honor me,

the jackals and ostriches, because I put water in the desert

and streams in the wilderness, to quench the thirst of my chosen people,

43:21 the people whom I formed for myself,

so they might praise me.”⁸

The Lord Rebukes His People

43:22 “But you did not call for me, O Jacob;

you did not long⁹ for me, O Israel.

43:23 You did not bring me lambs for your burnt offerings;

you did not honor me with your sacrifices.

I did not burden you with offerings;

I did not make you weary by demanding¹⁰ incense.

43:24 You did not buy me aromatic reeds;¹¹

“into mourning songs,” which provides a good contrast with “joyful shout.” The prefixed *bet* (ב) would indicate identity.

¹ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

² **tn** *Heb* “led out chariots and horses.” The words “to destruction” are supplied in the translation for clarification. The verse refers to the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea.

³ **tn** *Heb* “lay down”; NAB “lie prostrate together”; CEV “lie dead”; NRSV “they lie down.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the former things” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT “forget all that.”

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “sprouts up”; NASB “will spring forth.”

⁶ **tn** Or “know” (KJV, ASV); NASB “be aware of”; NAB, NIV, NRSV “perceive.”

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew texts has “streams,” probably under the influence of v. 20. The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has נתיבות (“paths”).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “[so] they might declare my praise.”

⁹ **tn** Or “strive”; KJV, ASV, NRSV “been weary of me.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “with.” The words “by demanding” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹¹ **tn** That is, “calamus” (so NIV); NCV, TEV, NLT “incense”; CEV “spices.”

you did not present to me¹² the fat of your sacrifices.

Yet you burdened me with your sins; you made me weary with your evil deeds.¹³

43:25 I, I am the one who blots out your rebellious deeds for my sake;

your sins I do not remember.

43:26 Remind me of what happened! Let’s debate!

You, prove to me that you are right!¹⁴

43:27 The father of your nation¹⁵ sinned; your spokesmen¹⁶ rebelled against me.

43:28 So I defiled your holy princes, and handed Jacob over to destruction, and subjected¹⁷ Israel to humiliating abuse.”

The Lord Will Renew Israel

44:1 “Now, listen, Jacob my servant, Israel whom I have chosen!”

44:2 This is what the LORD, the one who made you, says –

the one who formed you in the womb and helps you:

“Don’t be afraid, my servant Jacob, Jeshurun,¹⁸ whom I have chosen!

44:3 For I will pour water on the parched ground¹⁹

and cause streams to flow²⁰ on the dry land.

I will pour my spirit on your offspring and my blessing on your children.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “you did not saturate me”; NASB “Neither have you filled Me.”

¹³ **sn** In vv. 22-24 the LORD appears to be condemning his people for failure to bring the proper sacrifices. However, this is problematic. If this refers to the nation’s behavior while in exile, such cultic service was impossible and could hardly be expected by the LORD. If this refers to the nation’s conduct before the exile, it contradicts other passages that depict Israel as bringing excessive sacrifices (see, e.g., Isa 1:11-14; Jer 6:20; Amos 4:4-5, 5:21-23). Rather than being a condemnation of Israel’s failure to bring sacrifices, these verses are better taken as a highly rhetorical comment on the worthlessness of Israel’s religious ritual. They may have brought sacrifices, but not to the LORD, for he did not accept them or even want them. See C. R. North, *Second Isaiah*, 127, and R. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCBC), 91.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “you, tell in order that you may be right”; NAB “prove your innocence.”

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “your first father.” This could refer to Abraham (see 51:2), but elsewhere in Isaiah he does not appear in a negative light (see 29:22; 41:8; 63:16). A more likely candidate is Jacob/Israel, also referred to as the nation’s “father” elsewhere (see 58:14; 63:16).

¹⁶ **tn** On the meaning of the term לִיִּים (*lits*), see HALOT 590 s.v. לִיִּים. This may refer to the nation’s prophets, priests, and/or kings.

¹⁷ **tn** The word “subjected” is supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁸ **sn** *Jeshurun* is a poetic name for Israel; it occurs here and in Deut 32:15; 33:5, 26.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the thirsty.” Parallelism suggests that dry ground is in view (see “dry land” in the next line.)

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “and streams”; KJV “floods.” The verb “cause...to flow” is supplied in the second line for clarity and for stylistic reasons.

44:4 They will sprout up like a tree in the grass,¹
like poplars beside channels of water.
44:5 One will say, 'I belong to the LORD,'
and another will use² the name 'Jacob.'
One will write on his hand, 'The LORD's,'
and use the name 'Israel.'"³

The Absurdity of Idolatry

44:6 This is what the LORD, Israel's king,
says,
their protector,⁴ the LORD who com-
mands armies:
"I am the first and I am the last,
there is no God but me.
44:7 Who is like me? Let him make his
claim!⁵
Let him announce it and explain it to me –
since I established an ancient people –⁶
let them announce future events!⁷
44:8 Don't panic! Don't be afraid!⁸
Did I not tell you beforehand and decree
it?
You are my witnesses! Is there any God
but me?
There is no other sheltering rock;⁹ I know
of none.
44:9 All who form idols are nothing;

¹ **tn** The Hebrew term בֵּין (*ven*) is usually taken as a preposition, in which case one might translate, "among the grass." But בֵּין is probably the name of a tree (cf. C. R. North, *Second Isaiah*, 133). If one alters the preposition *bet* (בֵּת) to *kaf* (כֵּף), one can then read, "like a binu-tree." (The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a supports this reading.) This forms a nice parallel to "like poplars" in the next line. חֲזִיר (*khatzir*) is functioning as an adverbial accusative of location.

² **tn** The Hebrew text has a Qal verb form, "and another will call by the name of Jacob." With support from Symmachus (an ancient Greek textual witness), some read the Niphal, "and another will be called by the name of Jacob."

³ **tn** *Heb* "and by the name of Israel he will title." Some, with support from several ancient versions, prefer to change the Piel (active) verb form to a Pual (passive), "and he will be titled by the name of Israel."

⁴ **tn** *Heb* "his kinsman redeemer." See the note at 41:14.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* "let him call" or "let him proclaim" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV); NAB "Let him stand up and speak."

⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads, "from (the time) I established an ancient people, and the coming things." Various emendations have been proposed. One of the options assumes the reading מַשְׁמִיעִים מְעֹלָם מִתְּחִלָּה (*mashmī'im me'olam 'otiyot*); This literally reads "the ones causing to hear from antiquity coming things," but more idiomatically would read "as for those who predict from antiquity what will happen" (cf. NAB, NEB, REB). The emendation directs the attention of the reader to those who claim to be able to predict the future, challenging them to actually do what they claim they can do. The MT presents Yahweh as an example to whom these alleged "predictors of the future" can compare themselves. Since the ancient versions are unanimous in their support of the MT, the emendations should be set aside.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* and those things which are coming let them declare for themselves."

⁸ **tn** BDB 923 s.v. רָחַק derives this verb from an otherwise unattested root, while HALOT 403 s.v. יָרַח defines it as "be stupefied" on the basis of an Arabic cognate. The form is likely a corruption of יָרִיחַ, the reading attested in the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "rock" or "rocky cliff," a title that depicts God as a protective refuge in his role as sovereign king; thus the translation "sheltering rock."

the things in which they delight are
worthless.
Their witnesses cannot see;
they recognize nothing, so they are put to
shame.
44:10 Who forms a god and casts an idol
that will prove worthless?¹⁰
44:11 Look, all his associates¹¹ will be put
to shame;
the craftsmen are mere humans.¹²
Let them all assemble and take their stand!
They will panic and be put to shame.
44:12 A blacksmith works with his tool¹³
and forges metal over the coals.
He forms it¹⁴ with hammers;
he makes it with his strong arm.
He gets hungry and loses his energy;¹⁵
he drinks no water and gets tired.
44:13 A carpenter takes measurements;¹⁶
he marks out an outline of its form;¹⁷
he scrapes¹⁸ it with chisels,
and marks it with a compass.
He patterns it after the human form,¹⁹
like a well-built human being,
and puts it in a shrine.²⁰
44:14 He cuts down cedars
and acquires a cypress²¹ or an oak.
He gets²² trees from the forest;
he plants a cedar²³ and the rain makes it
grow.

¹⁰ **tn** The rhetorical question is sarcastic. The sense is, "Who is foolish enough...?"

¹¹ **tn** The pronoun "his" probably refers to the one who forms/casts an idol (v. 10), in which case it refers to the craftsman's associates in the idol-manufacturing guild.

¹² **sn** The point seems to be this: If the idols are the mere products of human hands, then those who trust in them will be disappointed, for man-made gods are incapable of helping their "creators."

¹³ **tn** The noun מַעֲדָה (*ma'atsad*), which refers to some type of tool used for cutting, occurs only here and in Jer 10:3. See HALOT 615 s.v. מַעֲדָה.

¹⁴ **tn** Some English versions take the pronoun "it" to refer to an idol being fashioned by the blacksmith (cf. NIV, NCV, CEV). NLT understands the referent to be "a sharp tool," which is then used by the carpenter in the following verse to carve an idol from wood.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* "and there is no strength"; NASB "his strength fails."

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "stretches out a line" (ASV similar); NIV "measures with a line."

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "he makes an outline with the [?]." The noun שֶׁרֶד (*shered*) occurs only here; it apparently refers to some type of tool or marker. Cf. KJV "with a line"; ASV "with a pencil"; NAB, NRSV "with a stylus"; NASB "with red chalk"; NIV "with a marker."

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* "works" (so NASB) or "fashions" (so NRSV); NIV "he roughs it out."

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "he makes it like the pattern of a man"; NAB "like a man in appearance."

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "like the glory of man to sit [in] a house"; NIV "that it may dwell in a shrine."

²¹ **tn** It is not certain what type of tree this otherwise unattested noun refers to. Cf. ASV "a holm-tree" (NRSV similar).

²² **tn** *Heb* "strengthens for himself," i.e., "secures for himself" (see BDB 55 s.v. אָזַן Pi.2).

²³ **tn** Some prefer to emend אֶרֶן (*oren*) to אֶרֶז (*erez*, "cedar"), but the otherwise unattested noun appears to have an Akkadian cognate, meaning "cedar." See H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena* (SBLDS), 44-45. HALOT 90 s.v. אֶרֶן offers the meaning "laurel."

44:15 A man uses it to make a fire;¹ he takes some of it and warms himself. Yes, he kindles a fire and bakes bread. Then he makes a god and worships it; he makes an idol and bows down to it.²

44:16 Half of it he burns in the fire – over that half he cooks³ meat; he roasts a meal and fills himself. Yes, he warms himself and says, ‘Ah! I am warm as I look at the fire.’

44:17 With the rest of it he makes a god, his idol; he bows down to it and worships it. He prays to it, saying, ‘Rescue me, for you are my god!’

44:18 They do not comprehend or understand, for their eyes are blind and cannot see; their minds do not discern.⁴

44:19 No one thinks to himself, nor do they comprehend or understand and say to themselves:

‘I burned half of it in the fire – yes, I baked bread over the coals; I roasted meat and ate it. With the rest of it should I make a disgusting idol?

Should I bow down to dry wood?’⁵

44:20 He feeds on ashes;⁶ his deceived mind misleads him.

He cannot rescue himself, nor does he say, ‘Is this not a false god I hold in my right hand?’⁷

44:21 Remember these things, O Jacob, O Israel, for you are my servant. I formed you to be my servant; O Israel, I will not forget you!⁸

44:22 I remove the guilt of your rebellious deeds as if they were a cloud, the guilt of your sins as if they were a cloud.⁹

Come back to me, for I protect¹⁰ you.”

44:23 Shout for joy, O sky, for the LORD intervenes;¹¹

shout out, you subterranean regions¹² of the earth.

O mountains, give a joyful shout; you too, O forest and all your trees!¹³

For the LORD protects¹⁴ Jacob;

he reveals his splendor through Israel.¹⁵

The Lord Empowers Cyrus

44:24 This is what the LORD, your protector,¹⁶ says,

the one who formed you in the womb:

“I am the LORD, who made everything, who alone stretched out the sky, who fashioned the earth all by myself,¹⁷

44:25 who frustrates the omens of the empty talkers¹⁸

and humiliates¹⁹ the omen readers, who overturns the counsel of the wise men²⁰

and makes their advice²¹ seem foolish,

44:26 who fulfills the oracles of his prophetic servants²²

tic purposes to translate the second with “fog” or “mist” (cf. NAB, NRSV “cloud...mist”; NIV “cloud...morning mist”; NLT “morning mists...clouds”), but this distinction between the synonyms is unwarranted here. The point of the simile seems to be this: The LORD forgives their sins, causing them to vanish just as clouds disappear from the sky (see Job 7:9; 30:15).

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “redeem.” See the note at 41:14.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “acts”; NASB, NRSV “has done it”; NLT “has done this wondrous thing.”

¹² **tn** Heb “lower regions.” This refers to Sheol and forms a merism with “sky” in the previous line. See Pss 63:9; 71:20.

¹³ **tn** Heb “O forest and all the trees in it”; NASB, NRSV “and every tree in it.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “redeems.” See the note at 41:14.

¹⁵ **tn** That is, by delivering Israel. Cf. NCV “showed his glory when he saved Israel”; TEV “has shown his greatness by saving his people Israel.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “your redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

¹⁷ **tn** The consonantal text (*Kethib*) has “Who [was] with me?” The marginal reading (*Qere*) is “from with me,” i.e., “by myself.” See BDB 87 s.v. *לְעִמִּי* 4.c.

¹⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text has *בָּרִים* (*baddim*), perhaps meaning “empty talkers” (BDB 95 s.v. *בָּר*). In the four other occurrences of this word (Job 11:3; Isa 16:6; Jer 48:30; 50:36) the context does not make the meaning of the term very clear. Its primary point appears to be that the words spoken are meaningless or false. In light of its parallelism with “omen readers,” some have proposed an emendation to *בָּרִים* (*barim*, “seers”). The Mesopotamian *baru*-priests were divination specialists who played an important role in court life. See R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, 93-98. Rather than supporting an emendation, J. N. Oswalt [*Isaiah* (NICOT), 2:189, n. 79] suggests that Isaiah used *בָּרִים* purposively as a derisive wordplay on the Akkadian word *baru* (in light of the close similarity of the *d* and *r* consonants).

¹⁹ **tn** Or “makes fools of” (NIV, NRSV); NAB and NASB both similar.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “who turns back the wise” (so NRSV); NIV “overthrows the learning of the wise”; TEV “The words of the wise I refute.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “their knowledge” (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV).

²² **tn** Heb “the word of his servant.” The following context indicates that the LORD’s prophets are in view.

¹ **tn** Heb “and it becomes burning [i.e., firewood] for a man”; NAB “to serve man for fuel.”

² **tn** Or perhaps, “them.”

³ **tn** Heb “eats” (so NASB); NAB, NRSV “roasts.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “for their eyes are smeared over so they cannot see, so their heart cannot be wise.”

⁵ **tn** There is no formal interrogative sign here, but the context seems to indicate these are rhetorical questions. See GKC 473 §150.a.

⁶ **tn** Or perhaps, “he eats on an ash heap.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “Is it not a lie in my right hand?”

⁸ **tc** The verb in the Hebrew text is a Niphal imperfect with a pronominal suffix. Although the Niphal ordinarily has the passive sense, it can have a reflexive nuance as well (see above translation). Some have suggested an emendation to a Qal form: “Do not forget me” (all the ancient versions, NEB, REB; see GKC 369 §117.x). “Do not forget me” would make a good parallel with “remember these things” in the first line. Since the MT is the harder reading and fits with Israel’s complaint that God had forgotten her (Isa 40:27), the MT reading should be retained (NASB, NKJV, NRSV, ESV). The passive has been rendered as an active in the translation in keeping with contemporary English style (so also NIV, NCV, TEV, NLT).

⁹ **tn** Heb “I blot out like a cloud your rebellious deeds, and like a cloud your sins.” “Rebellious deeds” and “sins” stand by metonymy for the guilt they produce. Both *עָוֹן* (*‘av*) and *חַטָּאת* (*‘anan*) refer to the clouds in the sky. It is tempting for stylis-

and brings to pass the announcements¹ of his messengers,
 who says about Jerusalem,² ‘She will be inhabited,’
 and about the towns of Judah, ‘They will be rebuilt,
 her ruins I will raise up,’
 44:27 who says to the deep sea, ‘Be dry! I will dry up your sea currents,’
 44:28 who commissions³ Cyrus, the one I appointed as shepherd⁴
 to carry out all my wishes⁵
 and to decree concerning Jerusalem, ‘She will be rebuilt,’
 and concerning the temple, ‘It will be reconstructed.’”⁶

45:1 This is what the LORD says to his chosen⁷ one,
 to Cyrus, whose right hand I hold⁸
 in order to subdue nations before him, and disarm kings,⁹
 to open doors before him,
 so gates remain unclosed:
 45:2 “I will go before you and level mountains.¹⁰
 Bronze doors I will shatter
 and iron bars¹¹ I will hack through.
 45:3 I will give you hidden treasures,¹²
 riches stashed away in secret places,
 so you may recognize that I am the LORD,
 the one who calls you by name, the God of Israel.

45:4 For the sake of my servant Jacob, Israel, my chosen one,
 I call you by name
 and give you a title of respect, even though you do not recognize¹³ me.
 45:5 I am the LORD, I have no peer,¹⁴
 there is no God but me.
 I arm you for battle,¹⁵ even though you do not recognize¹⁶ me.
 45:6 I do this¹⁷ so people¹⁸ will recognize
 from east to west
 that there is no God but me;
 I am the LORD, I have no peer.
 45:7 I am¹⁹ the one who forms light
 and creates darkness;²⁰
 the one who brings about peace
 and creates calamity.²¹
 I am the LORD, who accomplishes all these things.
 45:8 O sky, rain down from above!
 Let the clouds send down showers²² of deliverance!
 Let the earth absorb it²³ so salvation may grow.²⁴
 and deliverance may sprout up²⁵ along with it.
 I, the LORD, create it.²⁶

¹ **tn** Heb “counsel.” The Hebrew term עצה (*etsah*) probably refers here to the divine plan as announced by the prophets. See HALOT 867 s.v. עצה.

² **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

³ **tn** Heb “says to.” It is possible that the sentence is not completed, as the description of Cyrus and his God-given role is developed in the rest of the verse. 45:1 picks up where 44:28a leaves off with the LORD’s actual words to Cyrus finally being quoted in 45:2.

⁴ **tn** Heb “my shepherd.” The shepherd motif is sometimes applied, as here, to a royal figure who is responsible for the well-being of the people whom he rules.

⁵ **tn** Heb “that he might bring to completion all my desire.”
⁶ **tn** Heb “and [concerning the] temple, you will be founded.” The preposition לְ (l) is understood by ellipsis at the beginning of the second line. The verb הִנְחִיתָ (*hinvased*, “you will be founded”) is second masculine singular and is probably addressed to the personified temple (הֵיכָל [hekhkal, “temple”] is masculine).

⁷ **tn** Heb “anointed” (so KJV, NAB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NCV “his appointed king.”

⁸ **sn** The “right hand” is a symbol of activity and strength; the LORD directs Cyrus’ activities and assures his success.

⁹ **tn** Heb “and the belts of kings I will loosen”; NRSV “strip kings of their robes”; NIV “strip kings of their armor.”

¹⁰ **tc** The form הָהָרִים (*hadurim*) makes little, if any, sense here. It is probably a corruption of an original הָרָרִים (*hararim*, “mountains”), the reduplicated form of הָר (har, “mountain”).

¹¹ **tn** That is, on the gates. Cf. CEV “break the iron bars on bronze gates.”

¹² **tn** Heb “treasures of darkness” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); TEV “treasures from dark, secret places.”

¹³ **tn** Or “know” (NCV, NRSV, TEV, NLT); NIV “acknowledge.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “and there is none besides.” On the use of עֹד (*od*) here, see BDB 729 s.v. 1.c.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “gird you” (so NASB) or “strengthen you” (so NIV).

¹⁶ **tn** Or “know” (NAB, NCV, NRSV, TEV, CEV, NLT); NIV “have not acknowledged.”

¹⁷ **tn** The words “I do this” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “they” (so KJV, ASV); TEV, CEV “everyone”; NLT “all the world.”

¹⁹ **tn** The words “I am” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. In the Hebrew text the participle at the beginning of v. 7 stands in apposition to “the LORD” in v. 6.

²⁰ **tn** On the surface v. 7a appears to describe God’s sovereign control over the cycle of day and night, but the following statement suggests that “light” and “darkness” symbolize “deliverance” and “judgment.”

²¹ **sn** This verse affirms that God is ultimately sovereign over his world, including mankind and nations. In accordance with his sovereign will, he can cause wars to cease and peace to predominate (as he was about to do for his exiled people through Cyrus), or he can bring disaster and judgment on nations (as he was about to do to Babylon through Cyrus).

²² **tn** Heb “let the clouds drip with”; KJV “let the skies pour down.”

²³ **tn** Heb “open up” (so NASB); NIV, NLT “open wide.”

²⁴ **tc** The plural verb should be emended to a singular form. The vav (ו) ending is probably virtually dittographic (note the yod at the beginning of the following word).

²⁵ **tc** The Hiphil verb form (הִנְחִיתָ, *tatsmiakh*) should probably be emended to a Qal (הִנְחִיתָ, *tismakh*). The י sequence at the end of the form is probably due to dittography (note the following יִחַד, *yakhad*).

²⁶ **tn** The masculine singular pronominal suffix probably refers back to יָשָׁע (*yasha*), “salvation”.

The Lord Gives a Warning

45:9 One who argues with his Creator is in grave danger,¹ one who is like a mere² shard among the other shards on the ground! The clay should not say to the potter,³ “What in the world⁴ are you doing? Your work lacks skill!”⁵

45:10 Danger awaits one who says⁶ to his father, “What in the world⁷ are you fathering?” and to his mother, “What in the world are you bringing forth?”⁸

45:11 This is what the LORD says, the Holy One of Israel,⁹ the one who formed him, concerning things to come:¹⁰ “How dare you question me¹¹ about my children!

How dare you tell me what to do with¹² the work of my own hands!

45:12 I made the earth, I created the people who live¹³ on it. It was me – my hands¹⁴ stretched out the sky,¹⁵ I give orders to all the heavenly lights.¹⁶

¹ **tn** *Heb* “Woe [to] the one who argues with the one who formed him.”

² **tn** The words “one who is like a mere” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons and clarification.

³ **tn** *Heb* “Should the clay say to the one who forms it?” The rhetorical question anticipates a reply, “Of course not!”

⁴ **tn** The words “in the world” are supplied in the translation to approximate in English idiom the force of the sarcastic question.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “your work, there are no hands for it,” i.e., “your work looks like something made by a person who has no hands.”

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “Woe [to] one who says” (NASB and NIV both similar); NCV “How terrible it will be.”

⁷ **tn** See the note at v. 9. This phrase occurs a second time later in this verse.

⁸ **sn** Verses 9-10 may allude to the exiles’ criticism that the LORD does not appear to know what he is doing.

⁹ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

¹⁰ **tc** The Hebrew text reads “the one who formed him, the coming things.” Among various suggestions, some have proposed an emendation of יָצָרוּ (*yots’ro*, “the one who formed him”) to יָצָר (*yotser*, “the one who forms”; the suffixed form in the Hebrew text may be influenced by vv. 9-10, where the same form appears twice) and takes “coming things” as the object of the participle (either objective genitive or accusative): “the one who brings the future into being.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “Ask me” The rhetorical command sarcastically expresses the LORD’s disgust with those who question his ways.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “Do you command me about...?” The rhetorical question sarcastically expresses the LORD’s disgust with those who question his ways.

¹³ **tn** The words “who live” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “I, even my hands”; NASB “I stretched out...with My hands”; NRSV “it was my hands that stretched out.” The same construction occurs at the beginning of v. 13.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “the heavens.” The Hebrew term שָׁמַיִם (*shamayim*) may be translated “heavens” or “sky” depending on the context.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and to all their host I commanded.” See the notes at 40:26.

45:13 It is me – I stir him up and commission him;¹⁷ I will make all his ways level. He will rebuild my city; he will send my exiled people home, but not for a price or a bribe,” says the LORD who commands armies.

The Lord is the Nations’ Only Hope

45:14 This is what the LORD says: “The profit¹⁸ of Egypt and the revenue¹⁹ of Ethiopia, along with the Sabceans, those tall men, will be brought to you²⁰ and become yours.

They will walk behind you, coming along in chains.²¹

They will bow down to you and pray to you:²² ‘Truly God is with²³ you; he has no peer;²⁴ there is no other God!’”

45:15 Yes, you are a God who keeps hidden,

O God of Israel, deliverer!

45:16 They will all be ashamed and embarrassed; those who fashion idols will all be humiliated.²⁵

45:17 Israel will be delivered once and for all by the LORD;²⁶ you will never again be ashamed or humiliated.²⁷

45:18 For this is what the LORD says, the one who created the sky – he is the true God,²⁸ the one who formed the earth and made it; he established it,

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “I stir him up in righteousness”; NASB “I have aroused him.” See the note at 41:2. Cyrus (cf. 44:28) is in view here.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “labor,” which stands metonymically for the fruits of labor, either “monetary profit,” or “products.”

¹⁹ **tn** Or perhaps, “merchandise” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NAB “the gain of Ethiopia”; CEV “the treasures of Ethiopia.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “they will pass over to you”; NASB, NIV “will come over to you”; CEV “will belong to you.”

²¹ **sn** Restored Israel is depicted here in typical ancient Near Eastern fashion as an imperial power that receives riches and slaves as tribute.

²² **sn** Israel’s vassals are portrayed as so intimidated and awed that they treat Israel as an intermediary to God or subdeity.

²³ **tn** Or perhaps, “among.” Cf. KJV, ASV “Surely God is in thee.”

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “there is no other” (so NIV, NRSV). The same phrase occurs at the end of v. 18, in v. 21, and at the end of v. 22.

²⁵ **tn** “together they will walk in humiliation, the makers of images.”

²⁶ **tn** *Heb* “Israel will be delivered by the LORD [with] a permanent deliverance.”

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* “you will not be ashamed and you will not be humiliated for ages of future time.”

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “he [is] the God.” The article here indicates uniqueness.

he did not create it without order,¹
 he formed it to be inhabited –
 “I am the LORD, I have no peer.
45:19 I have not spoken in secret,
 in some hidden place.²
 I did not tell Jacob’s descendants,
 ‘Seek me in vain!’³
 I am the LORD,
 the one who speaks honestly,
 who makes reliable announcements.⁴
45:20 Gather together and come!
 Approach together, you refugees from the
 nations!
 Those who carry wooden idols know
 nothing,
 those who pray to a god that cannot deliver.
45:21 Tell me! Present the evidence!⁵
 Let them consult with one another!
 Who predicted this in the past?
 Who announced it beforehand?
 Was it not I, the LORD?
 I have no peer, there is no God but me,
 a God who vindicates and delivers;⁶
 there is none but me.
45:22 Turn to me so you can be delivered,⁷
 all you who live in the earth’s remote
 regions!
 For I am God, and I have no peer.
45:23 I solemnly make this oath⁸ –
 what I say is true and reliable.⁹
 ‘Surely every knee will bow to me,
 every tongue will solemnly affirm;¹⁰
45:24 they will say about me,
 “Yes, the LORD is a powerful deliverer.”¹¹
 All who are angry at him will cower be-
 fore him.¹²
45:25 All the descendants of Israel will be
 vindicated by the LORD
 and will boast in him.¹³

The Lord Carries His People

46:1 Bel¹⁴ kneels down,
 Nebo¹⁵ bends low.
 Their images weigh down animals and
 beasts.¹⁶
 Your heavy images are burdensome to
 tired animals.¹⁷
46:2 Together they bend low and kneel
 down;
 they are unable to rescue the images;¹⁸
 they themselves¹⁹ head off into captivity.²⁰
46:3 “Listen to me, O family of Jacob,²¹
 all you who are left from the family of
 Israel,²²
 you who have been carried from birth,²³
 you who have been supported from the
 time you left the womb.²⁴
46:4 Even when you are old, I will take
 care of you,²⁵
 even when you have gray hair, I will
 carry you.
 I made you and I will support you;
 I will carry you and rescue you.²⁶
46:5 To whom can you compare and liken
 me?
 Tell me whom you think I resemble, so
 we can be compared!
46:6 Those who empty out gold from a
 purse
 and weigh out silver on the scale²⁷
 hire a metalsmith, who makes it into a god.
 They then bow down and worship it.
46:7 They put it on their shoulder and
 carry it;
 they put it in its place and it just stands
 there;

cated and boast.”

¹⁴ **sn** Bel was the name of a Babylonian god. The name was originally associated with Enlil, but later was applied to Marduk. See HALOT 132 s.v. בֵּל.

¹⁵ **sn** Nebo is a variation of the name of the Babylonian god Nabu.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “their images belong to animals and beasts”; NIV “their idols are borne by beasts of burden”; NLT “are being hauled away.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “your loads are carried [as] a burden by a weary [animal].”

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “[the] burden,” i.e., their images, the heavy burden carried by the animals.

¹⁹ **tn** נַפְשָׁם (*nafsham*, “their souls/lives”) is equivalent here to a third masculine plural suffix, but the third feminine singular verb הֵלְכָה (*halakah*, “they go”) agrees with the feminine noun נַפְשָׁם (*nefesh*, “soul, life”).

²⁰ **sn** The downfall of Babylon is depicted here. The idols are carried off by the victorious enemy; the gods are likened to defeated captives who cower before the enemy and are taken into exile.

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “house of Jacob”; TEV “descendants of Jacob.”

²² **tn** *Heb* “and all the remnant of the house of Israel.”

²³ **tn** *Heb* “from the womb” (so NRSV); KJV “from the belly”; NAB “from your infancy.”

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “who have been lifted up from the womb.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “until old age, I am he” (NRSV similar); NLT “I will be your God throughout your lifetime.”

²⁶ **sn** Unlike the weary idol gods, whose images must be carried by animals, the LORD carries his weary people.

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* “the reed,” probably referring to the beam of a scales. See BDB 889 s.v. קָנָה 4.c.

¹ **tn** Or “unformed.” Gen 1:2 describes the world as “unformed” (תֹהוּ, *tohu*) prior to God’s creative work, but God then formed the world and made it fit for habitation.

² **tn** *Heb* “in a place of a land of darkness” (ASV similar); NASB “in some dark land.”

³ **tn** “In vain” translates תוֹהוּ (*tohu*), used here as an adverbial accusative: “for nothing.”

⁴ **tn** The translation above assumes that צִדֵּק (*tsedeq*) and מִשְׁרָיִם (*mesharim*) are adverbial accusatives (see 33:15). If they are taken as direct objects, indicating the content of what is spoken, one might translate, “who proclaims deliverance, who announces justice.”

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “Declare! Bring near!”; NASB “Declare and set forth your case.” See 41:21.

⁶ **tn** Or “a righteous God and deliverer”; NASB, NIV, NRSV “a righteous God and a Savior.”

⁷ **tn** The Niphal imperative with prefixed *vav* (ו) indicates purpose after the preceding imperative. The Niphal probably has a tolerant sense, “allow yourselves to be delivered, accept help.”

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “I swear by myself”; KJV, NASB “have sworn.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “a word goes out from my mouth [in] truth and will not return.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “swear” (so KJV, NAB, NIV, NRSV); NLT “confess allegiance.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “‘Yes, in the LORD,’ one says about me, ‘is deliverance and strength.’”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “will come to him and be ashamed.”

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “In the LORD all the offspring of Israel will be vindicated and boast.”

it does not¹ move from its place.
 Even when someone cries out to it, it
 does not reply;
 it does not deliver him from his distress.
46:8 Remember this, so you can be
 brave!²
 Think about it, you rebels!³
46:9 Remember what I accomplished in
 antiquity!⁴
 Truly I am God, I have no peer;⁵
 I am God, and there is none like me,
46:10 who announces the end from the
 beginning
 and reveals beforehand⁶ what has not yet
 occurred,
 who says, 'My plan will be realized,
 I will accomplish what I desire,'
46:11 who summons an eagle⁷ from the
 east,
 from a distant land, one who carries out
 my plan.
 Yes, I have decreed,⁸
 yes, I will bring it to pass;
 I have formulated a plan,
 yes, I will carry it out.
46:12 Listen to me, you stubborn people,⁹
 you who distance yourself from doing
 what is right.¹⁰
46:13 I am bringing my deliverance near,
 it is not far away;
 I am bringing my salvation near,¹¹ it does
 not wait.
 I will save Zion;¹²
 I will adorn Israel with my splendor."¹³

Babylon Will Fall

47:1 "Fall down! Sit in the dirt,
 O virgin¹⁴ daughter Babylon!

Sit on the ground, not on a throne,
 O daughter of the Babylonians!
 Indeed,¹⁵ you will no longer be called
 delicate and pampered.
47:2 Pick up millstones and grind flour!
 Remove your veil,
 strip off your skirt,
 expose your legs,
 cross the streams!
47:3 Let your private parts be exposed!
 Your genitals will be on display!¹⁶
 I will get revenge;
 I will not have pity on anyone,"¹⁷
47:4 says our protector –
 the LORD who commands armies is his
 name,
 the Holy One of Israel.¹⁸
47:5 "Sit silently! Go to a hiding place,¹⁹
 O daughter of the Babylonians!
 Indeed,²⁰ you will no longer be called
 'Queen of kingdoms.'
47:6 I was angry at my people;
 I defiled my special possession
 and handed them over to you.
 You showed them no mercy;²¹
 you even placed a very heavy burden on
 old people.²²
47:7 You said,
 'I will rule forever as permanent queen!'²³
 You did not think about these things;²⁴
 you did not consider how it would turn
 out.²⁵
47:8 So now, listen to this,
 O one who lives so lavishly,²⁶
 who lives securely,
 who says to herself,²⁷
 'I am unique! No one can compare to me!'²⁸

¹ **tn** Or perhaps, "cannot," here and in the following two lines. The imperfect forms can indicate capability.

² **tn** The meaning of the verb אָשַׁח (*'ashash*, which appears here in the Hitpoel stem) is uncertain. BDB 84 s.v. אָשַׁח relates it to a root meaning "found, establish" in Arabic; HALOT 100 s.v. II אָשַׁח gives the meaning "pluck up courage." The imperative with vav (ו) may indicate purpose following the preceding imperative.

³ **tn** *Heb* "return [it], rebels, to heart"; NRSV "recall it to mind, you transgressors."

⁴ **tn** *Heb* "remember the former things, from antiquity"; KJV, ASV "the former things of old."

⁵ **tn** *Heb* "and there is no other" (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

⁶ **tn** Or "from long ago"; KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV "from ancient times."

⁷ **tn** Or, more generally, "a bird of prey" (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV; see 18:6).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "spoken"; KJV "I have spoken it."

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "strong of heart [or, mind]"; KJV "stouthearted"; NAB "fainthearted"; NIV "stubborn-hearted."

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* "who are far from righteousness [or perhaps, "deliverance"]."

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "my salvation." The verb "I am bringing near" is understood by ellipsis (note the previous line).

¹² **tn** *Heb* "I will place in Zion salvation"; NASB "I will grant salvation in Zion."

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "to Israel my splendor"; KJV, ASV "for Israel my glory."

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* בְּתוּלָה (*b¹etulah*) often refers to a virgin, but the phrase "virgin daughter" is apparently stylized (see also 23:12;

37:22). In the extended metaphor of this chapter, where Babylon is personified as a queen (vv. 5, 7), she is depicted as being both a wife and mother (vv. 8-9).

¹⁵ **tn** Or "For" (NASB, NRSV).

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* "Your shame will be seen." In this context "shame" is a euphemism referring to the genitals.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* "I will not meet a man." The verb פָּגַע (*pagah*) apparently carries the nuance "meet with kindness" here (cf. 64:5, and see BDB 803 s.v. Qal.2).

¹⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text reads, "Our redeemer – the LORD who commands armies [traditionally, the LORD of hosts] is his name, the Holy One of Israel." The ancient Greek version adds "says" before "our redeemer." אָמַר (*'amar*) may have accidentally dropped from the text by virtual haplography. Note that the preceding word אָדָם (*adam*) is graphically similar.

¹⁹ **tn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.
²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "darkness," which may indicate a place of hiding where a fugitive would seek shelter and protection.

²¹ **tn** Or "For" (NASB, NRSV).

²² **tn** Or "compassion."

²³ **tn** *Heb* "on the old you made very heavy your yoke."

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "Forever I [will be] permanent queen"; NIV "the eternal queen"; CEV "queen forever."

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* "you did not set these things upon your heart [or "mind"]."

²⁶ **tn** *Heb* "you did not remember its outcome"; NAB "you disregarded their outcome."

²⁷ **tn** Or perhaps, "voluptuous one" (NAB); NAB "you sensual one"; NLT "You are a pleasure-crazy kingdom."

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* "the one who says in her heart."

²⁹ **tn** *Heb* "I [am], and besides me there is no other." See Zeph 2:15.

I will never have to live as a widow;
I will never lose my children.¹

47:9 Both of these will come upon you
suddenly, in one day!

You will lose your children and be wid-
owed.²

You will be overwhelmed by these trag-
edies,³

despite⁴ your many incantations
and your numerous amulets.⁵

47:10 You were complacent in your evil
deeds;⁶

you thought,⁷ ‘No one sees me.’

Your self-professed⁸ wisdom and knowl-
edge lead you astray,

when you say, ‘I am unique! No one can
compare to me!’⁹

47:11 Disaster will overtake you;
you will not know how to charm it away.¹⁰

Destruction will fall on you;
you will not be able to appease it.

Calamity will strike you suddenly,
before you recognize it.¹¹

47:12 Persist¹² in trusting¹³ your amulets
and your many incantations,
which you have faithfully recited¹⁴ since
your youth!

Maybe you will be successful¹⁵ –
maybe you will scare away disaster.¹⁶

47:13 You are tired out from listening to
so much advice.¹⁷

Let them take their stand –

¹ **tn** Heb “I will not live [as] a widow, and I will not know loss of children.”

² **tn** Heb “loss of children and widowhood.” In the Hebrew text the phrase is in apposition to “both of these” in line 1.

³ **tn** Heb “according to their fullness, they will come upon you.”

⁴ **tn** For other examples of the preposition *bet* (ב) having the sense of “although, despite,” see BDB 90 s.v. III.7.

⁵ **sn** Reference is made to incantations and amulets, both of which were important in Mesopotamian religion. They were used to ward off danger and demons.

⁶ **tn** Heb “you trusted in your evil”; KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV “wickedness.”

⁷ **tn** Or “said”; NAB “said to yourself” NAB “said in your heart.”

⁸ **tn** The words “self-professed” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

⁹ **tn** See the note at v. 8.

¹⁰ **tc** The Hebrew text has שְׁחָרָה (*shakhrāh*), which is either a suffixed noun (“its dawning,” i.e., origin) or infinitive (“to look early for it”). Some have suggested an emendation to שְׁחָדָה (*shakhadah*), a suffixed infinitive from שָׁחַד (*shakhad*, “[how] to buy it off”; see BDB 1005 s.v. שָׁחַד). This forms a nice parallel with the following couplet. The above translation is based on a different etymology of the verb in question. HALOT 1466 s.v. III שָׁחַד references a verbal root with these letters (שָׁחַד) that refers to magical activity.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “you will not know”; NIV “you cannot foresee.”

¹² **tn** Heb “stand” (so KJV, ASV); NASB, NRSV “Stand fast.”

¹³ **tn** The word “trusting” is supplied in the translation for clarification. See v. 9.

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “in that which you have toiled.”

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “maybe you will be able to profit.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “maybe you will cause to tremble.” The object “disaster” is supplied in the translation for clarification. See the note at v. 9.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “you are tired because of the abundance of your advice.”

the ones who see omens in the sky,
who gaze at the stars,
who make monthly predictions –
let them rescue you from the disaster that
is about to overtake you!¹⁸

47:14 Look, they are like straw,
which the fire burns up;
they cannot rescue themselves
from the heat¹⁹ of the flames.

There are no coals to warm them,
no firelight to enjoy.²⁰

47:15 They will disappoint you,²¹
those you have so faithfully dealt with
since your youth.²²

Each strays off in his own direction,²³
leaving no one to rescue you.”

The Lord Appeals to the Exiles

48:1 Listen to this, O family of Jacob,²⁴
you who are called by the name ‘Israel,’
and are descended from Judah,²⁵

who take oaths in the name of the LORD,
and invoke²⁶ the God of Israel –
but not in an honest and just manner.²⁷

48:2 Indeed, they live in the holy city;²⁸
they trust in²⁹ the God of Israel,
whose name is the LORD who commands
armies.

48:3 “I announced events beforehand,³⁰

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “let them stand and rescue you – the ones who see omens in the sky, who gaze at the stars, who make known by months – from those things which are coming upon you.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “hand,” here a metaphor for the strength or power of the flames.

²⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “there is no coal [for?] their food, light to sit before it.” Some emend לֶחֱמָם (*lakhamam*, “their food”) to לֶחֱמָם (*lakhummam*, “to warm them”; see HALOT 328 s.v. חָמָם). This statement may allude to Isa 44:16, where idolaters are depicted warming themselves over a fire made from wood, part of which was used to form idols. The fire of divine judgment will be no such campfire; its flames will devour and destroy.

²¹ **tn** Heb “So they will be to you”; NIV “That is all they can do for you.”

²² **tn** Heb “that for which you toiled, your traders from your youth.” The omen readers and star gazers are likened to merchants with whom Babylon has had an ongoing economic relationship.

²³ **tn** Heb “each to his own side, they err.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “house of Jacob”; TEV, CEV “people of Israel.”

²⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally “and from the waters of Judah came out.” מִמֶּנִּי (*mimmi*) could be a corruption of מִמִּמֶּנִּי (*mimmi'e*, “from the inner parts of”; cf. NASB, NIV, NLT, NRSV) as suggested in the above translation. Some translations (ESV, NKJV) retain the MT reading because the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a, which corrects a similar form to “from inner parts of” in 39:7, does not do it here.

²⁶ **tn** Heb “cause to remember”; KJV, ASV “make mention of.”

²⁷ **tn** Heb “not in truth and not in righteousness.”

²⁸ **tn** Heb “they call themselves [or “are called”] from the holy city.” The precise meaning of the statement is uncertain. The Niphal of קָרָא (*qara'*) is combined with the preposition בֵּן (*min*) only here. When the Qal of קָרָא is used with בֵּן, the preposition often indicates the place from which one is summoned (see 46:11). So one could translate, “from the holy city they are summoned,” meaning that they reside there.

²⁹ **tn** Heb “lean on” (so NASB, NRSV); NAB, NIV “rely on.”

³⁰ **tn** Heb “the former things beforehand I declared.”

I issued the decrees and made the predictions;¹
 suddenly I acted and they came to pass.
48:4 I did this² because I know how stubborn you are.
 Your neck muscles are like iron
 and your forehead like bronze.³
48:5 I announced them to you beforehand;
 before they happened, I predicted them
 for you,
 so you could never say,
 ‘My image did these things,
 my idol, my cast image, decreed them.’
48:6 You have heard; now look at all the
 evidence!⁴
 Will you not admit that what I say is
 true?⁵
 From this point on I am announcing to
 you new events
 that are previously unrevealed and you do
 not know about.⁶
48:7 Now they come into being,⁷ not in
 the past;
 before today you did not hear about them,
 so you could not say,
 ‘Yes,⁸ I know about them.’
48:8 You did not hear,
 you do not know,
 you were not told beforehand.⁹
 For I know that you are very deceitful;¹⁰
 you were labeled¹¹ a rebel from birth.
48:9 For the sake of my reputation¹² I hold
 back my anger;
 for the sake of my prestige¹³ I restrain my-
 self from destroying you.¹⁴
48:10 Look, I have refined you, but not as
 silver;
 I have purified you¹⁵ in the furnace of
 misery.
48:11 For my sake alone¹⁶ I will act,

for how can I allow my name to be de-
 filed?¹⁷
 I will not share my glory with anyone
 else!¹⁸
48:12 Listen to me, O Jacob,
 Israel, whom I summoned!
 I am the one;
 I am present at the very beginning
 and at the very end.¹⁹
48:13 Yes, my hand founded the earth;
 my right hand spread out the sky.
 I summon them;
 they stand together.
48:14 All of you, gather together and lis-
 ten!
 Who among them²⁰ announced these
 things?
 The LORD’s ally²¹ will carry out his desire
 against Babylon;
 he will exert his power against the Baby-
 lonians.²²
48:15 I, I have spoken –
 yes, I have summoned him;
 I lead him and he will succeed.²³
48:16 Approach me! Listen to this!
 From the very first I have not spoken in
 secret;
 when it happens,²⁴ I am there.”
 So now, the sovereign LORD has sent me,
 accompanied by his spirit.²⁵
48:17 This is what the LORD, your protec-
 tor,²⁶ says,
 the Holy One of Israel:²⁷
 “I am the LORD your God,
 who teaches you how to succeed,
 who leads you in the way you should go.
48:18 If only you had obeyed my²⁸ com-
 mandments,
 prosperity would have flowed to you like
 a river,²⁹
 deliverance would have come to you like
 the waves of the sea.³⁰

¹ **tn** Heb “and from my mouth they came forth and I caused them to be heard.”

² **tn** The words “I did this” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. In the Hebrew text v. 4 is subordinated to v. 3.

³ **sn** The image is that of a person who has tensed the muscles of the face and neck as a sign of resolute refusal.

⁴ **tn** Heb “gaze [at] all of it”; KJV “see all this.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “[as for] you, will you not declare?”

⁶ **tn** Heb “and hidden things, and you do not know them.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “are created” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT “They are brand new.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “look”; KJV, NASB “Behold.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “beforehand your ear did not open.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “deceiving, you deceive.” The infinitive absolute precedes the finite verb for emphasis.

¹¹ **tn** Or “called” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹² **tn** Heb “for the sake of my name” (so NAB, NASB); NLT “for my own sake.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and my praise.” לְמַעַן (*lema'an*, “for the sake of”) is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “I restrain [myself] concerning you not to cut you off.”

¹⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text has בְּחַרְתִּיכָה (*b²khartikha*, “I have chosen you”), but the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a reads correctly בָּרַךְ נִתְבַּחָה (“I have tested you”). The metallurgical background of the imagery suggests that purification through testing is the idea.

¹⁶ **tn** The Hebrew text repeats לְמַעַנִי (*lema'ani*, “for my

sake”) for emphasis.

¹⁷ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “for how can it be de-filed?” The subject of the verb is probably “name” (v. 9).

¹⁸ **sn** See 42:8.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “I [am] he, I [am the] first, also I [am the] last.”

²⁰ **sn** This probably refers to the idol gods (see v. 5).

²¹ **tn** Or “friend,” or “covenant partner.”

²² **tn** The LORD’s ally is a reference to Cyrus.

²³ **tn** Heb “and his arm [against] the Babylonians.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “and his way will be prosperous.”

²⁵ **tn** Heb “from the time of its occurring.”

²⁶ **sn** The speaker here is not identified specifically, but he is probably Cyrus, the LORD’s “ally” mentioned in vv. 14-15.

²⁷ **tn** Heb “your redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

²⁸ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

²⁹ **tn** Heb “paid attention to” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV); TEV “had listened to.”

³⁰ **tn** Heb “like a river your peace would have been.” שָׁלוֹם (*shalom*) probably refers here to the peace and prosperity which God promised in return for obedience to the covenant.

³¹ **tn** Heb “and your righteousness like the waves of the sea.” צַדִּיקָהּ (*ts²daqah*) probably refers here to divine deliverance from enemies. See v. 19.

48:19 Your descendants would have been as numerous as sand,¹ and your children² like its granules. Their name would not have been cut off and eliminated from my presence.³
48:20 Leave Babylon! Flee from the Babylonians! Announce it with a shout of joy! Make this known! Proclaim it throughout the earth!⁴ Say, ‘The LORD protects⁵ his servant Jacob.
48:21 They do not thirst as he leads them through dry regions; he makes water flow out of a rock for them; he splits open a rock and water flows out.’⁶
48:22 There will be no prosperity for the wicked,” says the LORD.

Ideal Israel Delivers the Exiles

49:1 Listen to me, you coastlands!⁷ Pay attention, you people who live far away! The LORD summoned me from birth;⁸ he commissioned me when my mother brought me into the world.⁹
49:2 He made my mouth like a sharp sword, he hid me in the hollow of his hand; he made me like a sharpened¹⁰ arrow, he hid me in his quiver.¹¹

49:3 He said to me, “You are my servant, Israel, through whom I will reveal my splendor.”¹²
49:4 But I thought,¹³ “I have worked in vain; I have expended my energy for abso-lutely nothing.”¹⁴ But the LORD will vindicate me; my God will reward me.¹⁵
49:5 So now the LORD says, the one who formed me from birth¹⁶ to be his servant – he did this¹⁷ to restore Jacob to himself, so that Israel might be gathered to him; and I will be honored¹⁸ in the LORD’s sight, for my God is my source of strength¹⁹ –
49:6 he says, “Is it too insignificant a task for you to be my servant, to reestablish the tribes of Jacob, and restore the remnant²⁰ of Israel?²¹ I will make you a light to the nations,²² so you can bring²³ my deliverance to the remote regions of the earth.”
49:7 This is what the LORD, the protector²⁴ of Israel, their Holy One,²⁵ says

¹ **tn** Heb “like sand”; NCV “as many as the grains of sand.”

² **tn** Heb “and the issue from your inner parts.”

³ **tn** Heb “and his name would not be cut off and would not be destroyed from before me.”

⁴ **tn** Heb “to the end of the earth” (so KJV, NASB, NRSV).

⁵ **tn** Heb “redeems.” See the note at 41:14.

⁶ **sn** The translation above (present tense) assumes that this verse describes God’s provision for returning Babylonian exiles (see v. 20; 35:6; 49:10) in terms reminiscent of the Exodus from Egypt (see Exod 17:6).

⁷ **tn** Or “islands” (NASB, NIV); NLT “in far-off lands.”

sn The LORD’s special servant, introduced in chap. 42, speaks here of his commission.

⁸ **tn** Heb “called me from the womb.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “from the inner parts of my mother he mentioned my name.”

¹⁰ **tn** Or perhaps, “polished” (so KJV, ASV, NAB, NIV, NRSV); NASB “a select arrow.”

¹¹ **sn** The figurative language emphasizes the servant’s importance as the LORD’s effective instrument. The servant’s mouth, which stands metonymically for his words, is compared to a sharp sword because he will be an effective spokesman on God’s behalf (see 50:4). The LORD holds his hand on the servant, ready to draw and use him at the appropriate time. The servant is like a sharpened arrow reserved in a quiver for just the right moment.

¹² **sn** This verse identifies the servant as *Israel*. This seems to refer to the exiled nation (cf. 41:8-9; 44:1-2, 21; 45:4; 48:20), but in vv. 5-6 this servant says he has been commissioned to reconcile Israel to God, so he must be distinct from the exiled nation. This servant is an ideal “Israel” who, like Moses of old, mediates a covenant for the nation (see v. 8), leads them out of bondage (v. 9a), and carries out God’s original plan for Israel by positively impacting the pagan nations (see v. 6b). By living according to God’s law, Israel was to be a model of God’s standards of justice to the surrounding nations (Deut 4:6-8). The sinful nation failed, but the servant, the ideal “Israel,” will succeed by establishing justice throughout the earth.

¹³ **tn** Or “said” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT “I replied.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “for nothing and emptiness.” Synonyms are combined to emphasize the common idea.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “But my justice is with the LORD, and my reward [or “wage”] with my God.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “from the womb” (so KJV, NASB).

¹⁷ **tn** The words “he did this” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons. In the Hebrew text the infinitive construct of purpose is subordinated to the previous statement.

¹⁸ **tn** The vav (h) + imperfect is translated here as a result clause; one might interpret it as indicating purpose, “and so I might be honored.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “and my God is [perhaps, “having been”] my strength.” The disjunctive structure (vav [h] + subject + verb) is interpreted here as indicating a causal circumstantial clause.

²⁰ **tn** Heb “the protected [or “preserved”] ones.”

²¹ **sn** The question is purely rhetorical; it does not imply that the servant was dissatisfied with his commission or that he minimized the restoration of Israel.

²² **tn** See the note at 42:6.

²³ **tn** Heb “be” (so KJV, ASV); CEV “you must take.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

²⁵ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

to the one who is despised¹ and rejected²
by nations,³
a servant of rulers:
“Kings will see and rise in respect,⁴
princes will bow down,
because of the faithful LORD,
the Holy One of Israel who has chosen
you.”

49:8 This is what the LORD says:
“At the time I decide to show my favor, I
will respond to you;
in the day of deliverance I will help you;
I will protect you⁵ and make you a cov-
enant mediator for people,⁶
to rebuild⁷ the land⁸
and to reassign the desolate property.
49:9 You will say⁹ to the prisoners, ‘Come
out,’
and to those who are in dark dungeons,¹⁰
‘Emerge.’¹¹

They will graze beside the roads;
on all the slopes they will find pasture.
49:10 They will not be hungry or thirsty;
the sun’s oppressive heat will not beat
down on them,¹²
for one who has compassion on them will
guide them;
he will lead them to springs of water.
49:11 I will make all my mountains into
a road;

I will construct my roadways.”

49:12 Look, they come from far away!
Look, some come from the north and
west,
and others from the land of Sinim!¹³
49:13 Shout for joy, O sky!¹⁴
Rejoice, O earth!
Let the mountains give a joyful shout!
For the LORD consoles his people
and shows compassion to the¹⁵ oppressed.

The Lord Remembers Zion

49:14 “Zion said, ‘The LORD has aban-
doned me,
the sovereign master¹⁶ has forgotten me.’
49:15 Can a woman forget her baby who
nurses at her breast?¹⁷
Can she withhold compassion from the
child she has borne?¹⁸
Even if mothers¹⁹ were to forget,
I could never forget you!²⁰
49:16 Look, I have inscribed your name²¹
on my palms;
your walls are constantly before me.
49:17 Your children hurry back,
while those who destroyed and devas-
tated you depart.
49:18 Look all around you!²²
All of them gather to you.
As surely as I live,” says the LORD,
“you will certainly wear all of them like
jewelry;
you will put them on as if you were a
bride.

49:19 Yes, your land lies in ruins;
it is desolate and devastated.²³
But now you will be too small to hold
your residents,
and those who devoured you will be far
away.

¹ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally “to [one who] despises life.” It is preferable to read with the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a לִבִּי לְיָ, which should be vocalized as a passive participle, לִבְיָ (liv-yay, “to the one despised with respect to life” [לְיָ is a genitive of specification]). The consonantal sequence לִבִּי was probably misread as לִי in the MT tradition. The contextual argument favors the 1QIsa^a reading. As J. N. Oswalt (*Isaiah* [NICOT], 2:294) points out, the three terse phrases “convey a picture of lowliness, worthlessness, and helplessness.”

² **tn** MT’s Piel participle (“to the one who rejects”) does not fit contextually. The form should be revocalized as a Pual, “to the one rejected.”

³ **tn** Parallelism (see “rulers,” “kings,” “princes”) suggests that the singular גֹּי (goy) be emended to a plural or understood in a collective sense (see 55:5).

⁴ **tn** For this sense of קָוָה (qum), see Gen 19:1; 23:7; 33:10; Lev 19:32; 1 Sam 20:41; 25:41; 1 Kgs 2:19; Job 29:8.

⁵ **tn** The translation assumes the verb is derived from the root נָצַר (natsar, “protect”). Some prefer to derive it from the root יָצַר (yatsar, “form”).

⁶ **tn** Heb “a covenant of people.” A person cannot literally be a covenant; בְּרִית (b’rit) is probably metonymic here, indicating a covenant mediator. Here עַם (am, “people”) appears to refer to Israel. See the note at 42:6.

⁷ **tn** The Hiphil of קָוָה (qum, “arise”) is probably used here in the sense of “rebuild.”

⁸ **tn** The “land” probably stands by metonymy for the ruins within it.

⁹ **tn** Heb “to say.” In the Hebrew text the infinitive construct is subordinated to what precedes.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “in darkness” (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT “the prisoners of darkness.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “show yourselves” (so ASV, NAB, NASB).

¹² **tn** Heb “and the heat and the sun will not strike them.” In Isa 35:7, its only other occurrence in the OT, שָׁרָב (sharav) stands parallel to “parched ground” and in contrast to “pool.” In later Hebrew and Aramaic it refers to “dry heat, heat of the sun” (Jastrow 1627 s.v.). Here it likely has this nuance and forms a hendiadys with “sun.”

¹³ **tc** The MT reads “Sinim” here; the Dead Sea Scrolls read “Syene,” a location in Egypt associated with modern Aswan. A number of recent translations adopt this reading: “Syene” (NAB, NRSV); “Aswan” (NIV); “Egypt” (NLT).

sn The precise location of the land of Sinim is uncertain, but since the north and west are mentioned in the previous line, it was a probably located in the distant east or south.

¹⁴ **tn** Or “O heavens.” The Hebrew term שָׁמַיִם (shamayim) may be translated “heavens” or “sky” depending on the context.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “his” (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁶ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדֹנָי (adonay).

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “her suckling”; NASB “her nursing child.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “so as not to have compassion on the son of her womb?”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “these” (so ASV, NASB).

²⁰ **sn** The argument of v. 15 seems to develop as follows: The LORD has an innate attachment to Zion, just like a mother does for her infant child. But even if mothers were to suddenly abandon their children, the LORD would never forsake Zion. In other words, the LORD’s attachment to Zion is like a mother’s attachment to her infant child, but even stronger.

²¹ **tn** Heb “you.” Here the pronoun is put by metonymy for the person’s name.

²² **tn** Heb “Lift up around your eyes and see.”

²³ **tn** Heb “Indeed your ruins and your desolate places, and the land of your destruction.” This statement is abruptly terminated in the Hebrew text and left incomplete.

49:20 Yet the children born during your time of bereavement will say within your hearing, 'This place is too cramped for us,¹ make room for us so we can live here.'²
 49:21 Then you will think to yourself,³ 'Who bore these children for me? I was bereaved and barren, dismissed and divorced.⁴ Who raised these children? Look, I was left all alone; where did these children come from?'"
 49:22 This is what the sovereign LORD says:
 "Look I will raise my hand to the nations; I will raise my signal flag to the peoples. They will bring your sons in their arms and carry your daughters on their shoulders.
 49:23 Kings will be your children's⁵ guardians; their princesses will nurse your children.⁶ With their faces to the ground they will bow down to you and they will lick the dirt on⁷ your feet. Then you will recognize that I am the LORD; those who wait patiently for me are not put to shame.
 49:24 Can spoils be taken from a warrior, or captives be rescued from a conqueror?⁸
 49:25 Indeed," says the LORD, "captives will be taken from a warrior; spoils will be rescued from a conqueror. I will oppose your adversary and I will rescue your children.
 49:26 I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh; they will get drunk on their own blood, as if it were wine.⁹
 Then all humankind¹⁰ will recognize that I am the LORD, your deliverer, your protector,¹¹ the powerful Ruler of Jacob."¹²

50:1 This is what the LORD says:
 "Where is your mother's divorce certificate by which I divorced her? Or to which of my creditors did I sell you?¹³
 Look, you were sold because of your sins,¹⁴ because of your rebellious acts I divorced your mother.¹⁵
 50:2 Why does no one challenge me when I come?
 Why does no one respond when I call?¹⁶ Is my hand too weak¹⁷ to deliver¹⁸ you? Do I lack the power to rescue you? Look, with a mere shout¹⁹ I can dry up the sea;
 I can turn streams into a desert, so the fish rot away and die from lack of water.²⁰
 50:3 I can clothe the sky in darkness; I can cover it with sackcloth."

The Servant Perseveres

50:4 The sovereign LORD has given me the capacity to be his spokesman,²¹ so that I know how to help the weary.²²

¹³ **sn** The LORD challenges the exiles (Zion's children) to bring incriminating evidence against him. The rhetorical questions imply that Israel accused the LORD of divorcing his wife (Zion) and selling his children (the Israelites) into slavery to pay off a debt.

¹⁴ **sn** The LORD admits that he did sell the Israelites, but it was because of their sins, not because of some debt he owed. If he had sold them to a creditor, they ought to be able to point him out, but the preceding rhetorical question implies they would not be able to do so.

¹⁵ **sn** The LORD admits he did divorce Zion, but that too was the result of the nation's sins. The force of the earlier rhetorical question comes into clearer focus now. The question does not imply that a certificate does not exist and that no divorce occurred. Rather, the question asks for the certificate to be produced so the accuser can see the reason for the divorce in black and white. The LORD did not put Zion away arbitrarily.

¹⁶ **sn** The present tense translation of the verbs assumes that the LORD is questioning why Israel does not attempt to counter his arguments. Another possibility is to take the verbs as referring to past events: "Why did no one meet me when I came? Why did no one answer when I called?" In this case the LORD might be asking why Israel rejected his calls to repent and his offer to deliver them.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "short" (so NAB, NASB, NIV).

¹⁸ **tn** Or "ransom" (NAB, NASB, NIV).

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "with my rebuke."

²⁰ **tn** Heb "the fish stink from lack of water and die from thirst."

²¹ **tn** Heb "has given to me a tongue of disciples."

sn Verses 4-11 contain the third of the so-called servant songs, which depict the career of the LORD's special servant, envisioned as an ideal Israel (49:3) who rescues the exiles and fulfills God's purposes for the world. Here the servant alludes to opposition (something hinted at in 49:4), but also expresses his determination to persevere with the LORD's help.

²² **tc** Heb "to know [?] the weary with a word." Comparing it with Arabic and Aramaic cognates yields the meaning of "help, sustain." Nevertheless, the meaning of יָדָע (*yadac*) is uncertain. The word occurs only here in the OT (see BDB 736 s.v.). Various scholars have suggested an emendation to אָנֹת (*anot*) אָנָה (*anah*, "answer"): "so that I know how to respond kindly to the weary." Since the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a and the Vulgate support the MT reading, that reading is re-

¹ **tn** Heb "me." The singular is collective.

² **tn** Heb "draw near to me so I can dwell."

³ **tn** Heb "and you will say in your heart."

⁴ **tn** Or "exiled and thrust away"; NIV "exiled and rejected."

⁵ **tn** Heb "your," but Zion here stands by metonymy for her children (see v. 22b).

⁶ **tn** Heb "you." See the preceding note.

⁷ **tn** Or "at your feet" (NAB, NIV); NLT "from your feet."

⁸ **tc** The Hebrew text has צַדִּיק (*tsadiq*, "a righteous [one]"), but this makes no sense in the parallelism. The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a reads correctly עֲרִירִי ("violent [one], tyrant"; see v. 25).

⁹ **sn** Verse 26a depicts siege warfare and bloody defeat. The besieged enemy will be so starved they will their own flesh. The bloodstained bodies lying on the blood-soaked battle site will look as if they collapsed in drunkenness.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "flesh" (so KJV, NASB).

¹¹ **tn** Heb "your redeemer." See the note at 41:14.

¹² **tn** Heb "the powerful [one] of Jacob." See 1:24.

He wakes me up every morning;
he makes me alert so I can listen atten-
tively as disciples do.¹

50:5 The sovereign LORD has spoken to
me clearly;²

I have not rebelled,
I have not turned back.

50:6 I offered my back to those who at-
tacked,³

my jaws to those who tore out my beard;
I did not hide my face
from insults and spitting.

50:7 But the sovereign LORD helps me,
so I am not humiliated.

For that reason I am steadfastly re-
solved;⁴

I know I will not be put to shame.

50:8 The one who vindicates me is close
by.

Who dares to argue with me? Let us con-
front each other!⁵

Who is my accuser?⁶ Let him challenge me!⁷

50:9 Look, the sovereign LORD helps me.
Who dares to condemn me?

Look, all of them will wear out like
clothes;

a moth will eat away at them.

50:10 Who among you fears the LORD?

Who obeys⁸ his servant?

Whoever walks in deep darkness,⁹
without light,

should trust in the name of the LORD
and rely on his God.

50:11 Look, all of you who start a fire
and who equip yourselves with¹⁰ flaming
arrows,¹¹

walk¹² in the light¹³ of the fire you started
and among the flaming arrows you
ignited!¹⁴

This is what you will receive from me;¹⁵
you will lie down in a place of pain.¹⁶

tained.

¹ **tn** Heb “he arouses for me an ear, to hear like disciples.”

² **tn** Or perhaps, “makes me obedient.” The text reads lit-
erally, “has opened for me an ear.”

³ **tn** Or perhaps, “who beat [me].”

⁴ **tn** Heb “Therefore I set my face like flint.”

⁵ **tn** Heb “Let us stand together!”

⁶ **tn** Heb “Who is the master of my judgment?”

⁷ **tn** Heb “let him approach me”; NAB, NIV “Let him con-
front me.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “[who] listens to the voice of his servant?” The in-
terrogative is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

⁹ **tn** The plural indicates degree. Darkness may refer to ex-
ile and/or moral evil.

¹⁰ **tc** Several more recent commentators have proposed an
emendation of **תַּחֲזִיקוּ** (*m^cazz^{re}*, “who put on”) to **תַּחֲזִירֵי** (*m^ciri*,
“who light”). However, both Qumran scrolls of Isaiah and the
Vulgate support the MT reading (cf. NIV, ESV).

¹¹ **tn** On the meaning of **זִיקוֹת** (*zīqot*, “flaming arrows”), see
HALOT 268 s.v. **זִיקוֹת**.

¹² **tn** The imperative is probably rhetorical and has a predic-
tive force.

¹³ **tn** Or perhaps, “flame” (so ASV).

¹⁴ **sn** Perhaps the servant here speaks to his enemies and
warns them that they will self-destruct.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “from my hand” (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁶ **sn** The imagery may be that of a person who becomes ill

There is Hope for the Future

51:1 “Listen to me, you who pursue godli-
ness,¹⁷

who seek the LORD!

Look at the rock from which you were
chiseled,

at the quarry¹⁸ from which you were
dug!¹⁹

51:2 Look at Abraham, your father,
and Sarah, who gave you birth.²⁰
When I summoned him, he was a lone
individual,²¹

but I blessed him²² and gave him numer-
ous descendants.²³

51:3 Certainly the LORD will console Zion;
he will console all her ruins.

He will make her wilderness like Eden,
her desert like the Garden of the LORD.

Happiness and joy will be restored to²⁴
her,

thanksgiving and the sound of music.

51:4 Pay attention to me, my people!

Listen to me, my people!

For²⁵ I will issue a decree,²⁶

I will make my justice a light to the na-
tions.²⁷

51:5 I am ready to vindicate,²⁸

I am ready to deliver,²⁹

I will establish justice among the na-
tions.³⁰

The coastlands³¹ wait patiently for me;
they wait in anticipation for the revela-
tion of my power.³²

51:6 Look up at the sky!

Look at the earth below!

For the sky will dissipate³³ like smoke,
and the earth will wear out like clothes;
its residents will die like gnats.

But the deliverance I give³⁴ is permanent;

and is forced to lie down in pain on a sickbed. Some see this
as an allusion to a fiery place of damnation because of the
imagery employed earlier in the verse.

¹⁷ **tn** Or “righteousness” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NAB “jus-
tice”; NLT “hope for deliverance.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “the excavation of the hole.”

¹⁹ **sn** The “rock” and “quarry” refer here to Abraham and
Sarah, the progenitors of the nation.

²⁰ **sn** Although Abraham and Sarah are distant ancestors
of the people the prophet is addressing, they are spoken of as
the immediate parents.

²¹ **tn** Heb “one”; NLT “was alone”; TEV “was childless.”

²² **tn** “Bless” may here carry the sense of “endue with po-
tency, reproductive power.” See Gen 1:28.

²³ **tn** Heb “and I made him numerous.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “found in” (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

²⁵ **tn** Or “certainly.”

²⁶ **tn** Heb “instruction [or “a law”] will go out from me.”

²⁷ **tn** Heb “and my justice for a light to the nations I will
cause to rest.”

²⁸ **tn** Heb “my righteousness [or “vindication”] is near.”

²⁹ **tn** Heb “my deliverance goes forth.”

³⁰ **tn** Heb “and my arms will judge [on behalf of] nations.”

³¹ **tn** Or “islands” (NIV); TEV “Distant lands.”

³² **tn** Heb “for my arm” (so NIV, NRSV).

³³ **tn** Heb “will be torn in pieces.” The perfect indicates the
certitude of the event, from the LORD’s rhetorical perspective.

³⁴ **tn** Heb “my deliverance.” The same Hebrew word can

the vindication I provide¹ will not disappear.²

51:7 Listen to me, you who know what is right,
you people who are aware of my law!³
Don't be afraid of the insults of men;
don't be discouraged because of their abuse!

51:8 For a moth will eat away at them like clothes;
a clothes moth will devour them like wool.
But the vindication I provide⁴ will be permanent;
the deliverance I give will last."⁵

51:9 Wake up! Wake up!
Clothe yourself with strength, O arm of the LORD!⁵

Wake up as in former times, as in antiquity!

Did you not smash⁶ the Proud One?⁷
Did you not⁸ wound the sea monster?⁹

51:10 Did you not dry up the sea,
the waters of the great deep?
Did you not make¹⁰ a path through the depths of the sea,

so those delivered from bondage¹¹ could cross over?

51:11 Those whom the LORD has ransomed will return;
they will enter Zion with a happy shout.
Unending joy will crown them,¹²

also be translated "salvation" (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); cf. CEV "victory."

¹ **tn** Heb "my righteousness [or "vindication"]."

² **tn** Heb "will not be shattered [or "dismayed"]."

³ **tn** Heb "people (who have) my law in their heart."

⁴ **tn** Heb "my vindication"; many English versions "my righteousness"; NRSV, TEV "my deliverance"; CEV "my victory."

⁵ **tn** The arm of the LORD is a symbol of divine military power. Here it is personified and told to arouse itself from sleep and prepare for action.

⁶ **tn** Heb "Are you not the one who smashed?" The feminine singular forms agree grammatically with the feminine noun "arm." The Hebrew text has *הַמַּכֵּה* (*hammakhtsevet*), from the verbal root *חָצַב* (*khatsav*, "hew, chop"). The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has, probably correctly, *הַמַּכֵּה*, from the verbal root *מָחַץ* (*makhats*, "smash") which is used in Job 26:12 to describe God's victory over "the Proud One."

⁷ **tn** This title *רהב*, *rahav*, "proud one") is sometimes translated as a proper name: "Rahab" (cf. NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV). It is used here of a symbolic sea monster, known elsewhere in the Bible and in Ugaritic myth as Leviathan. This sea creature symbolizes the forces of chaos that seek to destroy the created order. In the Bible "the Proud One" opposes God's creative work, but is defeated (see Job 26:12; Ps 89:10). Here the title refers to Pharaoh's Egyptian army that opposed Israel at the Red Sea (see v. 10, and note also Isa 30:7 and Ps 87:4, where the title is used of Egypt).

⁸ **tn** The words "did you not" are understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line). The rhetorical questions here and in v. 10 expect the answer, "Yes, you certainly did!"

⁹ **tn** Hebrew *תַּנִּין* (*tannin*) is another name for the symbolic sea monster. See the note at 27:1. In this context the sea creature represents Egypt. See the note on the title "Proud One" earlier in this verse.

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, "Are you not the one who dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep, who made...?"

¹¹ **tn** Heb "the redeemed" (so ASV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); KJV "the ransomed."

¹² **tn** Heb "[will be] on their head[s]." "Joy" may be likened

happiness and joy will overwhelm¹³ them;
grief and suffering will disappear.¹⁴

51:12 "I, I am the one who consoles you.¹⁵
Why are you afraid of mortal men,
of mere human beings who are as short-lived as grass?"¹⁶

51:13 Why do you forget¹⁷ the LORD, who made you,
who stretched out the sky¹⁸
and founded the earth?
Why do you constantly tremble all day long¹⁹

at the anger of the oppressor,
when he makes plans to destroy?
Where is the anger of the oppressor?²⁰

51:14 The one who suffers²¹ will soon be released;

he will not die in prison,²²
he will not go hungry.²³

51:15 I am the LORD your God,
who churns up the sea so that its waves surge.

The LORD who commands armies is his name!

Zion's Time to Celebrate

51:16 I commission you²⁴ as my spokesman;²⁵

I cover you with the palm of my hand,²⁶

here to a crown (cf. 2 Sam 1:10). The statement may also be an ironic twist on the idiom "earth/dust on the head" (cf. 2 Sam 1:2; 13:19; 15:32; Job 2:12), referring to a mourning practice.

¹³ **tn** Heb "overtake" (so NIV); NASB "they will obtain."

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "grief and groaning will flee."

¹⁵ **tc** The plural suffix should probably be emended to the second masculine singular (which is used in v. 13). The final *mem* (ם) is probably dittographic; note the *mem* at the beginning of the next word.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "Who are you that you are afraid of man who dies, and of the son of man who [as] grass is given up?" The feminine singular forms should probably be emended to the masculine singular (see v. 13). They have probably been influenced by the construction *אֶת־הַיָּדָיָא* (*'at-hi'*) in vv. 9-10.

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "and that you forget."

¹⁸ **tn** Or "the heavens" (also in v. 16). The Hebrew term *שָׁמַיִם* (*shamayim*) may be translated "heavens" or "sky" depending on the context.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "and that you tremble constantly all the day."

²⁰ **tn** The question anticipates the answer, "Ready to disappear!" See v. 14.

²¹ **tn** Heb "who is stooped over" (under a burden).

²² **tn** Heb "the pit" (so KJV); ASV, NAB "die and go down into the pit"; NASB, NIV "dungeon"; NCV "prison."

²³ **tn** Heb "he will not lack his bread."

²⁴ **tn** The addressee (second masculine singular, as in vv. 13, 15) in this verse is unclear. The exiles are addressed in the immediately preceding verses (note the critical tone of vv. 12-13 and the reference to the exiles in v. 14). However, it seems unlikely that they are addressed in v. 16, for the addressee appears to be commissioned to tell Zion, who here represents the restored exiles, "you are my people." The addressee is distinct from the exiles. The language of v. 16a is reminiscent of 49:2 and 50:4, where the LORD's special servant says he is God's spokesman and effective instrument. Perhaps the LORD, having spoken to the exiles in vv. 1-15, now responds to this servant, who spoke just prior to this in 50:4-11.

²⁵ **tn** Heb "I place my words in your mouth."

²⁶ **tn** Heb "with the shadow of my hand."

to establish¹ the sky and to found the earth,
to say to Zion, ‘You are my people.’”²

51:17 Wake up! Wake up!

Get up, O Jerusalem!

You drank from the cup the LORD passed
to you,

which was full of his anger!³

You drained dry

the goblet full of intoxicating wine.⁴

51:18 There was no one to lead her
among all the children she bore;
there was no one to take her by the hand
among all the children she raised.

51:19 These double disasters confronted
you.

But who feels sorry for you?

Destruction and devastation,
famine and sword.

But who consoles you?⁵

51:20 Your children faint;

they lie at the head of every street
like an antelope in a snare.

They are left in a stupor by the LORD’s
anger,

by the battle cry of your God.⁶

51:21 So listen to this, oppressed one,
who is drunk, but not from wine!

51:22 This is what your sovereign master,⁷
the LORD your God, says:

“Look, I have removed from your hand
the cup of intoxicating wine,⁸

the goblet full of my anger.⁹

You will no longer have to drink it.

51:23 I will put it into the hand of your
tormentors!¹⁰

who said to you, ‘Lie down, so we can
walk over you.’

You made your back like the ground,
and like the street for those who walked
over you.”

52:1 Wake up! Wake up!

Clothe yourself with strength, O Zion!

Put on your beautiful clothes,

O Jerusalem,¹¹ holy city!

For uncircumcised and unclean pagans
will no longer invade you.

52:2 Shake off the dirt!¹²

Get up, captive!¹³ Jerusalem!

Take off the iron chains around your neck,
O captive daughter Zion!

52:3 For this is what the LORD says:

“You were sold for nothing,
and you will not be redeemed for money.”

52:4 For this is what the sovereign LORD
says:

“In the beginning my people went to live
temporarily in Egypt;

Assyria oppressed them for no good reason.

52:5 And now, what do we have here?”¹⁴
says the LORD.

“Indeed my people have been carried
away for nothing,

those who rule over them taunt,”¹⁵ says
the LORD,

“and my name is constantly slandered¹⁶
all day long.

52:6 For this reason my people will know
my name,

for this reason they will know¹⁷ at that
time¹⁸ that I am the one who says,

‘Here I am.’”

52:7 How delightful it is to see approach-
ing over the mountains¹⁹

the feet of a messenger who announces
peace,

¹ **tc** The Hebrew text has לִנְטוֹת (*lintoa*’, “to plant”). Several scholars prefer to emend this form to לִנְטוֹת (*linuot*) from נָטָה (*na-tah*, “to stretch out”); see v. 13, as well as 40:22; 42:5; 44:24; 45:12; cf. NAB, NCV, NRSV. However, since the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a, LXX (and Aquila and Symmachus), and Vulgate support the MT reading, there is no need to emend the form. The interpretation is clear enough: Yahweh fixed the sky in its place.

² **tn** The infinitives in v. 16b are most naturally understood as indicating the purpose of the divine actions described in v. 16a. The relationship of the third infinitive to the commission is clear enough – the LORD has made the addressee (his special servant?) his spokesman so that the latter might speak encouraging words to those in Zion. But how do the first two infinitives relate? The text seems to indicate that the LORD has commissioned the addressee so that the latter might create the universe! Perhaps creation imagery is employed metaphorically here to refer to the transformation that Jerusalem will experience (see 65:17–18).

³ **tn** *Heb* “[you] who have drunk from the hand of the LORD the cup of his anger.”

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the goblet, the cup [that causes] staggering, you drank, you drained.”

⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text has אֲנַחֲמֶכֶּה (*anakhamekh*), a first person form, but the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a reads correctly יִנַּחֲמֶכֶּה (*yinakhamekh*), a third person form.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “those who are full of the anger of the LORD, the shout [or “rebuke”] of your God.”

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew term translated “sovereign master” here is אֲדוֹנָי (*adonay*).

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “the cup of [= that causes] staggering” (so ASV, NAB, NRSV); NASB “the cup of reeling.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the goblet of the cup of my anger.”

¹⁰ **tn** That is, to make them drink it.

¹¹ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “Shake yourself free from the dirt.”

¹³ **tc** The Hebrew text has שְׁבִי (*sh^{vi}*), which some understand as a feminine singular imperative from יָשַׁב (*yashav*, “sit”). The LXX, Vulgate, Syriac, and the Targum support the MT reading (the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a does indirectly). Some interpret this to mean “take your throne”: The Lord exhorts Jerusalem to get up from the dirt and sit, probably with the idea of sitting in a place of honor (J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 2:361). However, the form is likely a corruption of שְׁבִיָּה (*sh^{vi}viyah*, “captive”), which appears in the parallel line.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and now what [following the marginal reading (*Qere*)] to me here?”

¹⁵ **tn** The verb appears to be a Hiphil form from the root לָלַץ (*valal*, “howl”), perhaps here in the sense of “mock.” Some emend the form to הוֹלָלוּ (*hollalu*) and understand a Polel form of the root לָלַץ meaning here “mock, taunt.”

¹⁶ **tn** The verb is apparently a Hitpalal form (with assimilated *tav*, ת) from the root נָאָץ (*na’ats*), but GKC 151:52 §55.b explains it as a mixed form, combining Pual and Hitpolel readings.

¹⁷ **tn** The verb is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “in that day” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “How delightful on the mountains.”

a messenger who brings good news, who announces deliverance, who says to Zion, “Your God reigns!”¹
52:8 Listen,² your watchmen shout; in unison they shout for joy, for they see with their very own eyes³ the LORD’s return to Zion.
52:9 In unison give a joyful shout, O ruins of Jerusalem! For the LORD consoles his people; he protects⁴ Jerusalem.
52:10 The LORD reveals⁵ his royal power⁶ in the sight of all the nations; the entire⁷ earth sees our God deliver.⁸
52:11 Leave! Leave! Get out of there! Don’t touch anything unclean! Get out of it! Stay pure, you who carry the LORD’s holy items!⁹
52:12 Yet do not depart quickly or leave in a panic.¹⁰ For the LORD goes before you; the God of Israel is your rear guard.

The Lord Will Vindicate His Servant

52:13 “Look, my servant will succeed!¹¹ He will be elevated, lifted high, and greatly exalted¹² –
52:14 (just as many were horrified by the sight of you)¹³ he was so disfigured¹⁴ he no longer looked like a man;¹⁵

¹ **tn** Or “has become king.” When a new king was enthroned, his followers would give this shout. For other examples of this enthronement formula (Qal perfect 3rd person masculine singular מָלַךְ [*malakh*]), followed by the name of the king, see 2 Sam 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:11, 13, 18; 2 Kgs 9:13. The LORD is an eternal king, but here he is pictured as a victorious warrior who establishes his rule from Zion.

² **tn** קוֹל (*qol*, “voice”) is used at the beginning of the verse as an interjection.

³ **tn** *Heb* “eye in eye”; KJV, ASV “eye to eye”; NAB “directly, before their eyes.”

⁴ **tn** Or “redeems.” See the note at 41:14.

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “lays bare”; NLT “will demonstrate.”

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “his holy arm.” This is a metonymy for his power.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “the remote regions,” which here stand for the extremities and everything in between.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “the deliverance of our God.” “God” is a subjective genitive here.

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “the vessels of the LORD” (so KJV, NAB).

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “or go in flight”; NAB “leave in headlong flight.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “act wisely,” which by metonymy means “succeeded.”

¹² **tn** This piling up of synonyms emphasizes the degree of the servant’s coming exaltation.

¹³ **tn** Some witnesses read “him,” which is more consistent with the context, where the servant is spoken about, not addressed. However, it is possible that the LORD briefly addresses the servant here. The present translation assumes the latter view and places the phrase in parentheses.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “such was the disfigurement.” The noun מִשְׁחָת (*mishkhat*) occurs only here. It may be derived from the verbal root שָׁחַת (*shakhat*, “be ruined”; see BDB 1007-8 s.v. שָׁחַת). The construct form appears here before a prepositional phrase (cf. GKC 421 §130.a).

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “from a man his appearance.” The preposition מִן

52:15 his form was so marred he no longer looked human¹⁶ –
 so now¹⁷ he will startle¹⁸ many nations. Kings will be shocked by his exaltation,¹⁹ for they will witness something unannounced to them, and they will understand something they had not heard about.
53:1 Who would have believed²⁰ what we²¹ just heard?²²
 When²³ was the LORD’s power²⁴ revealed through him?
53:2 He sprouted up like a twig before God,²⁵

(*min*) here carries the sense “away from,” i.e., “so as not to be.” See BDB 583 s.v.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and his form from the sons of men.” The preposition מִן (*min*) here carries the sense “away from,” i.e., “so as not to be.”

¹⁷ **tn** This statement completes the sentence begun in v. 14a. The introductory כֵּן (*ken*) answers to the introductory כִּי־אֲשֶׁר (*ka’asher*) of v. 14a. Verses 14b-15a are parenthetical, explaining why many were horrified.

¹⁸ **tn** Traditionally the verb יָצַח (*yazzeḥ*, a Hiphil stem) has been understood as a causative of נָזַח (*nazah*, “spurt, spatter”) and translated “sprinkle.” In this case the passage pictures the servant as a priest who “sprinkles” (or spiritually cleanses) the nations. Though the verb יָצַח does occur in the Hiphil with the meaning “sprinkle,” the usual interpretation is problematic. In all other instances where the object or person sprinkled is indicated, the verb is combined with a preposition. This is not the case in Isaiah 52:15, unless one takes the following קָלַי (*alayn*, “on him”) with the preceding line. But then one would have to emend the verb to a plural, make the nations the subject of the verb “sprinkle,” and take the servant as the object. Consequently some interpreters doubt the cultic idea of “sprinkling” is present here. Some emend the text; others propose a homonymic root meaning “spring, leap,” which in the Hiphil could mean “cause to leap, startle” and would fit the parallelism of the verse nicely.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “Because of him kings will shut their mouths,” i.e., be speechless.

²⁰ **tn** The perfect has a hypothetical force in this rhetorical question. For another example, see Gen 21:7.

²¹ **sn** The speaker shifts here from God to an unidentified group (note the first person plural pronouns throughout vv. 1-6). The content of the speech suggests that the prophet speaks here as representative of the sinful nation Israel. The group acknowledges its sin and recognizes that the servant suffered on their behalf.

²² **tn** The first half of v. 1 is traditionally translated, “Who has believed our report?” or “Who has believed our message?” as if the group speaking is lamenting that no one will believe what they have to say. But that doesn’t seem to be the point in this context. Here the group speaking does not cast itself in the role of a preacher or evangelist. No, they are repentant sinners, who finally see the light. The phrase “our report” can mean (1) the report which we deliver, or (2) the report which was delivered to us. The latter fits better here, where the report is most naturally taken as the announcement that has just been made in 52:13-15.

²³ **tn** *Heb* “to whom” (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the arm of the LORD.” The “arm of the LORD” is a metaphor of military power; it pictures the LORD as a warrior who bares his arm, takes up his weapon, and crushes his enemies (cf. 51:9-10; 63:5-6). But Israel had not seen the LORD’s military power at work in the servant.

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “before him.” Some suggest an emendation to “before us.” If the third singular suffix of the Hebrew text is retained, it probably refers to the LORD (see v. 1b). For a defense of this reading, see R. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCBC), 173-74.

like a root out of parched soil;¹
he had no stately form or majesty that
might catch our attention,²
no special appearance that we should
want to follow him.³

53:3 He was despised and rejected by
people,⁴
one who experienced pain and was ac-
quainted with illness;
people hid their faces from him;⁵
he was despised, and we considered him
insignificant.⁶

53:4 But he lifted up our illnesses,
he carried our pain;⁷
even though we thought he was being
punished,
attacked by God, and afflicted for some-
thing he had done.⁸

53:5 He was wounded because of⁹ our
rebellious deeds,
crushed because of our sins;
he endured punishment that made us
well;¹⁰
because of his wounds we have been
healed.¹¹

53:6 All of us had wandered off like
sheep;
each of us had strayed off on his own
path,
but the LORD caused the sin of all of us to
attack him.¹²

53:7 He was treated harshly and afflicted,¹³
but he did not even open his mouth.
Like a lamb led to the slaughtering block,
like a sheep silent before her shearers,
he did not even open his mouth.¹⁴

53:8 He was led away after an unjust trial¹⁵ –
but who even cared?¹⁶
Indeed, he was cut off from the land of
the living;¹⁷
because of the rebellion of his own¹⁸
people he was wounded.

¹² **tn** Elsewhere the Hiphil of פָּגַע (*paga'*) means "to intercede verbally" (Jer 15:11; 36:25) or "to intervene militarily" (Isa 59:16), but neither nuance fits here. Apparently here the Hiphil is the causative of the normal Qal meaning, "encounter, meet, touch." The Qal sometimes refers to a hostile encounter or attack; when used in this way the object is normally introduced by the preposition בְּ (*bet*, see Josh 2:16; Judg 8:21; 15:12, etc.). Here the causative Hiphil has a double object – the LORD makes "sin" attack "him" (note that the object attacked is introduced by the preposition בְּ). In their sin the group was like sheep who had wandered from God's path. They were vulnerable to attack; the guilt of their sin was ready to attack and destroy them. But then the servant stepped in and took the full force of the attack.

¹³ **tn** The translation assumes the Niphal is passive; another option is take the clause (note the subject + verb pattern) as concessive and the Niphal as reflexive, "though he humbled himself."

¹⁴ **sn** This verse emphasizes the servant's silent submission. The comparison to a sheep does not necessarily suggest a sacrificial metaphor. Sheep were slaughtered for food as well as for sacrificial rituals, and עֲבָרָה (*evakh*) need not refer to sacrificial slaughter (see Gen 43:16; Prov 7:22; 9:2; Jer 50:27; note also the use of the related verb in Exod 21:37 HT [22:1 ET]; Deut 28:31; 1 Sam 25:11).

¹⁵ **tn** The precise meaning of this line is uncertain. The present translation assumes that מִן (*min*) here has an instrumental sense ("by, through") and understands עָזָר וּמִימִשְׁפָּט (*otser umimmishpat*, "coercion and legal decision") as a hendiadys meaning "coercive legal decision," thus "an unjust trial." Other interpretive options include: (1) "without [for this sense of מִן, see BDB 578 s.v. 1.b] hindrance and proper judicial process," i.e., "unfairly and with no one to defend him," (2) "from [in the sense of "after," see BDB 581 s.v. 4.b] arrest and judgment."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "and his generation, who considers?" (NASB similar). Some understand "his generation" as a reference to descendants. In this case the question would suggest that he will have none. However, אָדָם (*ad*) may be taken here as specifying a new subject (see BDB 85 s.v. 1 אָדָם 3). If "his generation" refers to the servant's contemporary generation, one may then translate, "As for his contemporary generation, who took note?" The point would be that few were concerned about the harsh treatment he received.

¹⁷ **tn** The "land of the living" is an idiom for the sphere where people live, in contrast to the underworld realm of the dead. See, for example, Ezek 32:23-27.

¹⁸ **tn** The Hebrew text reads "my people," a reading followed by most English versions, but this is problematic in a context where the first person plural predominates, and where God does not appear to speak again until v. 11b. Therefore, it is preferable to read with the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a עַמִּי ("his people"). In this case, the group speaking in these verses is identified as the servant's people (compare פְּשַׁעֵינוּ *pe'sha'enu*, "our rebellious deeds") in v. 5 with פְּשַׁע עַמִּי (*pe'sha' ammi*, "the rebellion of his people") in v. 8).

¹ **sn** The metaphor in this verse suggests insignificance.

² **tn** Heb "that we might see him." The vav conjunctive prefixed to the imperfect introduces a result clause here. See GKC 504-5 §166.a.

³ **tn** Heb "that we should desire him." The vav conjunctive prefixed to the imperfect introduces a result clause here. See GKC 504-5 §166.a.

⁴ **tn** Heb "lacking of men." If the genitive is taken as specifying ("lacking with respect to men"), then the idea is that he lacked company because he was rejected by people. Another option is to take the genitive as indicating genus or larger class (i.e., "one lacking among men"). In this case one could translate, "he was a transient" (cf. the use of חָדֵל [*khadel*] in Ps 39:5 HT [39:4 ET]).

⁵ **tn** Heb "like a hiding of the face from him," i.e., "like one before whom the face is hidden" (see BDB 712 s.v. מִתְחַלֵּף).

⁶ **sn** The servant is likened to a seriously ill person who is shunned by others because of his horrible disease.

⁷ **tn** Illness and pain stand by metonymy (or perhaps as metaphors) for sin and its effects, as vv. 11-12 make clear.

⁸ **tn** The words "for something he had done" are supplied in the translation for clarification. The group now realizes he suffered because of his identification with them, not simply because he was a special target of divine anger.

⁹ **tn** The preposition מִן (*min*) has a causal sense (translated "because of") here and in the following clause.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "the punishment of our peace [was] on him." שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ (*shalom*, "peace") is here a genitive of result, i.e., "punishment that resulted in our peace."

¹¹ **sn** Continuing to utilize the imagery of physical illness, the group acknowledges that the servant's willingness to carry their illnesses (v. 4) resulted in their being healed. Healing is a metaphor for forgiveness here.

53:9 They intended to bury him with criminals,¹ but he ended up in a rich man's tomb,² because³ he had committed no violent deeds, nor had he spoken deceitfully.
53:10 Though the LORD desired to crush him and make him ill, once restitution is made,⁴ he will see descendants and enjoy long life,⁵

and the LORD's purpose will be accomplished through him.

53:11 Having suffered, he will reflect on his work, he will be satisfied when he understands what he has done.⁶

"My servant⁷ will acquit many,⁸ for he carried their sins.⁹

53:12 So I will assign him a portion with the multitudes,¹⁰

¹ **tn** Heb "one assigned his grave with criminals." The subject of the singular is impersonal; English typically uses "they" in such constructions.

² **tn** This line reads literally, "and with the rich in his death." בְּמֹתָיו (*b²motayv*) combines a preposition, a plural form of the noun מוֹת (*mot*), and a third masculine singular suffix. The plural of the noun is problematic and the י may be the result of virtual dittography. The form should probably be emended to בְּמָתוֹ (*bamato*, singular noun). The relationship between this line and the preceding one is uncertain. The parallelism appears to be synonymous (note "his grave" and "in his death"), but "criminals" and "the rich" hardly make a compatible pair in this context, for they would not be buried in the same kind of tomb. Some emend עָשִׂיר (*ashir*, "rich") to עָשִׂי רָע (*ase ra*, "doers of evil") but the absence of the *ayin* (ע) is not readily explained in this graphic environment. Others suggest an emendation to שְׂעִירִים (*s²irim*, "he-goats, demons"), but the meaning in this case is not entirely transparent and the proposal assumes that the form suffered from both transposition and the inexplicable loss of a final *mem*. Still others relate עָשִׂיר (*ashir*) to an alleged Arabic cognate meaning "mob." See HALOT 896 s.v. עָשִׂיר. Perhaps the parallelism is antithetical, rather than synonymous. In this case, the point is made that the servant's burial in a rich man's tomb, in contrast to a criminal's burial, was appropriate, for he had done nothing wrong.

³ **tn** If the second line is antithetical, then עַל (*al*) is probably causal here, explaining why the servant was buried in a rich man's tomb, rather than that of criminal. If the first two lines are synonymous, then עַל is probably concessive: "even though...."

⁴ **tn** The meaning of this line is uncertain. It reads literally, "if you/she makes, a reparation offering, his life." The verb תַּשִּׁיב (*tasim*) could be second masculine singular, in which case it would have to be addressed to the servant or to God. However, the servant is only addressed once in this servant song (see 52:14a), and God either speaks or is spoken about in this servant song; he is never addressed. Furthermore, the idea of God himself making a reparation offering is odd. If the verb is taken as third feminine singular, then the feminine noun נֶפֶשׁ (*nefesh*) at the end of the line is the likely subject. In this case one can take the suffixed form of the noun as equivalent to a pronoun and translate, "if he [literally, "his life"] makes a reparation offering."

sn What constitutes the servant's reparation offering? Some might think his suffering, but the preceding context views this as past, while the verb here is imperfect in form. The offering appears to be something the servant does after his suffering has been completed. Perhaps the background of the language can be found in the Levitical code, where a healed leper would offer a reparation offering as part of the ritual to achieve ceremonial cleanliness (see Lev 14). The servant was pictured earlier in the song as being severely ill. This illness (a metaphor for the effects of the people's sin) separated him from God. However, here we discover the separation is not final; once reparation is made, so to speak, he will again experience the LORD's favor.

⁵ **sn** The idiomatic and stereotypical language emphasizes the servant's restoration to divine favor. Having numerous descendants and living a long life are standard signs of divine blessing. See Job 42:13-16.

⁶ **tn** Heb "he will be satisfied by his knowledge," i.e., "when he knows." The preposition is understood as temporal and the suffix as a subjective genitive. Some take בְּדַעְתּוֹ (*b²da'to*, "by his knowledge") with what follows and translate "by knowledge of him," understanding the preposition as instrumental and the suffix as objective.

⁷ **sn** The song ends as it began (cf. 52:13-15), with the LORD announcing the servant's vindication and exaltation.

⁸ **tn** Heb "he will acquit, a righteous one, my servant, many." צַדִּיק (*sadiq*) may refer to the servant, but more likely it is ditto-graphic (note the preceding verb יַצְדִּיק, *yatsdiq*). The precise meaning of the verb (the Hiphil of צָדַק, *tsadaq*) is debated. Elsewhere the Hiphil is used at least six times in the sense of "make righteous" in a legal sense, i.e., "pronounce innocent, acquit" (see Exod 23:7; Deut 25:1; 1 Kgs 8:32 = 2 Chr 6:23; Prov 17:15; Isa 5:23). It can also mean "render justice" (as a royal function, see 2 Sam 15:4; Ps 82:3), "concede" (Job 27:5), "vindicate" (Isa 50:8), and "lead to righteousness" (by teaching and example, Dan 12:3). The preceding context and the next line suggest a legal sense here. Because of his willingness to carry the people's sins, the servant is able to "acquit" them.

sn Some (e.g., H. M. Orlinsky, "The So-called 'Suffering Servant' in Isaiah 53,22," VTsup 14 [1967]: 3-133) object to this legal interpretation of the language, arguing that it would be unjust for the righteous to suffer for the wicked and for the wicked to be declared innocent. However, such a surprising development is consistent with the ironic nature of this song. It does seem unfair for the innocent to die for the guilty. But what is God to do when all have sinned and wandered off like stray sheep (cf. v. 6)? Covenant law demands punishment, but punishment in this case would mean annihilation of what God has created. God's justice, as demanded by the law, must be satisfied. To satisfy his justice, he does something seemingly unjust. He punishes his sinless servant, the only one who has not strayed off! In the progress of biblical revelation, we discover that the sinless servant is really God in the flesh, who offers himself because he is committed to the world he has created. If his justice can only be satisfied if he himself endures the punishment, then so be it. What appears to be an act of injustice is really love satisfying the demands of justice!

⁹ **tn** The circumstantial clause (note the *vav* [ו] + object + subject + verb pattern) is understood as causal here. The prefixed verb form is either a preterite or an imperfect used in a customary manner.

¹⁰ **tn** Scholars have debated the precise meaning of the term רַבִּים (*rabbim*) that occurs five times in this passage (Isa 52:14, 15; 53:11, 12 [2x]). Its two broad categories of translation are "much;" "many" and "great" (HALOT 1171-72 s.v. רַב). Unlike other Hebrew terms for might or strength, this term is linked with numbers or abundance. In all sixteen uses outside of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 (articular and plural) it signifies an inclusive meaning: "the majority" or "the multitude" (J. Jeremias, TDNT 6:536-37). This term occurs in parallelism with אֲסֻמִּים (*atsumim*), which normally signifies "numerous" or "large" or "powerful" (through large numbers). Like רַבִּים (*rabbim*), it refers to greatness in numbers (cf. Deut 4:38; 7:1; 9:1; 11:34). It emphasizes the multitudes with whom the Servant will share the spoil of his victory. As J. Olley wrote: "Yahweh has won the victory and vindicates his Servant, giving to him many subservient people, together with their spoils. These numerous peoples in turn receive blessing, sharing in the 'peace' resulting from Yahweh's victory and the Servant's suffering" (John W. Olley, "The Many: How Is Isa 53,12a to

he will divide the spoils of victory with the powerful,¹ because he willingly submitted² to death and was numbered with the rebels, when he lifted up the sin of many and intervened³ on behalf of the rebels.”

Zion Will Be Secure

54:1 “Shout for joy, O barren one who has not given birth!

Give a joyful shout and cry out, you who have not been in labor!

For the children of the desolate one are more numerous than the children of the married woman,” says the LORD.

54:2 Make your tent larger, stretch your tent curtains farther out!⁴

Spare no effort, lengthen your ropes, and pound your stakes deep.⁵

54:3 For you will spread out to the right and to the left;

your children will conquer⁶ nations and will resettle desolate cities.

54:4 Don’t be afraid, for you will not be put to shame!

Don’t be intimidated,⁷ for you will not be humiliated!

You will forget about the shame you experienced in your youth;

you will no longer remember the disgrace of your abandonment.⁸

54:5 For your husband is the one who made you – the LORD who commands armies is his name.

He is your protector,⁹ the Holy One of Israel.¹⁰

He is called “God of the entire earth.”

54:6 “Indeed, the LORD will call you back

like a wife who has been abandoned and suffers from depression,¹¹

like a young wife when she has been rejected,” says your God.

54:7 “For a short time I abandoned¹² you, but with great compassion I will gather you.

54:8 In a burst¹³ of anger I rejected you¹⁴ momentarily,

but with lasting devotion I will have compassion on you,”

says your protector,¹⁵ the LORD.

54:9 “As far as I am concerned, this is like in Noah’s time,¹⁶

when I vowed that the waters of Noah’s flood¹⁷ would never again cover the earth.

In the same way I have vowed that I will not be angry at you or shout at you.

54:10 Even if the mountains are removed and the hills displaced,

my devotion will not be removed from you,

nor will my covenant of friendship¹⁸ be displaced,”

says the LORD, the one who has compassion on you.

54:11 “O afflicted one, driven away,¹⁹ and unconsolated!

Look, I am about to set your stones in antimony

and I lay your foundation with lapis-lazuli.

54:12 I will make your pinnacles out of gems,²⁰

your gates out of beryl,²¹

and your outer wall²² out of beautiful²³ stones.

54:13 All your children will be followers of the LORD,

and your children will enjoy great prosperity.²⁴

54:14 You will be reestablished when I vindicate you.²⁵

Be Understood,” *Bib* 68 [1987]: 330-56).

¹ **sn** The servant is compared here to a warrior who will be richly rewarded for his effort and success in battle.

² **tn** *Heb* “because he laid bare his life”; traditionally, ASV “because he (+ hath KJV) poured out his soul (life NIV) unto death.”

³ **tn** The Hiphil of פָּגַע (*paga*) can mean “cause to attack” (v. 6), “urge, plead verbally” (Jer 15:11; 36:25), or “intervene militarily” (Isa 59:16). Perhaps the third nuance fits best here, for military imagery is employed in the first two lines of the verse.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* “the curtains of our dwelling places let them stretch out.”

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “your stakes strengthen.”

⁶ **tn** Or “take possession of”; NAB “shall dispossess.”

⁷ **tn** Or “embarrassed”; NASB “humiliated...disgraced.”

⁸ **tn** Another option is to translate, “the disgrace of our widowhood” (so NRSV). However, the following context (vv. 6-7) refers to Zion’s husband, the LORD, abandoning her, not dying. This suggests that an אִמְנָה (*almanah*) was a woman who had lost her husband, whether by death or abandonment.

⁹ **tn** Or “redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

¹⁰ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “like a woman abandoned and grieved in spirit.”

¹² **tn** Or “forsook” (NASB).

¹³ **tn** According to BDB 1009 s.v. שָׁטַף the noun שֹׁטָף here is an alternate form of שֹׁטֵף (*shetef*, “flood”). Some relate the word to an alleged Akkadian cognate meaning “strength.”

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “I hid my face from you.”

¹⁵ **tn** Or “redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

¹⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “For [or “indeed”] the waters of Noah [is] this to me.” כִּי־מֵי (*ki-me*, “for the waters of”) should be emended to כִּי־מֵי (*ke-mey*, “like the days of”), which is supported by the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a and all the ancient versions except LXX.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “the waters of Noah” (so NAB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “peace” (so many English versions); NLT “of blessing.”

¹⁹ **tn** Or, more literally, “windblown, storm tossed.”

²⁰ **tn** Perhaps, “rubies” (so ASV, NAB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

²¹ **tn** On the meaning of עֲדָקָה (*eqdakh*), which occurs only here, see HALOT 82 s.v.

²² **tn** *Heb* “border” (so ASV); NASB “your entire wall.”

²³ **tn** *Heb* “delightful”; KJV “pleasant.”

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “and great [will be] the peace of your sons.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “in righteousness [or “vindication”] you will be

You will not experience oppression;¹
indeed, you will not be afraid.
You will not be terrified,²
for nothing frightening³ will come near
you.

54:15 If anyone dares to⁴ challenge you, it
will not be my doing!
Whoever tries to challenge you will be
defeated.⁵

54:16 Look, I create the craftsman,
who fans the coals into a fire
and forges a weapon.⁶
I create the destroyer so he might devastate.

54:17 No weapon forged to be used
against you will succeed;
you will refute everyone who tries to ac-
cuse you.⁷

This is what the LORD will do for his
servants –
I will vindicate them,⁸
says the LORD.

The Lord Gives an Invitation

55:1 “Hey,⁹ all who are thirsty, come to
the water!

You who have no money, come!

Buy and eat!

Come! Buy wine and milk
without money and without cost!¹⁰

55:2 Why pay money for something that
will not nourish you?¹¹

Why spend¹² your hard-earned money¹³ on
something that will not satisfy?

established.” The precise meaning of צַדִּיקָה (*ts^cdaqah*) here is uncertain. It could mean “righteousness, justice,” indicating that the city will be a center for justice. But the context focuses on deliverance, suggesting that the term means “deliverance, vindication” here.

1 *tn* Heb “Be far from oppression!” The imperative is used here in a rhetorical manner to express certainty and assurance. See GKC 324 §110.c.

2 *tn* Heb “from terror.” The rhetorical command, “be far” is understood by ellipsis here. Note the preceding context.

3 *tn* Heb “it,” i.e., the “terror” just mentioned.

4 *tn* The infinitive absolute precedes the finite verb here for emphasis.

5 *tn* Heb “will fall over you.” The expression נָפַל עָלֶיךָ (*nafal* ‘*al*) can mean “attack,” but here it means “fall over to,” i.e., “surrender to.”

6 *tn* Heb “who brings out an implement for his work.”

7 *tn* Heb “and every tongue that rises up for judgment with you will prove to be guilty.”

8 *tn* Heb “this is the inheritance of the servants of the LORD, and their vindication from me.”

9 *tn* The Hebrew term הוי (*hoy*, “woe, ah”) was used in funeral laments and is often prefixed to judgment oracles for rhetorical effect. But here it appears to be a simple interjection, designed to grab the audience’s attention. Perhaps there is a note of sorrow or pity. See BDB 223 s.v.

10 *sn* The statement is an oxymoron. Its ironic quality adds to its rhetorical impact. The statement reminds one of the norm (one must normally buy commodities) as it expresses the astounding offer. One might paraphrase the statement: “Come and take freely what you normally have to pay for.”

11 *tn* Heb “for what is not food.”

12 *tn* The interrogative particle and the verb “spend” are understood here by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

13 *tn* Heb “your labor,” which stands by metonymy for that which one earns.

Listen carefully!¹⁴ to me and eat what is
nourishing!¹⁵

Enjoy fine food!¹⁶

55:3 Pay attention and come to me!

Listen, so you can live!¹⁷

Then I will make an unconditional cov-
enantal promise to¹⁸ you,
just like the reliable covenantal promises
I made to David.¹⁹

55:4 Look, I made him a witness to na-
tions,²⁰

a ruler and commander of nations.”

55:5 Look, you will summon nations²¹ you
did not previously know;

nations²² that did not previously know
you will run to you,

because of the LORD your God,
the Holy One of Israel,²³

for he bestows honor on you.

55:6 Seek the LORD while he makes him-
self available,²⁴

call to him while he is nearby!

55:7 The wicked need to abandon their
lifestyle²⁵

14 *tn* The infinitive absolute follows the imperative and lends emphasis to the exhortation.

15 *tn* Heb “good” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

16 *tn* Heb “Let your appetite delight in fine food.”

sn Nourishing, fine food here represents the blessings God freely offers. These include forgiveness, a new covenantal relationship with God, and national prominence (see vv. 3-6).

17 *tn* The jussive with *vav* (ו) conjunctive following the imperative indicates purpose/result.

sn To *live* here refers to covenantal blessing, primarily material prosperity and national security (see vv. 4-5, 13, and Deut 30:6, 15, 19-20).

18 *tn* Or “an eternal covenant with.”

19 *tn* Heb “the reliable expressions of loyalty of David.” The syntactical relationship of חֶסֶד (*hasde*, “expressions of loyalty”) to the preceding line is unclear. If the term is appositional to בְּרִית (*b^rit*, “covenant”), then the LORD here transfers the promises of the Davidic covenant to the entire nation. Another option is to take חֶסֶד (*hasde*) as an adverbial accusative and to translate “according to the reliable covenantal promises.” In this case the new covenantal arrangement proposed here is viewed as an extension or perhaps fulfillment of the Davidic promises. A third option, the one reflected in the above translation, is to take the last line as comparative. In this case the new covenant being proposed is analogous to the Davidic covenant. Verses 4-5, which compare David’s international prominence to what Israel will experience, favors this view. In all three of these interpretations, “David” is an objective genitive; he is the recipient of covenantal promises. A fourth option would be to take David as a subjective genitive and understand the line as giving the basis for the preceding promise: “Then I will make an unconditional covenantal promise to you, because of David’s faithful acts of covenantal loyalty.”

20 *sn* Ideally the Davidic king was to testify to the nations of God’s greatness (cf. Pss 18:50 HT [18:49 ET]; 22:28 HT [22:27 ET]). See J. H. Eaton, *Kingship in the Psalms* (SBT), 182-84.

21 *tn* Heb “a nation,” but the singular is collective here, as the plural verbs in the next line indicate (note that both “know” and “run” are third plural forms).

22 *tn* Heb “a nation,” but the singular is collective here, as the plural verbs that follow indicate.

23 *sn* See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

24 *tn* Heb “while he allows himself to be found.” The Niphal form has a tolerative force here.

25 *tn* Heb “Let the wicked one abandon his way.” The sin-

and sinful people their plans.¹
 They should return² to the LORD, and he
 will show mercy to them,³
 and to their God, for he will freely for-
 give them.⁴
55:8 “Indeed,⁵ my plans⁶ are not like⁷
 your plans,
 and my deeds⁸ are not like⁹ your deeds,
55:9 for just as the sky¹⁰ is higher than the
 earth,
 so my deeds¹¹ are superior to¹² your
 deeds
 and my plans¹³ superior to your plans.
55:10¹⁴ The rain and snow fall from the
 sky
 and do not return,
 but instead water the earth
 and make it produce and yield crops,
 and provide seed for the planter and food
 for those who must eat.
55:11 In the same way, the promise that I
 make
 does not return to me, having accom-
 plished nothing.¹⁵
 No, it is realized as I desire
 and is fulfilled as I intend.”¹⁶

gular is collective.

¹ **tn** Heb “and the man of evil his thoughts.” The singular is collective.

² **tn** Heb “let him return.” The singular is collective, meaning “let them.”

³ **tn** The imperfect with *vav* (י) conjunctive after the jussive indicates purpose/result.

⁴ **sn** The appeal and promise of vv. 6-7 echoes the language of Deut 4:25-31; 30:1-10; and 1 Kgs 8:46-53, all of which anticipate the exile and speak of the prerequisites for restoration.

⁵ **tn** Or “For” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV).

⁶ **tn** Or “thoughts” (so many English versions).

⁷ **tn** Heb “are not.” “Like” is interpretive, but v. 9 indicates that a comparison is in view.

⁸ **tn** Heb “ways” (so many English versions).

⁹ **tn** Heb “are not.” “Like” is interpretive, but v. 9 indicates that a comparison is in view.

¹⁰ **tn** Or “the heavens.” The Hebrew term שָׁמַיִם (*shamayim*) may be translated “heavens” or “sky” depending on the context.

¹¹ **tn** Heb “ways” (so many English versions).

¹² **tn** Heb “are higher than.”

¹³ **tn** Or “thoughts” (so many English versions).

¹⁴ **tn** This verse begins in the Hebrew text with כִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר (*ki ka'asher*, “for, just as”), which is completed by כֵּן (*ken*, “so, in the same way”) at the beginning of v. 11. For stylistic reasons, this lengthy sentence is divided up into separate sentences in the translation.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb “so is the word which goes out from my mouth, it does not return to empty.” “Word” refers here to divine promises, like the ones made just prior to and after this (see vv. 7b, 12-13).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “but it accomplishes what I desire, and succeeds [on the mission] which I send it.”

sn Verses 8-11 focus on the reliability of the divine word and support the promises before (vv. 3-5, 7b) and after (vv. 12-13) this. Israel can be certain that repentance will bring forgiveness and a new covenantal relationship because God’s promises are reliable. In contrast to human plans (or “thoughts”), which are destined to fail (Ps 94:11) apart from divine approval (Prov 19:21), and human deeds (or “ways”), which are evil and lead to destruction (Prov 1:15-19; 3:31-33; 4:19), God’s plans are realized and his deeds accomplish something positive.

55:12 Indeed you will go out with joy;
 you will be led along in peace;
 the mountains and hills will give a joyful
 shout before you,
 and all the trees in the field will clap their
 hands.

55:13 Evergreens will grow in place of
 thorn bushes,
 firs will grow in place of nettles;
 they will be a monument to the LORD,¹⁷
 a permanent reminder that will remain.¹⁸

The Lord Invites Outsiders to Enter

56:1 This is what the LORD says,
 “Promote¹⁹ justice! Do what is right!
 For I am ready to deliver you;
 I am ready to vindicate you openly.²⁰
56:2 The people who do this will be
 blessed.²¹

the people who commit themselves to
 obedience,²²
 who observe the Sabbath and do not de-
 file it,
 who refrain from doing anything that is
 wrong.²³

56:3 No foreigner who becomes a fol-
 lower of²⁴ the LORD should say,
 ‘The LORD will certainly²⁵ exclude me
 from his people.’

The eunuch should not say,
 ‘Look, I am like a dried-up tree.’”

56:4 For this is what the LORD says:
 “For the eunuchs who observe my Sab-
 baths

and choose what pleases me
 and are faithful to²⁶ my covenant,
56:5 I will set up within my temple and
 my walls a monument²⁷
 that will be better than sons and daugh-
 ters.

I will set up a permanent monument²⁸ for
 them that will remain.

56:6 As for foreigners who become fol-
 lowers of²⁹ the LORD and serve him,
 who love the name of the LORD and want
 to be his servants –

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “to the LORD for a name.” For שֵׁם (*shem*) used in the sense of “monument,” see also 56:5, where it stands parallel to יָד (*yad*).

¹⁸ **tn** Or, more literally, “a permanent sign that will not be cut off.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “guard”; KJV “Keep”; NAB “Observe”; NASB “Pre-serve”; NIV, NRSV “Maintain.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “for near is my deliverance to enter, and my vindication [or “righteousness”] to be revealed.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “blessed is the man who does this.”

²² **tn** Heb “the son of mankind who takes hold of it.”

²³ **tn** Heb and who keeps his hand from doing any evil.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “who attaches himself to.”

²⁵ **tn** The infinitive absolute precedes the finite verb for emphasis.

²⁶ **tn** Heb “and take hold of” (so KJV); NASB “hold fast.”

²⁷ **tn** Heb “a hand and a name.” For other examples where יָד (*yad*) refers to a monument, see HALOT 388 s.v.

²⁸ **tn** Heb “name” (so KJV, NIV, NRSV).

²⁹ **tn** Heb “who attach themselves to.”

all who observe the Sabbath and do not defile it,
and who are faithful to¹ my covenant –
56:7 I will bring them to my holy moun-
tain;
I will make them happy in the temple
where people pray to me.²
Their burnt offerings and sacrifices will
be accepted on my altar,
for my temple will be known as a temple
where all nations may pray.”³
56:8 The sovereign LORD says this,
the one who gathers the dispersed of
Israel:
“I will still gather them up.”⁴

The Lord Denounces Israel's Paganism

56:9 All you wild animals in the fields,
come and devour,
all you wild animals in the forest!
56:10 All their watchmen⁵ are blind,
they are unaware.⁶
All of them are like mute dogs,
unable to bark.
They pant,⁷ lie down,
and love to snooze.
56:11 The dogs have big appetites;
they are never full.⁸
They are shepherds who have no under-
standing;
they all go their own way,
each one looking for monetary gain.⁹
56:12 Each one says,¹⁰
‘Come on, I’ll get some wine!
Let’s guzzle some beer!

Tomorrow will be just like today!
We’ll have everything we want!¹¹
57:1 The godly¹² perish,
but no one cares.¹³
Honest people disappear,¹⁴
when no one¹⁵ minds¹⁶
that the godly¹⁷ disappear¹⁸ because of¹⁹
evil.²⁰
57:2 Those who live uprightly enter a
place of peace;
they rest on their beds.²¹
57:3 But approach, you sons of omen
readers,
you offspring of adulteresses and prosti-
tutes!²²
57:4 At whom are you laughing?
At whom are you opening your mouth
and sticking out your tongue?
You are the children of rebels,
the offspring of liars,²³
57:5 you who practice ritual sex²⁴ under
the oaks and every green tree,

¹¹ **tn** Heb “great, [in] abundance, very much,” i.e., “very great indeed.” See HALOT 452 s.v. *גָּדוֹל*.

¹² **tn** Or “righteous” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NAB “the just man”; TEV “Good people.”

¹³ **tn** Or perhaps, “understands.” Heb “and there is no man who sets [it] upon [his] heart.”

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “Men of loyalty are taken away.” The Niphal of *אַסַּף* (*ʾasaf*) here means “to die.”

¹⁵ **tn** The Hebrew term *בְּעֵינַי* (*bʿen*) often has the nuance “when there is no.” See Prov 8:24; 11:14; 14:4; 15:22; 26:20; 29:18.

¹⁶ **tn** Or “realizes”; Heb “understands” (so NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁷ **tn** Or “righteous” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NAB “the just man.”

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “are taken away.” The Niphal of *אַסַּף* (*ʾasaf*) here means “to die.”

¹⁹ **tn** The term *מִפְנֵי שִׁשְׁקָא* (*mippʿene*, “from the face of”) often has a causal nuance. It also appears with the Niphal of *אַסַּף* (*ʾasaph*, “gather”) in 2 Chr 12:5: *אֲשֶׁר־נִאֲסְפוּ אֶל־יְרוּשָׁלַם מִפְנֵי שִׁשְׁקָא* (*asher-neʿspu ʿel-yʾrushalam mippʿenei shishaq*, “who had gathered at Jerusalem because of [i.e., due to fear of] Shishak”).

²⁰ **tn** The translation assumes that this verse, in proverbial fashion, laments society’s apathy over the persecution of the godly. The second half of the verse observes that such apathy results in more widespread oppression. Since the next verse pictures the godly being taken to a place of rest, some interpret the second half of v. 1 in a more positive vein. According to proponents of this view, God removes the godly so that they might be spared suffering and calamity, a fact which the general populace fails to realize.

²¹ **tn** Heb “he enters peace, they rest on their beds, the one who walks straight ahead of himself.” The tomb is here viewed in a fairly positive way as a place where the dead are at peace and sleep undisturbed.

²² **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “offspring of an adulterer [masculine] and [one who] has committed adultery.” Perhaps the text has suffered from transposition of *vav* (ו) and *tav* (ת) and *בְּנֵי־זִנָּה וְזִנָּה* (*mʿnaʿef vʾattizneh*) should be emended to *בְּנֵי־זִנָּה וְזִנָּה* (*mʿnaʿefet vʾzonah*, “an adulteress and a prostitute”). Both singular nouns would be understood in a collective sense. Most modern English versions render both forms as nouns.

²³ **tn** Heb “Are you not children of rebellion, offspring of a lie?” The rhetorical question anticipates the answer, “Of course you are!”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “inflame yourselves”; NRSV “burn with lust.” This verse alludes to the practice of ritual sex that accompanied pagan fertility rites.

¹ **tn** Heb “and take hold of”; NAB “hold to”; NIV, NRSV “hold fast.”

² **tn** Heb “in the house of my prayer.”

³ **tn** Heb “for my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations.”

⁴ **tn** The meaning of the statement is unclear. The text reads literally, “Still I will gather upon him to his gathered ones.” Perhaps the preposition *לִּי* (*lamed*) before “gathered ones” introduces the object of the verb, as in Jer 49:5. The third masculine singular suffix on both *אֶלַי* (*ʾalay*) and *נִקְבְּצִי* (*niqbatsayy*) probably refers to “Israel.” In this case one can translate literally, “Still I will gather to him his gathered ones.”

⁵ **sn** The “watchmen” are probably spiritual leaders, most likely prophets and priests, responsible for giving the people moral direction.

⁶ **tn** Heb “they do not know”; KJV “they are all ignorant”; NIV “they all lack knowledge.”

⁷ **tn** The Hebrew text has *חֲזִימִים* (*hozim*), which appears to be derived from an otherwise unattested verbal root *חָזַה* (*hazah*). On the basis of alleged cognates, BDB 223 s.v. *חָזַה* offers the definition “dream, rave” while HALOT 243 s.v. *חָזַה* lists “pant.” In this case the dog metaphor of the preceding lines continues. The reference to dogs at the beginning of v. 11 favors the extension of the metaphor. The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has *חֲזִימִים* (“seers”) here. In this case the “watchmen” are directly identified as prophets and depicted as lazy.

⁸ **sn** The phrase *never full* alludes to the greed of the leaders.

⁹ **tn** Heb “for his gain from his end.”

¹⁰ **tn** The words “each one says” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

who slaughter children near the streams
under the rocky overhangs.¹

57:6 Among the smooth stones of the
stream are the idols you love;
they, they are the object of your devo-
tion.²

You pour out liquid offerings to them,
you make an offering.
Because of these things I will seek ven-
geance.³

57:7 On every high, elevated hill you pre-
pare your bed;
you go up there to offer sacrifices.

57:8 Behind the door and doorpost you
put your symbols.⁴

Indeed,⁵ you depart from me⁶ and go up
and invite them into bed with you.⁷
You purchase favors from them,⁸
you love their bed,

and gaze longingly⁹ on their genitals.¹⁰

57:9 You take olive oil as tribute¹¹ to your
king.¹²

¹ **sn** This apparently alludes to the practice of child sacri-
fice (cf. TEV, CEV, NLT).

² **tn** *Heb* “among the smooth stones of the stream [is] your
portion, they, they [are] your lot.” The next line indicates idols
are in view.

³ **tn** The text reads literally, “Because of these am I relent-
ing?” If the prefixed interrogative particle is retained at the be-
ginning of the sentence, then the question would be rhetori-
cal, with the Niphal of נָחַם (*nakhām*) probably being used in
the sense of “relent, change one’s mind.” One could translate:
“Because of these things, how can I relent?” However, the ini-
tial letter he may be dittographic (note the final he [ה] on the
preceding word). In this case one may understand the verb in
the sense of “console oneself, seek vengeance,” as in 1:24.

⁴ **tn** The precise referent of זִכָּרוֹן (*zikkaron*) in this context
is uncertain. Elsewhere the word refers to a memorial or com-
memorative sign. Here it likely refers to some type of idola-
trous symbol.

⁵ **tn** Or “for” (KJV, NRSV).

⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “from me you uncover.”
The translation assumes an emendation of the Piel form גָּלִיתָ
(*gillit*, “you uncover”), which has no object expressed here, to the
Qal גָּלִיתָ (*galit*, “you depart”).

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “you make wide your bed” (NASB similar).

⁸ **tc** *Heb* “and you [second masculine singular, unless the
form be taken as third feminine singular] cut for yourself [fem-
inine singular] from them.” Most English translations retain the
MT reading in spite of at least three problems. This sec-
tion makes significant use of feminine verbs and noun suf-
fixes because of the sexual imagery. The verb in question is
likely a 2nd person masculine singular verb. Nevertheless, this
kind of fluctuation in gender appears elsewhere (GKC
127-28 §47.k and 462 §144.p; cf. Jer 3:5; Ezek 22:4; 23:32;
cf. J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 2:473, n. 13). Secondly, when
this verbal root signifies establishing a covenant, it is normally
accompanied by the noun for “covenant” (בְּרִית, *bʿrit*). Finally,
this juxtaposition of the verb “to cut” and “covenant” normally
is followed by the preposition “with,” while here it is “from.”
The translation above assumes an emendation of וַתִּכְרַחַהּ
(*va-tikrahah*, “and you cut”) to וַתִּכְרֹתָ (*vʾtikharit*, “and you purchase”) from
the root כָּרַח (*kharah*); see HALOT 497 s.v. II כר.

⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text has simply הָדָה (*khazah*, “gaze”). The
adverb “longingly” is interpretive (see the context, where sexual
lust is depicted).

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “[at] a hand you gaze.” The term יָד (*yad*, “hand”)
probably has the sense of “power, manhood” here, where it is
used, as in Ugaritic, as a euphemism for the genitals. See
HALOT 387 s.v. I יד.

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “you journey with oil.”

¹² **tn** *Heb* “the king.” Since the context refers to idolatry and

along with many perfumes.¹³

You send your messengers to a distant
place;

you go all the way to Sheol.¹⁴

57:10 Because of the long distance you
must travel, you get tired,¹⁵

but you do not say, “I give up.”¹⁶

You get renewed energy,¹⁷

so you don’t collapse.¹⁸

57:11 Whom are you worried about?

Whom do you fear, that you would act so
deceitfully

and not remember me

or think about me?¹⁹

Because I have been silent for so long,²⁰

you are not afraid of me.²¹

57:12 I will denounce your so-called righ-
teousness and your deeds,²²

but they will not help you.

57:13 When you cry out for help, let your
idols²³ help you!

The wind blows them all away,²⁴

a breeze carries them away.²⁵

But the one who looks to me for help²⁶

will inherit the land

and will have access to²⁷ my holy moun-
tain.”

57:14 He says,²⁸

“Build it! Build it! Clear a way!

Remove all the obstacles out of the way
of my people!”

child sacrifice (see v. 5), some emend מֶלֶךְ (*melekh*, “king”)
to “Molech.” Perhaps Israel’s devotion to her idols is likened
here to a subject taking tribute to a ruler.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “and you multiply your perfumes.”

¹⁴ **sn** Israel’s devotion to her idols is inordinate, irrational,
and self-destructive.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “by the greatness [i.e., “length,” see BDB 914 s.v.
רָב 2] of your way you get tired.”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “it is hopeless” (so NAB, NASB, NIV); NRSV “It is
useless.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “the life of your hand you find.” The term חַיָּה
(*khayyah*, “life”) is here used in the sense of “renewal” (see
BDB 312 s.v.) while יָד (*yad*) is used of “strength.”

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “you do not grow weak.”

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “you do not place [it] on your heart.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “Is it not [because] I have been silent, and from
long ago?”

²¹ **sn** God’s patience with sinful Israel has caused them
to think that they can sin with impunity and suffer no conse-
quences.

²² **tn** *Heb* “I, I will declare your righteousness and your
deeds.”

²³ **tn** The Hebrew text has קִבּוּצֵיךָ (*qibbutsayikh*, “your gath-
erings”), an otherwise unattested noun from the verbal root
קָבַץ (*qavats*, “gather”). Perhaps this alludes to their religious
assemblies and by metonymy to their rituals. Since idolatry is
a prominent theme in the context, some understand this as a
reference to a collection of idols. The second half of the verse
also favors this view.

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “all of them a wind lifts up.”

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “a breath takes [them] away.”

²⁶ **tn** Or “seeks refuge in me.” “Seeking refuge” is a me-
tonymy for “being loyal to.”

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* “possess, own.” The point seems to be that he
will have free access to God’s presence, as if God’s temple
mount were his personal possession.

²⁸ **tn** Since God is speaking throughout this context, per-
haps we should emend the text to “and I say.” However, divine
speech is introduced in v. 15.

57:15 For this is what the high and exalted one says,
the one who rules¹ forever, whose name is holy:
“I dwell in an exalted and holy place,
but also with the discouraged and humiliated,²
in order to cheer up the humiliated
and to encourage the discouraged.”³
57:16 For I will not be hostile⁴ forever
or perpetually angry,
for then man’s spirit would grow faint
before me,⁵
the life-giving breath I created.
57:17 I was angry because of their sinful greed;
I attacked them and angrily rejected them,⁶
yet they remained disobedient and stubborn.⁷
57:18 I have seen their behavior,⁸
but I will heal them and give them rest,
and I will once again console those who mourn.⁹
57:19 I am the one who gives them reason
to celebrate.¹⁰
Complete prosperity¹¹ is available both to
those who are far away and those who
are nearby,”
says the LORD, “and I will heal them.
57:20 But the wicked are like a surging sea
that is unable to be quiet;
its waves toss up mud and sand.
57:21 There will be no prosperity,” says
my God, “for the wicked.”

The Lord Desires Genuine Devotion

58:1 “Shout loudly! Don’t be quiet!
Yell as loud as a trumpet!
Confront my people with their rebellious deeds;¹²
confront Jacob’s family with their sin!¹³
58:2 They seek me day after day;
they want to know my requirements,¹⁴
like a nation that does what is right
and does not reject the law of their God.
They ask me for just decrees;
they want to be near God.
58:3 They lament,¹⁵ ‘Why don’t you notice when we fast?
Why don’t you pay attention when we humble ourselves?’
Look, at the same time you fast, you satisfy your selfish desires,¹⁶
you oppress your workers.¹⁷
58:4 Look, your fasting is accompanied
by¹⁸ arguments, brawls,
and fistfights.¹⁹
Do not fast as you do today,
trying to make your voice heard in heaven.
58:5 Is this really the kind of fasting I want?²⁰
Do I want a day when people merely
humble themselves,²¹
bowing their heads like a reed
and stretching out²² on sackcloth and ashes?
Is this really what you call a fast,
a day that is pleasing to the LORD?
58:6 No, this is the kind of fast I want.²³
I want you²⁴ to remove the sinful chains,
to tear away the ropes of the burdensome yoke,
to set free the oppressed,²⁵
and to break every burdensome yoke.

¹ **tn** Heb “the one who dwells forever.” שֹׁכֵן עַד (*shokhen 'ad*) is sometimes translated “the one who lives forever,” and understood as a reference to God’s eternal existence. However, the immediately preceding and following descriptions (“high and exalted” and “holy”) emphasize his sovereign rule. In the next line, he declares, “I dwell in an exalted and holy [place],” which refers to the place from which he rules. Therefore it is more likely that שֹׁכֵן עַד (*shokhen 'ad*) means “I dwell [in my lofty palace] forever” and refers to God’s eternal kingship.

² **tn** Heb “and also with the crushed and lowly of spirit.” This may refer to the repentant who have humbled themselves (see 66:2) or more generally to the exiles who have experienced discouragement and humiliation.

³ **tn** Heb “to restore the lowly of spirit and to restore the heart of the crushed.”

⁴ **tn** Or perhaps, “argue,” or “accuse” (so NAB, NIV, NRSV).

⁵ **tn** Heb “for a spirit from before me would be faint.”

⁶ **tn** Heb “and I struck him, hiding, and I was angry.” פָּנִים (*panayim*, “face”) is the implied object of “hiding.”

⁷ **tn** Heb “and he walked [as an] apostate in the way of his heart.”

⁸ **tn** Heb “his ways” (so KJV, NASB, NIV); TEV “how they acted.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “and I will restore consolation to him, to his mourners.”

¹⁰ **tc** The Hebrew text has literally, “one who creates fruit of lips.” Perhaps the pronoun אָנִי (*'ani*) should be inserted after the participle; it may have been accidentally omitted by haplography: בֹּרֵא [אֲנִי] לִיב שִׁפְתַּיִם (*bore' [ani] nuv s'fatayim*). “Fruit of the lips” is often understood as a metonymy for praise; perhaps it refers more generally to joyful shouts (see v. 18).

¹¹ **tn** Heb “Peace, peace.” The repetition of the noun emphasizes degree.

¹² **tn** Heb “declare to my people their rebellion.”

¹³ **tn** Heb “and to the house of Jacob their sin.” The verb “declare” is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb “ways” (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, TEV); NLT “my laws.”

¹⁵ **tn** The words “they lament” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “you find pleasure”; NASB “you find your desire.”

¹⁷ **tn** Or perhaps, “debtors.” See HALOT 865 s.v. *פָּנִים.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb “you fast for” (so NASB); NRSV “you fast only to quarrel.”

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “and for striking with a sinful fist.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “choose” (so NASB, NRSV); NAB “wish.”

²¹ **tn** Heb “a day when man humbles himself.” The words “Do I want” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

²² **tn** Or “making [their] bed.”

²³ **tn** Heb “Is this not a fast I choose?” “No” is supplied in the translation for clarification.

²⁴ **tn** The words “I want you” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

²⁵ **tn** Heb “crushed.”

58:7 I want you¹ to share your food with the hungry and to provide shelter for homeless, oppressed people.²

When you see someone naked, clothe him!

Don't turn your back on your own flesh and blood!³

58:8 Then your light will shine like the sunrise,⁴

your restoration will quickly arrive;⁵ your godly behavior⁶ will go before you, and the LORD's splendor will be your rear guard.⁷

58:9 Then you will call out, and the LORD will respond; you will cry out, and he will reply, 'Here I am.'

You must⁸ remove the burdensome yoke from among you and stop pointing fingers and speaking sinfully.

58:10 You must⁹ actively help the hungry and feed the oppressed.¹⁰ Then your light will dispel the darkness,¹¹ and your darkness will be transformed into noonday.¹²

58:11 The LORD will continually lead you; he will feed you even in parched regions.¹³

He will give you renewed strength,¹⁴ and you will be like a well-watered garden, like a spring that continually produces water.

58:12 Your perpetual ruins will be rebuilt;¹⁵ you will reestablish the ancient foundations.

You will be called, 'The one who repairs broken walls, the one who makes the streets inhabitable again.'¹⁶

58:13 You must¹⁷ observe the Sabbath¹⁸ rather than doing anything you please on my holy day.¹⁹

You must look forward to the Sabbath²⁰ and treat the LORD's holy day with respect.²¹

You must treat it with respect by refraining from your normal activities, and by refraining from your selfish pursuits and from making business deals.²²

58:14 Then you will find joy in your relationship to the LORD,²³

and I will give you great prosperity,²⁴ and cause crops to grow on the land I gave to your ancestor Jacob."²⁵

Know for certain that the LORD has spoken.²⁶

Injustice Brings Alienation from God

59:1 Look, the LORD's hand is not too weak²⁷ to deliver you;

his ear is not too deaf to hear you.²⁸

59:2 But your sinful acts have alienated you from your God;

dwelling." The idea of "paths to dwell in" is not a common notion. Some have proposed emending נתיבות (*n'tivot*, "paths") to נתיבות (*n'tivot*, "ruins"), a passive participle from נָתַן (*natats*, "tear down"; see HALOT 732 s.v. נָתַן), because tighter parallelism with the preceding line is achieved. However, none of the textual sources support this emendation. The line may mean that paths must be repaired in order to dwell in the land.

¹⁷ **tn** Lit., "if you." In the Hebrew text vv. 13-14 are one long conditional sentence. The protasis ("if" clauses appear in v. 13), with the apodosis ("then" clause) appearing in v. 14.

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "if you turn from the Sabbath your feet."

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "[from] doing your desires on my holy day." The Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a supplies the preposition מִן (*min*) on "doing."

²⁰ **tn** Heb "and call the Sabbath a pleasure"; KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV "a delight."

²¹ **tn** Heb "and [call] the holy [day] of the LORD honored." On קָדוֹשׁ (*qadosh*, "holy") as indicating a time period, see BDB 872 s.v. 2.e (cf. also Neh 8:9-11).

²² **tn** Heb "and you honor it [by refraining] from accomplishing your ways, from finding your desire and speaking a word." It is unlikely that the last phrase ("speaking a word") is a prohibition against talking on the Sabbath; instead it probably refers to making transactions or plans (see Hos 10:4). Some see here a reference to idle talk (cf. 2 Sam 19:30).

²³ **tn** For a parallel use of the phrase "find joy in" (Hitpa'el of נָגַג [*anag*] followed by the preposition אֶל [*al*]), see Ps 37:4.

²⁴ **tn** Heb "and I will cause you to ride upon the heights of the land." The statement seems to be an allusion to Deut 32:13, where it is associated, as here, with God's abundant provision of food.

²⁵ **tn** Heb "and I will cause you to eat the inheritance of Jacob your father." The Hebrew term נַחֲלָה (*nakhlah*) likely stands by metonymy for the crops that grow on Jacob's "inheritance" (i.e., the land he inherited as a result of God's promise).

²⁶ **tn** Heb "for the mouth of the LORD has spoken." The introductory כִּי (*ki*) may be asseverative (as reflected in the translation) or causal/explanatory, explaining why the preceding promise will become reality (because it is guaranteed by the divine word).

²⁷ **tn** Heb "short" (so NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

²⁸ **tn** Heb "or his ear too heavy [i.e., "dull"] to hear."

¹ **tn** Heb "Is it not?" The rhetorical question here expects a positive answer, "It is!"

² **tn** Heb "and afflicted [ones], homeless [ones] you should bring [into] a house." On the meaning of כְּרוּרִים (*m'rudim*, "homeless") see HALOT 633 s.v. כְּרוּרִים.

³ **tn** Heb "and from your flesh do not hide yourself."

⁴ **tn** Heb "will burst out like the dawn."

sn Light here symbolizes God's favor and restored blessing, as the immediately following context makes clear.

⁵ **tn** Heb "prosper"; KJV "spring forth speedily."

⁶ **tn** Or "righteousness." Their godly behavior will be on display for all to see.

⁷ **sn** The nation will experience God's protective presence.

⁸ **tn** Heb "if you." In the Hebrew text vv. 9b-10 are one long conditional sentence. The protasis ("if" clauses appear in vv. 9b-10a), with the apodosis ("then" clause) appearing in v. 10b.

⁹ **tn** Heb "if you." See the note on "you must" in v. 9b.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "If you furnish for the hungry [with] your being, and the appetite of the oppressed you satisfy."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "will rise in the darkness."

¹² **tn** Heb "and your darkness [will be] like noonday."

¹³ **tn** Heb "he will satisfy in parched regions your appetite."

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "and your bones he will strengthen."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "and they will build for you ancient ruins."

¹⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text has "the one who restores paths for

your sins have caused him to reject you
and not listen to your prayers.¹

59:3 For your hands are stained with blood
and your fingers with sin;
your lips speak lies,
your tongue utters malicious words.

59:4 No one is concerned about justice;²
no one sets forth his case truthfully.
They depend on false words³ and tell lies;
they conceive of oppression⁴
and give birth to sin.

59:5 They hatch the eggs of a poisonous
snake
and spin a spider's web.

Whoever eats their eggs will die,
a poisonous snake is hatched.⁵

59:6 Their webs cannot be used for cloth-
ing;
they cannot cover themselves with what
they make.

Their deeds are sinful;
they commit violent crimes.⁶

59:7 They are eager to do evil,⁷
quick to shed innocent blood.⁸

Their thoughts are sinful;
they crush and destroy.⁹

59:8 They are unfamiliar with peace;
their deeds are unjust.¹⁰

They use deceitful methods,
and whoever deals with them is unfamil-
iar with peace.¹¹

Israel Confesses its Sin

59:9 For this reason deliverance¹² is far
from us¹³
and salvation does not reach us.
We wait for light,¹⁴ but see only darkness;¹⁵
we wait for¹⁶ a bright light,¹⁷ but live¹⁸ in
deep darkness.¹⁹

¹ **tn** Heb "and your sins have caused [his] face to be hid-
den from you so as not to hear."

² **tn** Heb "no one pleads with justice."

³ **tn** Heb "nothing"; NAB "emptiness."

⁴ **tn** Or "trouble" (NIV), or "harm."

⁵ **tn** Heb "that which is pressed in hatches [as] a snake."

⁶ **tn** Heb "their deeds are deeds of sin, and the work of
violence [is] in their hands."

⁷ **tn** Heb "their feet run to evil."

⁸ **tn** Heb "they quickly pour out innocent blood."

⁹ **tn** Heb "their thoughts are thoughts of sin, destruction
and crushing [are] in their roadways."

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "a way of peace they do not know, and there is no
justice in their pathways."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "their paths they make crooked, everyone who
walks in it does not know peace."

¹² **tn** מִשְׁפָּט (*mishpat*), which refers to "justice" in the earlier
verses, here refers to "justice from God," or "vindication." Be-
cause the people are unjust, God refuses to vindicate them
before their enemies. See v. 11.

¹³ **sn** The prophet speaks on behalf of the sinful nation and
confesses its sins.

¹⁴ **sn** Light here symbolizes prosperity and blessing.

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "but, look, darkness"; NIV "but all is darkness."

¹⁶ **tn** The words "we wait for" are supplied in the translation;
the verb is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁷ **tn** The plural noun form may indicate degree here.

¹⁸ **tn** Or "walk about"; NCV "all we have is darkness."

¹⁹ **tn** The plural noun form may indicate degree here.

59:10 We grope along the wall like the
blind,
we grope like those who cannot see;²⁰
we stumble at noontime as if it were
evening.

Though others are strong, we are like
dead men.²¹

59:11 We all growl like bears,
we coo mournfully like doves;
we wait for deliverance,²² but there is
none,

for salvation, but it is far from us.

59:12 For you are aware of our many re-
bellious deeds,²³

and our sins testify against us;
indeed, we are aware of our rebellious
deeds;

we know our sins all too well.²⁴

59:13 We have rebelled and tried to de-
ceive the LORD;

we turned back from following our God.
We stir up²⁵ oppression and rebellion;

we tell lies we concocted in our minds.²⁶

59:14 Justice is driven back;

godliness²⁷ stands far off.

Indeed,²⁸ honesty stumbles in the city
square

and morality is not even able to enter.

59:15 Honesty has disappeared;
the one who tries to avoid evil is robbed.

The LORD watches and is displeased,²⁹
for there is no justice.

The Lord Intervenes

59:16 He sees there is no advocate;³⁰
he is shocked³¹ that no one intervenes.
So he takes matters into his own hands;³²
his desire for justice drives him on.³³

59:17 He wears his desire for justice³⁴ like
body armor,³⁵
and his desire to deliver is like a helmet
on his head.³⁶

²⁰ **tn** Heb "like there are no eyes."

²¹ **tn** Heb among the strong, like dead men."

²² **tn** See the note at v. 9.

²³ **tn** Heb "for many are our rebellious deeds before you."

²⁴ **tn** Heb "indeed [or 'for'] our rebellious deeds (are) with
us, and our sins, we know them."

²⁵ **tn** Heb "speaking." A new sentence was started here in
the translation for stylistic reasons.

²⁶ **tn** Heb "conceiving and uttering from the heart words of
falsehood."

²⁷ **tn** Or "righteousness" (ASV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); KJV, NAB
"justice."

²⁸ **tn** Or "for" (KJV, NRSV).

²⁹ **tn** Heb "and it is displeasing in his eyes."

³⁰ **tn** Heb "man" (so KJV, ASV); TEV "no one to help."

³¹ **tn** Or "appalled" (NAB, NIV, NRSV), or "disgusted."

³² **tn** Heb "and his arm delivers for him."

³³ **tn** Heb "and his justice [or 'righteousness'] supports
him."

³⁴ **tn** Or "righteousness" (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NCV
"goodness."

³⁵ **tn** Or "a breastplate" (traditional; so many English ver-
sions); TEV "a coat of armour."

³⁶ **tn** Heb "and [as] a helmet deliverance on his head."

He puts on the garments of vengeance¹ and wears zeal like a robe.

59:18 He repays them for what they have done, dispensing angry judgment to his adversaries

and punishing his enemies.²

He repays the coastlands.³

59:19 In the west, people respect⁴ the

LORD's reputation,⁵ in the east they recognize his splendor.⁶

For he comes like a rushing⁷ stream driven on by wind sent from the LORD.⁸

59:20 "A protector⁹ comes to Zion, to those in Jacob who repent of their rebellious deeds,"¹⁰ says the LORD.

59:21 "As for me, this is my promise to¹¹ them," says the LORD. "My spirit, who is upon you, and my words, which I have placed in your mouth, will not depart from your mouth or from the mouths of your children and descendants from this time forward,"¹² says the LORD.

Zion's Future Splendor

60:1 "Arise! Shine! For your light arrives! The splendor¹³ of the LORD shines on you!

60:2 For, look, darkness covers the earth and deep darkness covers¹⁴ the nations, but the LORD shines on you;

his splendor¹⁵ appears over you.

60:3 Nations come to your light, kings to your bright light.

60:4 Look all around you!¹⁶

They all gather and come to you – your sons come from far away and your daughters are escorted by guardians.

60:5 Then you will look and smile,¹⁷ you will be excited and your heart will

swell with pride.¹⁸

For the riches of distant lands¹⁹ will belong to you and the wealth of nations will come to you.

60:6 Camel caravans will cover your roads,²⁰

young camels from Midian and Ephah.

All the merchants of Sheba²¹ will come, bringing gold and incense and singing praises to the LORD.²²

60:7 All the sheep of Kedar will be gathered to you;

the rams of Nebaioth will be available to you as sacrifices.²³

They will go up on my altar acceptably,²⁴ and I will bestow honor on my majestic temple.

60:8 Who are these who float along²⁵ like a cloud,

who fly like doves to their shelters?²⁶

60:9 Indeed, the coastlands²⁷ look eagerly for me,

the large ships²⁸ are in the lead, bringing your sons from far away,

along with their silver and gold,

to honor the LORD your God,²⁹ the Holy One of Israel,³⁰ for he has bestowed honor on you.

60:10 Foreigners will rebuild your walls; their kings will serve you.

Even though I struck you down in my anger,

I will restore my favor and have compassion on you.³¹

¹ **tn** Heb "and he puts on the clothes of vengeance [as] a garment."

² **tn** Heb "in accordance with deeds, so he repays, anger to his adversaries, repayment to his enemies."

³ **tn** Or "islands" (KJV, NIV).

⁴ **tc** Heb "fear." A few medieval Hebrew MSS read "see."

⁵ **tn** Heb "and they fear from the west the name of the LORD."

⁶ **tn** Heb "and from the rising of the sun his splendor."

⁷ **tn** Heb "narrow"; NAB, NIV, NRSV "pent-up."

⁸ **tn** Heb "the wind of the LORD drives it on." The term רוח (ruakh) could be translated "breath" here (see 30:28).

⁹ **tn** Or "redeemer." See the note at 41:14.

¹⁰ **tn** Heb "and to those who turn from rebellion in Jacob."

¹¹ **tn** Or "my covenant with" (so many English versions); NCV "my agreement with."

sn The LORD promises the repentant (note "to them") that they and their offspring will possess his spirit and function as his spokesmen. In this regard they follow in the footsteps of the LORD's special servant. See 42:1; 49:2; 51:16.

¹² **tn** Heb "from now and on into the future."

¹³ **tn** Or "glory" (so most English versions).

¹⁴ **tn** The verb "covers" is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁵ **tn** Or "glory" (so most English versions); TEV "the brightness of his presence."

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "Lift up around your eyes and see!"

¹⁷ **tn** Or "shine," or "be radiant" (NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV).

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "and it will tremble and be wide, your heart."

¹⁹ **tn** Heb "the wealth of the sea," i.e., wealth that is transported from distant lands via the sea.

²⁰ **tn** Heb "an abundance of camels will cover you."

²¹ **tn** Heb "all of them, from Sheba."

²² **tn** Heb "and they will announce the praises of the LORD."

²³ **tn** Heb "will serve you," i.e., be available as sacrifices (see the next line). Another option is to understand these "rams" as symbolic of leaders who will be subject to the people of Zion. See v. 10.

²⁴ **tc** Heb "they will go up on acceptance [on] my altar." Some have suggested that the preposition על ('al) is ditto-graphic (note the preceding עלו [y'alu]). Consequently, the form should be emended to לְרִצּוֹן (P'ratson, "acceptably"; see BDB 953 s.v. רִצּוֹן). However, the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a has both לְרִצּוֹן followed by the preposition על ('al) which would argue against deleted the preposition. As the above translation seeks to demonstrate, the preposition על ('al) indicates a norm ("in accordance with acceptance" or "acceptably"; IBHS 218 §11.2.13e, n. 111) and the "altar" functions as an objective accusative with a verb of motion (cf. Gen 49:4; Lev 2:2; Num 13:17; J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 2:534, n. 14).

²⁵ **tn** Heb "fly" (so KJV, NASB, NRSV); NAB, NIV "fly along."

²⁶ **tn** Heb "to their windows," i.e., to the openings in their coops. See HALOT 83 s.v. חַלּוֹנוֹת.

²⁷ **tn** Or "islands" (NIV); CEV "distant islands"; TEV "distant lands."

²⁸ **tn** Heb "the ships of Tarshish." See the note at 2:16.

²⁹ **tn** Heb "to the name of the LORD your God."

³⁰ **sn** See the note on the phrase "the Holy One of Israel" in 1:4.

³¹ **tn** Heb "in my favor I will have compassion on you."

60:11 Your gates will remain open at all times;
they will not be shut during the day or at night,
so that the wealth of nations may be delivered,
with their kings leading the way.¹
60:12 Indeed,² nations or kingdoms that
do not serve you will perish;
such nations will be totally destroyed.³
60:13 The splendor of Lebanon will come to you,
its evergreens, firs, and cypresses together,
to beautify my palace;⁴
I will bestow honor on my throne room.⁵
60:14 The children of your oppressors will
come bowing to you;
all who treated you with disrespect will
bow down at your feet.
They will call you, ‘The City of the LORD,
Zion of the Holy One of Israel.’⁶
60:15 You were once abandoned
and despised, with no one passing
through,
but I will make you⁷ a permanent source
of pride
and joy to coming generations.
60:16 You will drink the milk of nations;
you will nurse at the breasts of kings.⁸
Then you will recognize that I, the LORD,
am your deliverer,
your protector,⁹ the powerful Ruler of
Jacob.¹⁰
60:17 Instead of bronze, I will bring you
gold,
instead of iron, I will bring you silver,
instead of wood, I will bring you¹¹ bronze,
instead of stones, I will bring you¹² iron.
I will make prosperity¹³ your overseer,
and vindication your sovereign ruler.¹⁴

60:18 Sounds of violence¹⁵ will no longer
be heard in your land,
or the sounds of¹⁶ destruction and devastation
within your borders.
You will name your walls, ‘Deliverance,’
and your gates, ‘Praise.’
60:19 The sun will no longer supply light
for you by day,
nor will the moon’s brightness shine on
you;
the LORD will be your permanent source
of light –
the splendor of your God will shine upon
you.¹⁷
60:20 Your sun will no longer set;
your moon will not disappear;¹⁸
the LORD will be your permanent source
of light;
your time¹⁹ of sorrow will be over.
60:21 All of your people will be godly;²⁰
they will possess the land permanently.
I will plant them like a shoot;
they will be the product of my labor,
through whom I reveal my splendor.²¹
60:22 The least of you will multiply into²²
a thousand;
the smallest of you will become a large
nation.
When the right time comes, I the LORD
will quickly do this!²³

The Lord Will Rejuvenate His People

61:1 The spirit of the sovereign LORD is
upon me,
because the LORD has chosen²⁴ me.²⁵
He has commissioned²⁶ me to encourage²⁷
the poor,
to help²⁸ the brokenhearted,
to decree the release of captives,
and the freeing of prisoners,

¹ **tn** Or “led in procession.” The participle is passive.

² **tn** Or “For” (KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); TEV “But.”

³ **tn** The infinitive absolute appears before the finite verb for emphasis.

⁴ **tn** Or “holy place, sanctuary.”

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “the place of my feet.” See Ezek 43:7, where the LORD’s throne is called the “place of the soles of my feet.”

⁶ **sn** See the note on the phrase “the Holy One of Israel” in 1:4.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “Instead of your being abandoned and despised, with no one passing through, I will make you.”

⁸ **sn** The nations and kings are depicted as a mother nursing her children. Restored Zion will be nourished by them as she receives their wealth as tribute.

⁹ **tn** Or “redeemer.” See the note at 41:14.

¹⁰ **sn** See 1:24 and 49:26.

¹¹ **tn** The words “I will bring you” are supplied in the translation; they are understood by ellipsis (see the preceding lines).

¹² **tn** The words “I will bring you” are supplied in the translation; they are understood by ellipsis (see the first two lines of the verse).

¹³ **tn** Or “peace” (KJV and many other English versions).

¹⁴ **tn** The plural indicates degree. The language is ironic; in the past Zion was ruled by oppressive tyrants, but now personified prosperity and vindication will be the only things that will “dominate” the city.

¹⁵ **tn** The words “sounds of” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁶ **tn** The words “sounds of” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “and your God for your splendor.”

¹⁸ **sn** In this verse “sun” and “moon” refer to the LORD’s light, which will replace the sun and moon (see v. 19). Light here symbolizes the restoration of divine blessing and prosperity in conjunction with the LORD’s presence. See 30:26.

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “days” (so KJV, NAB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

²⁰ **tn** Or “righteous” (NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT); NAB “just.”

²¹ **tn** *Heb* “a shoot of his planting, the work of my hands, to reveal splendor.”

²² **tn** *Heb* “will become” (so NASB, NIV).

²³ **tn** *Heb* “I, the LORD, in its time, I will quickly do it.”

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* “anointed,” i.e., designated to carry out an assigned task.

²⁵ **sn** The speaker is not identified, but he is distinct from the LORD and from Zion’s suffering people. He possesses the divine spirit, is God’s spokesman, and is sent to release prisoners from bondage. The evidence suggests he is the LORD’s special servant, described earlier in the servant songs (see 42:1-4, 7; 49:2, 9; 50:4; see also 51:16).

²⁶ **tn** Or “sent” (NAB); NCV “has appointed me.”

²⁷ **tn** Or “proclaim good news to.”

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “to bind up [the wounds of].”

61:2 to announce the year when the LORD will show his favor,
the day when our God will seek vengeance,¹
to console all who mourn,
61:3 to strengthen those who mourn in Zion,
by giving them a turban, instead of ashes,
oil symbolizing joy,² instead of mourning,
a garment symbolizing praise,³ instead of discouragement.⁴
They will be called oaks of righteousness,⁵
trees planted by the LORD to reveal his splendor.⁶
61:4 They will rebuild the perpetual ruins and restore the places that were desolate;⁷ they will reestablish the ruined cities, the places that have been desolate since ancient times.
61:5⁸ "Foreigners will take care of⁹ your sheep; foreigners will work in your fields and vineyards.
61:6 You will be called, 'the LORD's priests, servants of our God.'¹⁰
You will enjoy¹¹ the wealth of nations and boast about¹² the riches you receive from them.¹³
61:7 Instead of shame, you will get a double portion,¹⁴
instead of humiliation, they will rejoice over the land they receive.¹⁵

Yes,¹⁶ they will possess a double portion in their land and experience lasting joy.
61:8 For I, the LORD, love justice and hate robbery and sin. I will repay them because of my faithfulness;¹⁷
I will make a permanent covenant with them.
61:9 Their descendants will be known among the nations, their offspring among the peoples. All who see them will recognize that the LORD has blessed them.¹⁸
61:10 I¹⁹ will greatly rejoice²⁰ in the LORD; I will be overjoyed because of my God.²¹
For he clothes me in garments of deliverance;
he puts on me a robe symbolizing vindication.²²
I look like a bridegroom when he wears a turban as a priest would;
I look like a bride when she puts on her jewelry.²³
61:11 For just as the ground produces its crops and a garden yields its produce, so the sovereign LORD will cause deliverance²⁴ to grow, and give his people reason to praise him in the sight of all the nations.²⁵

The Lord Takes Delight in Zion

62:1 "For the sake of Zion I will not be silent;
for the sake of Jerusalem²⁶ I will not be quiet,
until her vindication shines brightly²⁷ and her deliverance burns like a torch."
62:2 Nations will see your vindication, and all kings your splendor.
You will be called by a new name that the LORD himself will give you.²⁸

¹ **tn** Heb "to announce the year of the LORD's favor, and the day of our God's vengeance."

² **tn** Heb "oil of joy" (KJV, ASV); NASB, NIV, NRSV "the oil of gladness."

³ **tn** Heb "garment of praise."

⁴ **tn** Heb "a faint spirit" (so NRSV); KJV, ASV "the spirit of heaviness"; NASB "a spirit of fainting."

⁵ **tn** Rather than referring to the character of the people, זָדֵק (*tsedeq*) may carry the nuance "vindication" here, suggesting that God's restored people are a testimony to his justice. See v. 2, which alludes to the fact that God will take vengeance against the enemies of his people. Cf. NAB "oaks of justice."

⁶ **tn** Heb "a planting of the LORD to reveal splendor."

⁷ **tn** Heb "and the formerly desolate places they will raise up."

⁸ **sn** The LORD speaks in vv. 7-8 (and possibly v. 9). It is not clear where the servant's speech (see vv. 1-3a) ends and the LORD's begins. Perhaps the direct address to the people signals the beginning of the LORD's speech.

⁹ **tn** Heb "will stand [in position] and shepherd."

¹⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text adds, "it will be said concerning you."

¹¹ **tn** Heb "eat" (KJV, NAB, NASB); NIV "feed on"; NLT "be fed with."

¹² **tc** The form in the Hebrew text is probably a corruption of יִתְאָמַר (*yit'ammār*), a Hitpa'el from אָמַר (*amar*), meaning "boast about" (see HALOT 67 s.v. אָמַר, HALOT 416 s.v. אָמַר, and BDB 56 s.v. אָמַר).

¹³ **tn** Heb "their glory" (i.e., riches).

¹⁴ **tn** Heb "instead of your shame, a double portion."

¹⁵ **tn** Heb "and [instead of] humiliation they will rejoice [over] their portion." The term תַּקְחָת (*takhat*, "instead of") is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

¹⁶ **tn** Heb "therefore" (so KJV, NASB); NIV "and so."

¹⁷ **tn** Heb "in faithfulness"; NASB, NRSV, NLT "faithfully."

¹⁸ **tn** Heb "all who see them will recognize them, that they [are] descendants [whom] the LORD has blessed."

¹⁹ **sn** The speaker in vv. 10-11 is not identified, but it is likely that the personified nation (or perhaps Zion) responds here to the LORD's promise of restoration.

²⁰ **tn** The infinitive absolute appears before the finite verb for emphasis.

²¹ **tn** Heb "my being is happy in my God"; NAB "in my God is the joy of my soul."

²² **tn** Heb "robe of vindication"; KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV "robe of righteousness."

²³ **tn** Heb "like a bridegroom [who] acts like a priest [by wearing] a turban, and like a bride [who] wears her jewelry." The words "I look" are supplied for stylistic reasons and clarification.

²⁴ **tn** Or perhaps, "righteousness," but the context seems to emphasize deliverance and restoration (see v. 10 and 62:1).

²⁵ **tn** Heb "and praise before all the nations."

²⁶ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

²⁷ **tn** Heb "goes forth like brightness."

²⁸ **tn** Heb "which the mouth of the LORD will designate."

62:3 You will be a majestic crown in the hand of the LORD,
a royal turban in the hand of your God.
62:4 You will no longer be called, “Abandoned,”
and your land will no longer be called
“Desolate.”
Indeed,¹ you will be called “My Delight
is in Her,”²
and your land “Married.”³
For the LORD will take delight in you,
and your land will be married to him.⁴
62:5 As a young man marries a young
woman,
so your sons⁵ will marry you.
As a bridegroom rejoices over a bride,
so your God will rejoice over you.
62:6 I⁶ post watchmen on your walls, O
Jerusalem;
they should keep praying all day and all
night.⁷
You who pray to⁸ the LORD, don’t be
silent!
62:7 Don’t allow him to rest until he rees-
tablishes Jerusalem,⁹
until he makes Jerusalem the pride¹⁰ of
the earth.
62:8 The LORD swears an oath by his right
hand,
by his strong arm:¹¹

“I will never again give your grain
to your enemies as food,
and foreigners will not drink your wine,
which you worked hard to produce.

62:9 But those who harvest the grain¹² will
eat it,
and will praise the LORD.
Those who pick the grapes will drink the
wine¹³
in the courts of my holy sanctuary.”
62:10 Come through! Come through the
gates!
Prepare the way for the people!
Build it! Build the roadway!
Remove the stones!
Lift a signal flag for the nations!
62:11 Look, the LORD announces to the
entire earth:¹⁴
“Say to Daughter Zion,
‘Look, your deliverer comes!
Look, his reward is with him
and his reward goes before him!’”¹⁵
62:12 They will be called, “The Holy
People,
the Ones Protected¹⁶ by the LORD.”
You will be called, “Sought After,
City Not Abandoned.”

The Victorious Divine Warrior

63:1 Who is this who comes from Edom,¹⁷
dressed in bright red, coming from Boz-
rah?¹⁸
Who¹⁹ is this one wearing royal attire,²⁰
who marches confidently²¹ because of his
great strength?
“It is I, the one who announces vindica-
tion,
and who is able to deliver!”²²
63:2 Why are your clothes red?
Why do you look like someone who has
stomped on grapes in a vat?²³
63:3 “I have stomped grapes in the wine-
press all by myself;

¹ **tn** Or “for”; KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV “but.”

² **tn** Hebrew *הַכְפִּיזִי בָהּ* (*kheftsi-vah*), traditionally transliterated “Hephzibah” (so KJV, ASV, NIV).

³ **tn** Hebrew *בְּעֻלָּה* (*b^eulah*), traditionally transliterated “Beulah” (so KJV, ASV, NIV).

⁴ **tn** That is, the land will be restored to the LORD’s favor and once again enjoy his blessing and protection. To indicate the land’s relationship to the LORD, the words “to him” have been supplied at the end of the clause.

⁵ **tc** The Hebrew text has “your sons,” but this produces an odd metaphor and is somewhat incongruous with the parallelism. In the context (v. 4b, see also 54:5-7) the LORD is the one who “marries” Zion. Therefore several prefer to emend “your sons” to *בְּנֵיךָ* (*bonayikh*, “your builder”; e.g., NRSV). In Ps 147:2 the LORD is called the “builder of Jerusalem.” However, this emendation is not the best option for at least four reasons. First, although the LORD is never called the “builder” of Jerusalem in Isaiah, the idea of Zion’s children possessing the land does occur (Isa 49:20; 54:3; cf. also 14:1; 60:21). Secondly, all the ancient versions support the MT reading. Thirdly, although the verb *בָּנָה* (*ba’al*) can mean “to marry,” its basic idea is “to possess.” Consequently, the verb stresses a relationship more than a state. All the ancient versions render this verb “to dwell in” or “to dwell with.” The point is not just that the land will be reinhabited, but that it will be in a relationship of “belonging” to the Israelites. Hence a relational verb like *בָּנָה* is used (J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah* [NICOT], 2:581). Finally, “sons” is a well-known metaphor for “inhabitants” (J. de Waard, *Isaiah*, 208).

⁶ **sn** The speaker here is probably the prophet.

⁷ **tn** *Heb* “all day and all night continually they do not keep silent.” The following lines suggest that they pray for the LORD’s intervention and restoration of the city.

⁸ **tn** Or “invoke”; NIV “call on”; NASB, NRSV “remind.”

⁹ **tn** “Jerusalem” is supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons; note the following line.

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “[the object of] praise.”

¹¹ **tn** The LORD’s right hand and strong arm here symbolize his power and remind the audience that his might guarantees the fulfillment of the following promise.

¹² **tn** *Heb* “it,” the grain mentioned in v. 8a.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “and those who gather it will drink it.” The masculine singular pronominal suffixes attached to “gather” and “drink” refer back to the masculine noun *תִּירוֹשׁ* (*tiros*h, “wine”) in v. 8b.

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* “to the end of the earth” (so NASB, NRSV).

¹⁵ **sn** As v. 12 indicates, the returning exiles are the LORD’s reward/prize. See also 40:10 and the note there.

¹⁶ **tn** Or “the redeemed of the LORD” (KJV, NAB).

¹⁷ **sn** Edom is here an archetype for the LORD’s enemies. See 34:5.

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “[in] bright red garments, from Bozrah.”

¹⁹ **tn** The interrogative particle is understood by ellipsis; note the first line of the verse.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “honored in his clothing”; KJV, ASV “glorious in his apparel.”

²¹ **tc** The Hebrew text has *צָנָה* (*tsa’ah*), which means “stoop, bend” (51:14). The translation assumes an emendation to *צָנָד* (*tsa’ad*, “march”; see BDB 858 s.v. *צָנָה*).

²² **tn** *Heb* “I, [the one] speaking in vindication [or “righteousness”], great to deliver.”

²³ **tn** *Heb* “and your garments like one who treads in a vat?”

no one from the nations joined me.
 I stomped on them¹ in my anger;
 I trampled them down in my rage.
 Their juice splashed on my garments,
 and stained² all my clothes.
63:4 For I looked forward to the day of
 vengeance,
 and then payback time arrived.³
63:5 I looked, but there was no one to
 help;
 I was shocked because there was no one
 offering support.⁴
 So my right arm accomplished deliver-
 ance;
 my raging anger drove me on.⁵
63:6 I trampled nations in my anger,
 I made them drunk⁶ in my rage,
 I splashed their blood on the ground.”⁷

A Prayer for Divine Intervention

63:7 I will tell of the faithful acts of the
 LORD,
 of the LORD’s praiseworthy deeds.
 I will tell about all⁸ the LORD did for us,
 the many good things he did for the fam-
 ily of Israel,⁹
 because of¹⁰ his compassion and great
 faithfulness.
63:8 He said, “Certainly they will be my
 people,
 children who are not disloyal.”¹¹
 He became their deliverer.
63:9 Through all that they suffered, he
 suffered too.¹²

¹ **sn** Nations, headed by Edom, are the object of the LORD’s anger (see v. 6). He compares military slaughter to stomping on grapes in a vat.

² **tn** Heb “and I stained.” For discussion of the difficult verb form, see HALOT 170 s.v. נָאֵל. Perhaps the form is mixed, combining the first person forms of the imperfect (note the *alef* prefix) and perfect (note the *-i*-ending).

³ **tn** Heb “for the day of vengeance was in my heart, and the year of my revenge came.” The term גְּאוּלַּי (*g’ulai*) is sometimes translated here “my redemption,” for the verbal root גּוּל often means “deliver, buy back.” א גּוּל (*go’el*, “kinsman-redeemer”) was responsible for protecting the extended family’s interests, often by redeeming property that had been sold outside the family. However, the responsibilities of a גּוּל extended beyond financial concerns. He was also responsible for avenging the shed blood of a family member (see Num 35:19-27; Deut 19:6-12). In Isa 63:4, where vengeance is a prominent theme (note the previous line), it is probably this function of the family protector that is in view. The LORD pictures himself as a blood avenger who waits for the day of vengeance to arrive and then springs into action.

⁴ **sn** See Isa 59:16 for similar language.

⁵ **tn** Heb “and my anger, it supported me”; NIV “my own wrath sustained me.”

⁶ **sn** See Isa 49:26 and 51:23 for similar imagery.

⁷ **tn** Heb “and I brought down to the ground their juice.” “Juice” refers to their blood (see v. 3).

⁸ **tn** Heb “according to all which.”

⁹ **tn** Heb “greatness of goodness to the house of Israel which he did for them.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “according to.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “children [who] do not act deceitfully.” Here the verb refers to covenantal loyalty.

¹² **tn** Heb “in all their distress, there was distress to him” (reading לוֹ [*lo*] with the margin/Qere).

The messenger sent from his very pres-
 ence¹³ delivered them.
 In his love and mercy he protected¹⁴ them;
 he lifted them up and carried them
 throughout ancient times.¹⁵
63:10 But they rebelled and offended¹⁶ his
 holy Spirit,¹⁷
 so he turned into an enemy
 and fought against them.
63:11 His people remembered the ancient
 times.¹⁸
 Where is the one who brought them up
 out of the sea,
 along with the shepherd of¹⁹ his flock?
 Where is the one who placed his holy
 Spirit among them,²⁰
63:12 the one who made his majestic
 power available to Moses,²¹
 who divided the water before them,
 gaining for himself a lasting reputation,²²
63:13 who led them through the deep
 water?
 Like a horse running on flat land²³ they
 did not stumble.
63:14 Like an animal that goes down into
 a valley to graze,²⁴
 so the Spirit of the LORD granted them
 rest.
 In this way²⁵ you guided your people,

¹³ **tn** Heb “the messenger [or “angel”] of his face”; NIV “the angel of his presence.”

¹⁴ **sn** This may refer to the “angel of God” mentioned in Exod 14:19, who in turn may be identical to the divine “presence” (literally, “face”) referred to in Exod 33:14-15 and Deut 4:37. Here in Isa 63 this messenger may be equated with God’s “holy Spirit” (see vv. 10-11) and “the Spirit of the LORD” (v. 14). See also Ps 139:7, where God’s “Spirit” seems to be equated with his “presence” (literally, “face”) in the synonymous parallel structure.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “redeemed” (KJV, NAB, NIV), or “delivered.”

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “all the days of antiquity”; KJV, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV “days of old.”

¹⁷ **tn** Or “grieved, hurt the feelings of.”

¹⁸ **sn** The phrase “holy Spirit” occurs in the OT only here (in v. 11 as well) and in Ps 51:11 (51:13 HT), where it is associated with the divine presence.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “and he remembered the days of antiquity, Moses, his people.” The syntax of the statement is unclear. The translation assumes that “his people” is the subject of the verb “remembered.” If original, “Moses” is in apposition to “the days of antiquity,” more precisely identifying the time period referred to. However, the syntactical awkwardness suggests that “Moses” may have been an early marginal note (perhaps identifying “the shepherd of his flock” two lines later) that has worked its way into the text.

²⁰ **tn** The Hebrew text has a plural form, which if retained and taken as a numerical plural, would probably refer to Moses, Aaron, and the Israelite tribal leaders at the time of the Exodus. Most prefer to emend the form to the singular (רִאִי, *ra’ah*) and understand this as a reference just to Moses.

²¹ **sn** See the note at v. 10.

²² **tn** Heb “who caused to go at the right hand of Moses the arm of his splendor.”

²³ **tn** Heb “making for himself a lasting name.”

²⁴ **tn** Heb “in the desert [or “steppe”].”

²⁵ **tn** The words “to graze” are supplied in the translation for clarification.

²⁶ **tn** Or “so” (KJV, ASV), or “thus” (NAB, NRSV).

gaining for yourself an honored reputation.¹

63:15 Look down from heaven and take notice,

from your holy, majestic palace!

Where are your zeal² and power?

Do not hold back your tender compassion!³

63:16 For you are our father, though Abraham does not know us and Israel does not recognize us.

You, LORD, are our father;

you have been called our protector from ancient times.⁴

63:17 Why, LORD, do you make us stray⁵ from your ways,⁶

and make our minds stubborn so that we do not obey you?⁷

Return for the sake of your servants, the tribes of your inheritance!

¹ **tn** Heb “making for yourself a majestic name.”

² **tn** This probably refers to his zeal for his people, which motivates him to angrily strike out against their enemies.

³ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “the agitation of your intestines and your compassion to me they are held back.” The phrase “agitation of your intestines” is metonymic, referring to the way in which one’s nervous system reacts when one feels pity and compassion toward another. אֵלַי (‘elay, “to me”) is awkward in this context, where the speaker represents the nation and, following the introduction (see v. 7), utilizes first person plural forms. The translation assumes an emendation to the negative particle אַל (‘al). This also necessitates emending the following verb form (which is a plural perfect) to a singular jussive (תִּתְאַפֵּק, *ti’appaq*). The Hitpa’el of אָפַק (‘afaq) also occurs in 42:14.

⁴ **tn** Heb “our protector [or “redeemer”] from antiquity [is] your name.”

⁵ **tn** Some suggest a tolerative use of the Hiphil here, “[why do] you allow us to stray?” (cf. NLT). Though the Hiphil of הָיָה (*ia’ah*) appears to be tolerative in Jer 50:6, elsewhere it is preferable or necessary to take it as causative. See Isa 3:12; 9:15; and 30:28, as well as Gen 20:13; 2 Kgs 21:9; Job 12:24-25; Prov 12:26; Jer 23:13, 32; Hos 4:12; Amos 2:4; Mic 3:5.

⁶ **tn** This probably refers to God’s commands.

⁷ **tn** Heb “[Why do] you harden our heart[s] so as not to fear you.” The interrogative particle is understood by ellipsis (note the preceding line).

sn How direct this hardening is, one cannot be sure. The speaker may envision direct involvement on the LORD’s part. The LORD has brought the exile as judgment for the nation’s sin and now he continues to keep them at arm’s length by blinding them spiritually. The second half of 64:7 might support this, though the precise reading of the final verb is uncertain. On the other hand, the idiom of lament is sometimes ironic and hyperbolically deterministic. For example, Naomi lamented that Shaddai was directly opposing her and bringing her calamity (Ruth 1:20-21), while the author of Ps 88 directly attributes his horrible suffering and loneliness to God (see especially vv. 6-8, 16-18). Both individuals make little, if any, room for intermediate causes or the principle of sin and death which ravages the human race. In the same way, the speaker in Isa 63:17 (who evidences great spiritual sensitivity and is anything but “hardened”) may be referring to the hardships of exile, which discouraged and even embittered the people, causing many of them to retreat from their Yahwistic faith. In this case, the “hardening” in view is more indirect and can be lifted by the LORD’s intervention. Whether the hardening here is indirect or direct, it is important to recognize that the speaker sees it as one of the effects of rebellion against the LORD (note especially 64:5-6).

63:18 For a short time your special⁸ nation possessed a land,⁹

but then our adversaries knocked down¹⁰ your holy sanctuary.

63:19 We existed from ancient times,¹¹ but you did not rule over them,

they were not your subjects.¹²

64:1 (63:19b)¹³ If only you would tear apart the sky¹⁴ and come down!

The mountains would tremble¹⁵ before you!

64:2 (64:1) As when fire ignites dry wood, or fire makes water boil,

let your adversaries know who you are,¹⁶ and may the nations shake at your presence!

64:3 When you performed awesome deeds that took us by surprise,¹⁷

you came down, and the mountains trembled¹⁸ before you.

64:4 Since ancient times no one has heard or perceived,¹⁹

no eye has seen any God besides you, who intervenes for those who wait for him.

64:5 You assist²⁰ those who delight in doing what is right,²¹

who observe your commandments.²²

⁸ **tn** Or “holy” (ASV, NASB, NRSV, TEV, NLT).

⁹ **tn** Heb “for a short time they had a possession, the people of your holiness.”

¹⁰ **tn** Heb “your adversaries trampled on.”

¹¹ **tn** Heb “we were from antiquity” (see v. 16). The collocation הָיָה + מִן + עוֹלָם (*hayah + min + ‘olam*) occurs only here.

¹² **tn** Heb “you did not rule them, your name was not called over them.” The expression “the name is called over” indicates ownership; see the note at 4:1. As these two lines stand they are very difficult to interpret. They appear to be stating that the adversaries just mentioned in v. 18 have not been subject to the LORD’s rule in the past, perhaps explaining why they could commit the atrocity described in v. 18b.

¹³ **sn** In BHS the chapter division occurs in a different place from the English Bible: 64:1 ET (63:19b HT) and 64:2-12 (64:1-11 HT). Beginning with 65:1 the verse numbers in the English Bible and the Hebrew Bible are again the same.

¹⁴ **tn** Or “the heavens.” The Hebrew term שָׁמַיִם (*shamayim*) may be translated “heavens” or “sky” depending on the context.

¹⁵ **tn** Or “quake.” נָזְלוּ (*nazollu*) is from the verbal root נָזַל (*zala*, “quake”; see HALOT 272 s.v. II נָזַל). Perhaps there is a verbal allusion to Judg 5:5, the only other passage where this verb occurs. In that passage the poet tells how the LORD’s appearance to do battle caused the mountains to shake.

¹⁶ **tn** Heb “to make known your name to your adversaries.” Perhaps the infinitive construct with preposition לְ (*lamed*) should be construed with “come down” in v. 1a, or subordinated to the following line: “To make known your name to your adversaries, let the nations shake from before you.”

¹⁷ **tn** Heb “[for which] we were not waiting.”

¹⁸ **tn** See the note at v. 1.

¹⁹ **tn** Heb “from ancient times they have not heard, they have not listened.”

²⁰ **tn** Heb “meet [with kindness].”

²¹ **tn** Heb “the one who rejoices and does righteousness.”

²² **tn** Heb “in your ways they remember you.”

Look, you were angry because we violated them continually.

How then can we be saved?¹

64:6 We are all like one who is unclean, all our so-called righteous acts are like a menstrual rag in your sight.²

We all wither like a leaf; our sins carry us away like the wind.

64:7 No one invokes³ your name, or makes an effort⁴ to take hold of you. For you have rejected us⁵

and handed us over to our own sins.⁶

64:8 Yet,⁷ LORD, you are our father.

We are the clay, and you are our potter; we are all the product of your labor.⁸

64:9 LORD, do not be too angry!

Do not hold our sins against us continually!⁹

Take a good look at your people, at all of us!¹⁰

64:10 Your chosen¹¹ cities have become a desert;

Zion has become a desert,

Jerusalem¹² is a desolate ruin.

64:11 Our holy temple, our pride and joy,¹³ the place where our ancestors praised you, has been burned with fire;

all our prized possessions have been destroyed.¹⁴

64:12 In light of all this,¹⁵ how can you still hold back, LORD?

How can you be silent and continue to humiliate us?

The Lord Will Distinguish Between Sinners and the Godly

65:1 “I made myself available to those who did not ask for me;¹⁶

I appeared to those who did not look for me.¹⁷

I said, ‘Here I am! Here I am!’ to a nation that did not invoke¹⁸ my name.

65:2 I spread out my hands all day long to my rebellious people, who lived in a way that is morally unacceptable,

and who did what they desired.¹⁹ **65:3** These people continually and blatantly offend me²⁰

as they sacrifice in their sacred orchards²¹ and burn incense on brick altars.²²

65:4 They sit among the tombs²³ and keep watch all night long.²⁴

They eat pork,²⁵ and broth²⁶ from unclean sacrificial meat is in their pans.

65:5 They say, ‘Keep to yourself! Don’t get near me, for I am holier than you!’

These people are like smoke in my nostrils, like a fire that keeps burning all day long.

65:6 Look, I have decreed:²⁷

I will not keep silent, but will pay them back;

I will pay them back exactly what they deserve.²⁸

¹ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “look, you were angry and we sinned against them continually [or perhaps, “in ancient times”] and we were delivered.” The statement makes little sense as it stands. The first *vav* [ו] consecutive (“and we sinned”) must introduce an explanatory clause here (see Num 1:48 and Isa 39:1 for other examples of this relatively rare use of the *vav* [ו] consecutive). The final verb (if rendered positively) makes no sense in this context – God’s anger at their sin resulted in judgment, not deliverance. One of the alternatives involves an emendation to וְנִירְשָׁה (“and we were evil”; LXX, NRSV, TEV). The Vulgate and the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a support the MT reading. One can either accept an emendation or cast the statement as a question (as above).

² **tn** *Heb* “and like a garment of menstruation [are] all our righteous acts”; KJV, NIV “filthy rags”; ASV “a polluted garment.”

³ **tn** Or “calls out in”; NASB, NIV, NRSV “calls on.”

⁴ **tn** Or “rouses himself”; NASB “arouses himself.”

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “for you have hidden your face from us.”

⁶ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally, “and you caused us to melt in the hand of our sin.” The verb וַתִּמְגֶּנֻ (vatt^mmugenu) is a Qal preterite 2nd person masculine singular with a 1st person common plural suffix from the root מָגַן (mug, “melt”). However, elsewhere the Qal of this verb is intransitive. If the verbal root מָגַן (mug) is retained here, the form should be emended to a Polel pattern וַתִּמְגֶּנֻּנִי (vatt^mmog^ggenu). The translation assumes an emendation to וַתִּמְגֶּנֻּנִי (vatt^mmagg^ggenu, “and you handed us over”). This form is a Piel preterite 2nd person masculine singular with a 1st person common plural suffix from the verbal root מָגַן (miggen, “hand over, surrender”; see HALOT 545 s.v. מָגַן and BDB 171 s.v. מָגַן). The point is that God has abandoned them to their sinful ways and no longer seeks reconciliation.

⁷ **tn** On the force of וְעַתָּה (v^eattah) here, see HALOT 902 s.v. עַתָּה.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* “the work of your hand.”

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “do not remember sin continually.”

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* “Look, gaze at your people, all of us.” Another option is to translate, “Take a good look! We are all your people.”

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* “holy” (so KJV, NASB, NRSV, NLT); NIV “sacred.”

¹² **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

¹³ **tn** *Heb* “our source of pride.”

¹⁴ **tn** Or “all that we valued has become a ruin.”

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “because of these”; KJV, ASV “for these things.”

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “I allowed myself to be sought by those who did not ask.”

¹⁷ **tn** *Heb* “I allowed myself to be found by those who did not seek.”

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “call out in”; NASB, NIV, NRSV “call on.”

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “who walked [in] the way that is not good, after their thoughts.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the people who provoke me to anger to my face continually.”

²¹ **tn** Or “gardens” (KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV, NLT).

²² **tn** Or perhaps, “on tiles.”

²³ **sn** Perhaps the worship of underworld deities or dead spirits is in view.

²⁴ **tn** The Hebrew text reads literally, “and in the watches they spend the night.” Some understand נִצְרִיִּים (nⁱtsurim) as referring to “secret places” or “caves,” while others emend the text to וְבֵין צֻרִים (uven tsurim, “between the rocky cliffs”).

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* “the flesh of the pig”; KJV, NAB, NASB “swine’s flesh.”

²⁶ **tc** The marginal reading (Qere), supported by the Qumran scroll 1QIsa^a, reads בְּרִיקָה (m^rraq, “broth”), while the consonantal text (Kethib) has בְּרִיקָה (fraq, “fragment”).

²⁷ **tn** *Heb* “Look, it is written before me.”

²⁸ **tn** *Heb* “I will pay back into their lap.”

65:7 for your sins and your ancestors' sins,"¹ says the LORD.

"Because they burned incense on the mountains and offended² me on the hills, I will punish them in full measure."³

65:8 This is what the LORD says:

"When⁴ juice is discovered in a cluster of grapes, someone says, 'Don't destroy it, for it contains juice.'⁵

So I will do for the sake of my servants – I will not destroy everyone.⁶

65:9 I will bring forth descendants from Jacob, and from Judah people to take possession of my mountains.

My chosen ones will take possession of the land;⁷

my servants will live there.

65:10 Sharon⁸ will become a pasture for sheep, and the Valley of Achor⁹ a place where cattle graze;¹⁰ they will belong to my people, who seek me.¹¹

65:11 But as for you who abandon the LORD and forget about worshiping at¹² my holy mountain, who prepare a feast for the god called 'Fortune,'¹³ and fill up wine jugs for the god called 'Destiny,'¹⁴ –

65:12 I predestine you to die by the sword,¹⁵

all of you will kneel down at the slaughtering block,¹⁶ because I called to you, and you did not respond,

I spoke and you did not listen.

You did evil before me;¹⁷ you chose to do what displeases me."¹⁸

65:13 So this is what the sovereign LORD says:

"Look, my servants will eat, but you will be hungry!

Look, my servants will drink, but you will be thirsty!

Look, my servants will rejoice, but you will be humiliated!

65:14 Look, my servants will shout for joy as happiness fills their hearts!¹⁸

But you will cry out as sorrow fills your hearts;¹⁹

you will wail because your spirits will be crushed.²⁰

65:15 Your names will live on in the curse formulas of my chosen ones.²¹

The sovereign LORD will kill you, but he will give his servants another name.

65:16 Whoever pronounces a blessing in the earth²²

will do so in the name of the faithful God;²³

whoever makes an oath in the earth will do so in the name of the faithful God.²⁴

For past problems will be forgotten; I will no longer think about them.²⁵

65:17 For look, I am ready to create new heavens and a new earth!²⁶

The former ones²⁷ will not be remembered;

no one will think about them anymore.²⁸

¹ *tn* Heb "the iniquities of your fathers."

² *tn* Or perhaps, "taunted"; KJV "blasphemed"; NAB "disgraced"; NASB "scorned"; NIV "defied"; NRSV "reviled."

³ *tn* Heb "I will measure out their pay [from the] beginning into their lap," i.e., he will give them everything they have earned.

⁴ *tn* Heb "just as." In the Hebrew text the statement is one long sentence, "Just as..., so I will do...."

⁵ *tn* Heb "for a blessing is in it."

⁶ *tn* Heb "by not destroying everyone."

⁷ *tn* Heb "it." The third feminine singular pronominal suffix probably refers to the land which contains the aforementioned mountains.

⁸ *sn* Sharon was a plain located to the west, along the Mediterranean coast north of Joppa and south of Carmel.

⁹ *sn* The Valley of Achor ("Achor" means "trouble" in Hebrew) was the site of Achan's execution. It was located to the east, near Jericho.

¹⁰ *tn* Heb "a resting place for cattle"; NASB, NIV "for herds."

¹¹ *tn* Heb "for my people who seek me."

¹² *tn* The Hebrew text has simply, "forget." The words "about worshiping at" are supplied in the translation for clarification.

¹³ *tn* The Hebrew has לַגֹּד (laggad, "for Gad"), the name of a pagan deity. See HALOT 176 s.v. II גֹּד 2.

¹⁴ *tn* The Hebrew has לַמֶּנִּי (lamni, "for Meni"), the name of a pagan deity. See HALOT 602 s.v. מֶנִּי.

¹⁵ *tn* Heb "I assign you to the sword." Some emend the Qal verb form מִנִּיתִי (maniti, "I assign") to the Piel מִנִּנִּיתִי (minniti, "I ordain"). The verb sounds like the name of the god Meni (מֶנִּי, m'ni, "Destiny, Fate"). The sound play draws attention to the irony of the statement. The sinners among God's people wor-

ship the god Meni, apparently in an effort to ensure a bright destiny for themselves. But the LORD is the one who really determines their destiny and he has decreed their demise.

¹⁶ *tn* Or "at the slaughter"; NIV "for the slaughter"; NLT "before the executioner."

¹⁷ *tn* Heb "that which is evil in my eyes."

¹⁸ *tn* Heb "from the good of the heart."

¹⁹ *tn* Heb "from the pain of the heart."

²⁰ *tn* Heb "from the breaking of the spirit."

²¹ *tn* Heb "you will leave your name for an oath to my chosen ones."

sn For an example of such a curse formula see Jer 29:22.

²² *tn* Or "in the land" (NIV, NCV, NRSV). The same phrase occurs again later in this verse, with the same options.

²³ *tn* Heb "will pronounce a blessing by the God of truth."

²⁴ *tn* Heb "will take an oath by the God of truth."

²⁵ *tn* Heb "for the former distresses will be forgotten, and they will be hidden from my eyes."

²⁶ *sn* This hyperbolic statement likens the coming transformation of Jerusalem (see vv. 18-19) to a new creation of the cosmos.

²⁷ *tn* Or perhaps, "the former things" (so ASV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); TEV "The events of the past."

²⁸ *tn* Heb "and they will not come up on the mind."

65:18 But be happy and rejoice forever—more over what I am about to create! For look, I am ready to create Jerusalem¹ to be a source of joy,² and her people to be a source of happiness.³
65:19 Jerusalem will bring me joy, and my people will bring me happiness.⁴ The sound of weeping or cries of sorrow will never be heard in her again.
65:20 Never again will one of her infants live just a few days⁵ or an old man die before his time.⁶ Indeed, no one will die before the age of a hundred,⁷ anyone who fails to reach⁸ the age of a hundred will be considered cursed.
65:21 They will build houses and live in them; they will plant vineyards and eat their fruit.
65:22 No longer will they build a house only to have another live in it,⁹ or plant a vineyard only to have another eat its fruit,¹⁰ for my people will live as long as trees,¹¹ and my chosen ones will enjoy to the fullest what they have produced.¹²
65:23 They will not work in vain, or give birth to children that will experience disaster.¹³ For the LORD will bless their children and their descendants.¹⁴
65:24 Before they even call out,¹⁵ I will respond;

while they are still speaking, I will hear.

65:25 A wolf and a lamb will graze together;¹⁶ a lion, like an ox, will eat straw,¹⁷ and a snake's food will be dirt.¹⁸ They will no longer injure or destroy on my entire royal mountain,"¹⁹ says the LORD.

66:1 This is what the LORD says:

"The heavens are my throne and the earth is my footstool. Where then is the house you will build for me?

Where is the place where I will rest?

66:2 My hand made them;²⁰ that is how they came to be,"²¹ says the LORD.

I show special favor²² to the humble and contrite,

who respect what I have to say.²³

66:3 The one who slaughters a bull also strikes down a man;²⁴

the one who sacrifices a lamb also breaks a dog's neck;²⁵

¹⁶ **sn** A similar statement appears in 11:6.

¹⁷ **sn** These words also appear in 11:7.

¹⁸ **sn** Some see an allusion to Gen 3:14 (note "you will eat dirt"). The point would be that even in this new era the snake (often taken as a symbol of Satan) remains under God's curse. However, it is unlikely that such an allusion exists. Even if there is an echo of Gen 3:14, the primary allusion is to 11:8, where snakes are pictured as no longer dangerous. They will no longer attack other living creatures, but will be content to crawl along the ground. (The statement "you will eat dirt" in Gen 3:14 means "you will crawl on the ground." In the same way the statement "dirt will be its food" in Isa 65:25 means "it will crawl on the ground.")

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* "in all my holy mountain." These same words appear in 11:9. See the note there.

sn As in 11:1-9 the prophet anticipates a time when the categories predator-prey no longer exist. See the note at the end of 11:8.

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* "all these." The phrase refers to the heavens and earth, mentioned in the previous verse.

²¹ **tn** *Heb* "and all these were." Some prefer to emend וְהָיָה (vayyihyu, "and they were") to וְהָיָה (v'li hayu, "and to me they were"), i.e., "and they belong to me."

²² **tn** *Heb* "and to this one I look" (KJV and NASB both similar).

²³ **tn** *Heb* "to the humble and the lowly in spirit and the one who trembles at my words."

²⁴ **tn** *Heb* "one who slaughters a bull, one who strikes down a man." Some understand a comparison here and in the following lines. In God's sight the one who sacrifices is like (i.e., regarded as) a murderer or one whose worship is ritually defiled or idolatrous. The translation above assumes that the language is not metaphorical, but descriptive of the sinners' hypocritical behavior. (Note the last two lines of the verse, which suggests they are guilty of abominable practices.) On the one hand, they act pious and offer sacrifices, but at the same time they commit violent crimes against men, defile their sacrifices, and worship other gods.

²⁵ **tn** *Heb* "one who sacrifices a lamb, one who breaks a dog's neck." Some understand a comparison, but see the previous note.

sn The significance of breaking a dog's neck is uncertain, though the structure of the statement when compared to the preceding and following lines suggests the action is viewed in a negative light. According to Exod 13:13 and 34:20, one was to "redeem" a firstborn donkey by offering a lamb; if one did not "redeem" the firstborn donkey in this way, then its neck must be broken. According to Deut 21:1-9 a heifer's neck was

¹ **map** For location see Map5-B1; Map6-F3; Map7-E2; Map8-F2; Map10-B3; JP1-F4; JP2-F4; JP3-F4; JP4-F4.

² **tn** *Heb* "Jerusalem, joy." The next verse suggests the meaning: The LORD will create Jerusalem to be a source of joy to himself.

³ **tn** *Heb* "her people, happiness." See the preceding note.

⁴ **tn** *Heb* "and I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and be happy in my people."

⁵ **tn** *Heb* "and there will not be from there again a nursing infant of days," i.e., one that lives just a few days.

⁶ **tn** *Heb* "or an old [man] who does not fill out his days."

⁷ **tn** *Heb* "for the child as a son of one hundred years will die." The point seems to be that those who die at the age of a hundred will be considered children, for the average life span will be much longer than that. The category "child" will be redefined in light of the expanded life spans that will characterize this new era.

⁸ **tn** *Heb* "the one who misses." חָטָא (*khata'*) is used here in its basic sense of "miss the mark." See HALOT 305 s.v. חָטָא. Another option is to translate, "and the sinner who reaches the age of a hundred will be cursed."

⁹ **tn** *Heb* "they will not build, and another live [in it]."

¹⁰ **tn** *Heb* "they will not plant, and another eat."

¹¹ **tn** *Heb* "for like the days of the tree [will be] the days of my people."

¹² **tn** *Heb* "the work of their hands" (so KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV); NLT "their hard-won gains."

¹³ **tn** *Heb* "and they will not give birth to horror."

¹⁴ **tn** *Heb* "for offspring blessed by the LORD they [will be], and their descendants along with them."

¹⁵ **tn** The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on "in the future" in 2:2.

the one who presents an offering includes pig's blood with it;¹
 the one who offers incense also praises an idol.²
 They have decided to behave this way;³
 they enjoy these disgusting practices.⁴
66:4 So I will choose severe punishment⁵
 for them;
 I will bring on them what they dread,
 because I called, and no one responded,
 I spoke and they did not listen.
 They did evil before me;⁶
 they chose to do what displeases me."
66:5 Hear the word of the LORD,
 you who respect what he has to say!⁷
 Your countrymen,⁸ who hate you
 and exclude you, supposedly for the sake
 of my name,
 say, "May the LORD be glorified,
 then we will witness your joy."⁹
 But they will be put to shame.
66:6 The sound of battle comes from the city;
 the sound comes from the temple!
 It is the sound of the LORD paying back
 his enemies.
66:7 Before she goes into labor, she gives birth!
 Before her contractions begin, she delivers a boy!
66:8 Who has ever heard of such a thing?
 Who has ever seen this?
 Can a country¹⁰ be brought forth in one day?
 Can a nation be born in a single moment?
 Yet as soon as Zion goes into labor she
 gives birth to sons!

66:9 "Do I bring a baby to the birth opening and then not deliver it?"
 asks the LORD.
 "Or do I bring a baby to the point of delivery and then hold it back?"
 asks your God.¹¹
66:10 Be happy for Jerusalem
 and rejoice with her, all you who love her!
 Share in her great joy,
 all you who have mourned over her!
66:11 For¹² you will nurse from her satisfying breasts and be nourished;¹³
 you will feed with joy from her milk-filled breasts.¹⁴
66:12 For this is what the LORD says:
 "Look, I am ready to extend to her prosperity that will flow like a river,
 the riches of nations will flow into her like a stream that floods its banks.¹⁵
 You will nurse from her breast¹⁶ and be carried at her side;
 you will play on her knees.
66:13 As a mother consoles a child,¹⁷
 so I will console you,
 and you will be consoled over Jerusalem."
66:14 When you see this, you will be happy,¹⁸
 and you will be revived.¹⁹
 The LORD will reveal his power to his servants
 and his anger to his enemies.²⁰
66:15 For look, the LORD comes with fire,
 his chariots come like a windstorm,²¹
 to reveal his raging anger,
 his battle cry, and his flaming arrows.²²
66:16 For the LORD judges all humanity²³
 with fire and his sword;
 the LORD will kill many.²⁴

to be broken as part of the atonement ritual to purify the land from the guilt of bloodshed. It is not certain if these passages relate in any way to the action described in Isa 66:3.

1 tn Heb "one who offers an offering, pig's blood." Some understand a comparison, but see the note at the end of the first line.

2 tn Heb "one who offers incense as a memorial offering, one who blesses something false." Some understand a comparison, but see the note at the end of the first line. אָנִי ('*aven*'), which has a wide variety of attested nuances, here refers metonymically to an idol. See HALOT 22 s.v. and BDB 20 s.v. 2.

3 tn Heb "also they have chosen their ways."

4 tn Heb "their being [or "soul"] takes delight in their disgusting [things]."

5 tn The precise meaning of the noun is uncertain. It occurs only here and in 3:4 (but see the note there). It appears to be derived from the verbal root אָלַף ('*alaf*'), which can carry the nuance "deal severely."

6 tn Heb "that which is evil in my eyes."

7 tn Heb "who tremble at his word."

8 tn Heb "brothers" (so NASB, NIV); NRSV "Your own people"; NLT "Your close relatives."

9 tn Or "so that we might witness your joy." The point of this statement is unclear.

10 tn Heb "land," but here אֶרֶץ ('*erets*') stands metonymically for an organized nation (see the following line).

11 sn The rhetorical questions expect the answer, "Of course not!"

12 tn Or "in order that"; ASV, NRSV "that."

13 tn Heb "you will suck and be satisfied, from her comforting breast."

14 tn Heb "you will slurp and refresh yourselves from her heavy breast."

sn Zion's residents will benefit from and enjoy her great material prosperity. See v. 12.

15 tn Heb "Look, I am ready to extend to her like a river prosperity [or "peace"], and like an overflowing stream, the riches of nations."

16 tn The words "from her breast" are supplied in the translation for clarification (see v. 11).

17 tn Heb "like a man whose mother comforts him."

18 tn "and you will see and your heart will be happy."

19 tn Heb "and your bones like grass will sprout."

20 tn Heb "and the hand of the LORD will be made known to his servants, and anger to his enemies."

21 sn Chariots are like a windstorm in their swift movement and in the way that they kick up dust.

22 tn Heb "to cause to return with the rage of his anger, and his battle cry [or "rebuke"] with flames of fire."

23 tn Heb "flesh" (so KJV, NASB, NRSV); NIV "upon all men"; TEV "all the people of the world."

24 tn Heb "many are the slain of the LORD."

66:17 “As for those who consecrate and ritually purify themselves so they can follow their leader and worship in the sacred orchards,¹ those who eat the flesh of pigs and other disgusting creatures, like mice² – they will all be destroyed together,”³ says the LORD. **66:18** “I hate their deeds and thoughts! So I am coming⁴ to gather all the nations and ethnic groups;⁵ they will come and witness my splendor. **66:19** I will perform a mighty act among them⁶ and then send some of those who remain to the nations – to Tarshish, Pul,⁷ Lud⁸ (known for its archers⁹), Tubal, Javan,¹⁰ and to the distant coastlands¹¹ that have not heard about me or seen my splendor. They will tell the nations of my splendor. **66:20** They will bring back all your countrymen¹² from all the nations as an offering to the LORD. They will bring them¹³ on horses, in

chariots, in wagons, on mules, and on camels¹⁴ to my holy hill Jerusalem,” says the LORD, “just as the Israelites bring offerings to the LORD’s temple in ritually pure containers. **66:21** And I will choose some of them as priests and Levites,” says the LORD. **66:22** “For just as the new heavens and the new earth I am about to make will remain standing before me,” says the LORD, “so your descendants and your name will remain. **66:23** From one month¹⁵ to the next and from one Sabbath to the next, all people¹⁶ will come to worship me,”¹⁷ says the LORD. **66:24** “They will go out and observe the corpses of those who rebelled against me, for the maggots that eat them will not die,¹⁸ and the fire that consumes them will not die out.¹⁹ All people will find the sight abhorrent.”²⁰

¹ **tn** *Heb* “the ones who consecrate themselves and the ones who purify themselves toward the orchards [or “gardens”] after the one in the midst.” The precise meaning of the statement is unclear, though it is obvious that some form of idolatry is in view.

² **tn** *Heb* “ones who eat the flesh of the pig and the disgusting thing and the mouse.”

³ **tn** *Heb* “together they will come to an end.”

⁴ **tc** The Hebrew text reads literally “and I, their deeds and their thoughts, am coming.” The syntax here is very problematic, suggesting that the text may have suffered corruption. Some suggest that the words “their deeds and their thoughts” have been displaced from v. 17. This line presents two primary challenges. In the first place, the personal pronoun “I” has no verb after it. Most translations insert “know” for the sake of clarity (NASB, NRSV, NLT, ESV). The NIV has “I, because of their actions and their imaginations...” Since God’s “knowledge” of Israel’s sin occasions judgment, the verb “hate” is an option as well (see above translation). The feminine form of the next verb (בָּאָה, *ba’ah*) could be understood in one of two ways. One could provide an implied noun “time” (עַתָּה, *’et*) and render the next line “the time is coming/has come” (NASB, ESV). One could also emend the feminine verb to the masculine בָּא (ba’) and have the “I” at the beginning of the line govern this verb as well (for the LORD is speaking here): “I am coming” (cf. NIV, NCV, NRSV, TEV, NLT).

⁵ **tn** *Heb* “and the tongues”; KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV “and tongues.”

⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and I will set a sign among them.” The precise meaning of this statement is unclear. Elsewhere “to set a sign” means “perform a mighty act” (Ps 78:43; Jer 32:20), “make [someone] an object lesson” (Ezek 14:8), and “erect a [literal] standard” (Ps 74:4).

⁷ **tn** Some prefer to read “Put” (i.e., Libya).

⁸ **sn** That is, Lydia (in Asia Minor).

⁹ **tn** *Heb* “drawers of the bow” (KJV and ASV both similar).

¹⁰ **sn** *Javan* is generally identified today as Greece (so NIV, NCV, NLT).

¹¹ **tn** Or “islands” (NIV).

¹² **tn** *Heb* “brothers” (so NIV); NCV “fellow Israelites.”

¹³ **tn** The words “they will bring them” are supplied in the translation for stylistic reasons.

¹⁴ **tn** The precise meaning of this word is uncertain. Some suggest it refers to “chariots.” See HALOT 498 s.v. *כִּרְכָרָה.

¹⁵ **tn** *Heb* “new moon.” The verb that introduces this verse serves as a discourse particle and is untranslated; see note on “in the future” in 2:2.

¹⁶ **tn** *Heb* “all flesh” (so KJV, ASV, NRSV); NAB, NASB, NIV “all mankind”; NLT “All humanity.”

¹⁷ **tn** Or “bow down before” (NASB).

¹⁸ **tn** *Heb* “for their worm will not die.”

¹⁹ **tn** *Heb* “and their fire will not be extinguished.”

²⁰ **tn** *Heb* “and they will be an abhorrence to all flesh.”

sn This verse depicts a huge mass burial site where the seemingly endless pile of maggot-infested corpses are being burned.

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A CRITICAL EDITION**

Carol Newsom

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*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice:
A Critical Edition*

Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein

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Carol Newsom

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Carol Newsom

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To my husband
Rex Matthews

FOREWORD

The work presented here represents in many ways the fruit of scholarly collaboration. The manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot were among the texts from Qumran Cave 4 originally entrusted to Prof. John Strugnell of Harvard University. In recent years, in order to expedite the publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts, Prof. Strugnell has associated a number of scholars with himself in various cooperative arrangements. In 1979 he asked me to undertake the work of edition of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice as my doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. Prof. Strugnell generously shared with me his transcriptions of the texts, the notes of his preliminary studies, and the observations of his critical judgment as I prepared the work. Although the texts of the Sabbath Shirot will eventually be incorporated in one of the volumes of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert series, the publication of a revised version of the dissertation makes the material available to the scholarly public at the earliest possible date. Subsequent to my work on the Sabbath Shirot, Prof. Strugnell has supervised other dissertations on various texts from Qumran Cave 4. They, too, will receive preliminary publication prior to their incorporation in the DJD series.

My dissertation on the Sabbath Shirot was completed in 1982, but in a form quite different from that presented here. I had not attempted to make a systematic reconstruction of the fragments of the individual manuscripts according to their original sequence in the scrolls. Later in 1982, Prof. Hartmut Stegemann of the University of Göttingen examined the photographs and manuscript fragments of the Sabbath Shirot. Using techniques of reconstruction that he had developed from his work on the Hodayot from Qumran Caves 1 and 4, Prof. Stegemann was able to demonstrate how the original sequence and position of the various extant fragments could be reconstructed. Prof. Stegemann recently presented an account of these techniques of reconstruction at a memorial conference in honor of the late Prof. Yigael Yadin, sponsored by New York University. The papers from this conference are being published by New York University press.

In the summer of 1983 I worked with Prof. Stegemann in Jerusalem, studying the problems of the reconstruction of the manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot. Using the studies which Prof. Stegemann had prepared, I completed the work of reconstruction during the following year. The results of this new approach to the reconstruction of fragmentary manuscripts has made possible much more significant conclusions concerning the content, structure, and purpose of the Sabbath Shirot than I had been able to achieve in my 1982 dissertation.

Two other scholars whom I particularly wish to acknowledge for their assistance are the late Prof. Yigael Yadin, who graciously asked me to collaborate with him in the edition of the Masada fragment of the Sabbath Shirot (published in *Israel Exploration Journal* 34 [1984]), and Prof. A. S. van der Woude, who kindly supplied me with excellent photographs of the Cave 11 fragments of the Sabbath Shirot which he had recently published. Because of their generosity, it has been possible to include in this edition not only the Cave 4 materials but all known manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot.

The list of those who have discussed the material with me and offered valuable comments would be a long one, but I wish especially to recognize the benefit I have derived from the insights of Jonas Greenfield, Ithamar Gruenwald, Emile Puech, Elisha Qimron, and Moshe Weinfeld. I also thank the Ecole Biblique for offering me its hospitality and access to its incomparable library during my stays in Jerusalem. The support which I have received from Dean Jim Waits and from my faculty colleagues at the Emory University School of Theology has been of particular importance in this long project. I wish to recognize as well the painstaking efforts of my proofreaders, Mary Stamps and Robin Smith. Finally, I thank the following institutions for their generous financial support: the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Emory University Research Council, and Highlands United Methodist Church of Birmingham, Ala.

Atlanta

May 19, 1985

ABBREVIATIONS, SIGLA, AND NOTES ON THE PHOTOGRAPHS

The principal abbreviations used in this study follow the conventions of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Instructions for Contributors." In the body of the commentary books and articles are usually cited by author and short title. A list of these short titles is provided in the Bibliography.

The following conventions and sigla are used in the transcription of the Hebrew texts:

•	
Ⲁ	Letter damaged; reading essentially certain
◦	
Ⲁ	Letter seriously damaged; reading uncertain
◦	Undecipherable letter
•	
Ⲁ	Deletion by scribe
•	
כ'ל	Correction by scribe; insertion of interlinear letter
vac./vacat	Uninscribed leather
[]	Lacuna caused by physical damage to the leather
[כול]	Supplements to the text; printed in small italic type.

In the transcription I have not corrected even obvious scribal errors (e.g., בקודעו for בקודש in 4Q403 l i 31); instead, I have discussed the issues in the commentary. Similarly, the occasional omission by the scribe of a space between words has been reproduced in the transcription (e.g., בקדושיעד in 4Q400 l i 3).

In the translation the following sigla are used:

{ }	Words deleted by scribe
[...]	Lacuna
[all]	Supplements to the text; uncertain supplements and problematic translations are printed in italic type

() Words supplied to facilitate English translation

° Individual letters preserved in the text which cannot be translated.

All photographs are printed at full size (1 to 1) except for the photographs used in the reconstruction of 4Q405 (Plates XIII-XIV), which have been reduced to half size. Because of the limitations of plate size, it has not been possible to represent the exact spatial relationship of the fragments in the reconstruction either along the vertical or horizontal axes. To this extent the reconstruction must be regarded as merely schematic. It needs to be used in conjunction with the discussion of the reconstruction of 4Q405 in the commentary and with the charts on pp. 263-64.

The photographs of the Cave 4 fragments and of the fragment from Masada are reproduced through the courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, those from Cave 11 through the courtesy of Prof. A. S. van der Woude and the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. The following is a list of the photographs published here:

4Q400	PAM 43.473
4Q401	PAM 43.473; 43.510
4Q402	PAM 43.485
4Q403	PAM 42.807
4Q404	PAM 43.505
4Q405	PAM 42.967; 42.969; 43.494; 43.497; 43.498; 43.500; 43.508
4Q406	PAM 43.500
4Q407	PAM 43.485
11QShirShabb	PAM 43.448; 43.981; 43.989; 43.990; 43.991; 43.992; 44.007

The photograph of the Masada fragment is number 7039-200. In addition, a new set of photographs of the Cave 4 fragments was made by the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums in 1984. These new photographs have been assigned the following numbers:

4Q400	IDA 178.938
4Q401	IDA 178.935
4Q402	IDA 178.927
4Q403	IDA 178.926
4Q404	(not re-photographed)
4Q405	IDA 178.925; 178.929; 178.931; 178.933; 178.936; 178.937; 178.939
4Q406	IDA 178.926
4Q407	IDA 178.927

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INTRODUCTION

PROVENANCE

4QShirot ^COlat Ha-Shabbat (4QShirShabb) is a liturgical text from Qumran Cave 4 composed of thirteen separate sections, one for each of the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. These thirteen compositions invoke angelic praise, describe the angelic priesthood and the heavenly temple, and give an account of the worship performed on the Sabbath in the heavenly sanctuary. The text is preserved in fragmentary form in eight manuscripts (4Q400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407) which can be dated paleographically to the late Hasmonean and early Herodian periods. The end of another scroll of the Sabbath Shirot in Herodian script was found in Qumran Cave 11. In addition a single large fragment, written in fully developed Herodian script, was discovered by Y. Yadin in the excavations of Masada.¹ There is no internal evidence by which one might establish a date for the composition. Paleographically, the hand of the oldest manuscript, 4Q400, may be dated to ca. 75-50 B.C., according to the script charts published by F. M. Cross.²

One must ask of every manuscript found at Qumran whether it is a composition of the Qumran community itself or a pre-Qumran composition copied and preserved in the Qumran libraries. The fact that one copy of the Sabbath Shirot was found outside the area of the Qumran caves makes the question especially important for this document. Internal evidence for the original provenance of the Shirot turns out to be quite elusive. While the headings of the individual Shirot reflect the solar calendar used at Qumran, that cultic calendar in itself is insufficient to establish the original provenance, since it is also presupposed in works preserved but not composed by the Qumran community (e.g., Jubilees and the books of Enoch, excluding the Similitudes).³ Similarly, the content of the Sabbath Shirot does not unequivocally indicate the Qumran community as its source. There is little if any terminology which one could point to as characteristically "sectarian," no reference to the community as the לִיחָד, for example, and no mention of the Teacher of Righteousness. To be

sure, speculation about the heavenly sanctuary and specifically its angelic priesthood would be very much at home in Qumran, but there is nothing peculiarly Qumranic in such speculation. It is equally possible to imagine that such a document might have been produced by the circles responsible for Jubilees or the Apocryphon of Levi (i.e., the Aramaic Testament of Levi), since one of the characteristic motifs of these works is the comparison of the priests with the angels.⁴ The Sabbath Shirot might then be seen as a pre-Qumran work from a priestly milieu which was inherited by the Qumran community but which continued to be used in other Jewish circles as well.

As intriguing as the possibility of a pre-Qumran Sabbath Shirot is, there is some evidence which makes a Qumran origin more likely. Most important is the very close relationship between the Shirot and another document whose Qumran provenance can be easily demonstrated, the as yet unpublished 4QBerakot. Milik describes the work as follows:

Il se composait de deux parties, dont la première, sans doute le gros du recueil, contenait des prières. On y louait, d'une façon fort détaillée, la grandeur de Dieu et la magnificence du Temple céleste; on y bénissait la cour céleste des anges, autrement dit les "dieux," et les hommes bons; on y maudissait Bélial, ses eprits et leurs conjurés humains. Des longues louanges et actions de grâce énuméraient minutieusement toutes les merveilles de la création, animée et inanimée.⁵

The second part of the text contained legal prescriptions. The whole work, according to Milik, is the text of the liturgy used on the occasion of the covenant renewal at Pentecost, when new members were taken into the community, the liturgy which is alluded to and summarized in lQS i 16-ii 25.⁶ The Qumran provenance of the Berakot document is established in the excerpt which Milik has published, not only by its similarities to the curses against Belial in lQS ii 11-18 and lQM xiii 4-6, but also by its explicit reference to the Council of the Community (עצת היחד יומרו כולמה) אמן אמן; 4Q286 [Berakot^a] 10 ii 1).

The points of contact between the Sabbath Shirot and the Berakot occur primarily in the description of praise in the heavenly sanctuary and the blessings of the angels. The style, the peculiar vocabulary (רוקמת רוח, קודש קודשים, רקיעי טוהר/קודש, היכלי מלך, אלוהות, etc.), and the description of the heavenly merkabah point to a very close relationship between the two texts and speak for the Qumran provenance of the Sabbath Shirot.⁷

In addition to the relationship between the Sabbath Shirot and 4QBerakot one must also consider the significance of the use of the heading למשכיל at the beginning of each of the individual Shirot, as in the following: (4Q403 1 i 30). למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השביעית בשש עשר לחודש. Unlike the use of משכיל (without *lamed*) in the biblical Psalms, למשכיל cannot identify the type of composition but should be taken either as indicative of authorship (formally corresponding to לדוד in the Psalms) or as a directive (analogous to למנצח).

The occurrence of the word משכיל is not automatic evidence of Qumran provenance, since the word appears, at least in the plural, in Daniel (11:33; 12:3) and apparently in 1 Enoch (100:6; 104:12). In certain occurrences of the word at Qumran it may similarly have a non-technical meaning, "person of understanding" (e.g., 1QH xii 11; 4Q510 1 4). In most of its occurrences in QL, however, משכיל is used as a technical term to designate a particular office or functionary in the Qumran community. This significance for the term is clearest in 1QS ix 12 where the following rule for the משכיל specifies his responsibilities for selecting, instructing, and guiding the members of the community.⁸ Such a technical sense of the word is also to be assumed in the introduction to the Two Spirits section in 1QS iii 13. "The Maskil shall instruct (למשכיל להבין) all the children of light and teach them the nature of all human beings...." Similarly, a non-technical interpretation of the term is completely inappropriate in 1QSB i 1; iii 22; and v 20, where the responsibility of the משכיל to bless the community, the high priest, the other priests, and the prince of the congregation can only be assumed to be that of a specific office of the community. The liturgical function of the Sabbath Shirot makes it most plausible that one should interpret the repeated heading למשכיל as a reference to this Qumran functionary.

There is, in addition, form critical evidence to be considered. Commentators have often suggested that the Serek Ha-Yahad and the Milhamah began with למשכיל, but unfortunately lacunae render these suggestions conjectural.⁹ In the recently published Cantiques du Sage, however, one encounters a heading form-critically similar to that of the Sabbath Shirot with the reference to the משכיל, the identification of the type of composition, and, apparently, the number of the composition (4Q511 2 i 1, [למשכיל ש]יר שני לפחד מיריון, 4Q511 8 4, למשכיל שיר).¹⁰ The way in which the term למשכיל is used in the Sabbath Shirot can only be paralleled in

the literature of the Qumran community and points to the Qumran community as the place of the composition of the Shirot.

To conclude, there is no internal evidence which can establish beyond question the provenance of the Sabbath Shirot. The absence of specifically sectarian references in the body of the Shirot, however, need not indicate a pre-Qumran origin for the Sabbath songs. Strong points of relationship with the clearly Qumran 4QBerakot, the technical significance of the heading למשכיל, plus additional points of verbal similarity with other Qumran documents are adequate to support the working hypothesis adopted here, that the scroll of the Sabbath Shirot is a product of the Qumran community.¹¹

FORM, CONTENT, AND FUNCTION

No general title for the document is preserved in the text itself. The title given to the work by John Strugnell in his preliminary edition,¹ Shirot ^עOlat Ha-Shabbat, is adapted from the headings which introduce the individual sections of the work (e.g., למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השביעית, 4Q403 1 i 30). The references to numbered Sabbaths in the date formulae of these headings initially suggest the hypothesis that the text originally contained fifty-two individual compositions, one for each Sabbath of the year. One can even supply a literary parallel for such a liturgical system from the (probably pre-Qumran) prose list of the compositions of David found in the 11Q Psalms scroll. There it is said that David not only composed 3600 psalms (תהלים), but also "songs (שיר) to sing before the altar over the daily burnt offering (עולת התמיד) for each of the days of the year, 364; and for the offerings of the Sabbaths (קורבן השבתות), 52 songs" (11QPs^a xxvii 5-8).

This hypothesis founders, however, on the physical evidence of the fragments. It is possible to reconstruct the most extensively preserved manuscript, 4Q405, and to demonstrate that it contained only thirteen compositions. (See the notes to the reconstruction of 4Q405.) Similarly, the copy of the Sabbath Shirot from Cave 11, the remains of which were found still rolled up, can be shown to have contained only thirteen Sabbath songs.² Internal evidence from the other manuscripts of the Shirot also supports these findings. All the date formulae of the Sabbath headings preserved in the manuscripts belong to one of the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. In addition the substantial textual overlap among the fragments indicates that all ten manuscripts must have preserved the same compositions. Since it is unlikely in view of the large number of manuscripts found that the Shirot for the other three quarters of the year were on separate scrolls which have perished without a trace, one is forced to conclude that the work consisted of only thirteen, not fifty-two, distinct compositions. It is not immediately clear, however, whether the thirteen songs were repeated quarterly or whether the cycle extended only through the first quarter of the year. (See below for further discussion.)

Although none of the Sabbath songs is preserved in its entirety, it is possible to say a number of things about the form and content of the individual songs and about the work as a whole. The only standard elements in the songs are the heading and the call to praise which introduces the body of the song. Each song begins as follows:

- (1) למשכיל;
- (2) שיר עולת השבת;
- (3) a date formula of the type השבת הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראשון (4Q400 1 i 1), though the ordinal for the month is optional (see 4Q403 1 i 30);
- (4) a call to praise beginning with הללו and followed by a direct object (an epithet for God) which may or may not be introduced by *lamed*, and a vocative (an angelic title).

The following texts preserve the beginnings of Sabbath songs: 4Q400 1 i 1 (first); 4Q400 3 ii 8 (second?); 4Q401 1-2 (fourth?); MasShirShabb i 8-9 (sixth); 4Q403 1 i 30-31 (seventh); 4Q403 1 ii 18 (= 4Q405 8-9 1-2, eighth); 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6-7 (= 11QShirShabb 3-4 8-9, twelfth). One other heading is contained in 4Q405 1 3-4. Unfortunately, the fragment is so badly damaged that it is not possible to identify which Sabbath song it introduces. Certain indirect evidence suggests that either the eighth or ninth is most likely. (See notes *ad loc.*)

The initial call to praise is usually followed by at least one more imperative sentence of praise, and often by a longer or shorter sequence of imperatives. These additional calls to praise, however, are not rigidly formulaic and vary in length and composition from song to song. In 4Q400 1, for instance, the verbs in lines 3 and 5 are in the indicative mood. Although the text is broken, there is room to restore only a single imperative sentence in line 2, following the initial call to praise. Similarly, in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6-14 (= 11QShirShabb 3-4 8-9), the beginning of the twelfth Sabbath song, it would appear that a descriptive section begins after a sequence of two imperative calls to praise. By contrast, the calls to praise are extensively developed in 4Q403 1 i 30-40 where there are seven calls to praise, often expanded with כִּי clauses motivating the summons to praise. Although a descriptive section seems to follow in line 41, the verb there could be jussive. Unfortunately, the other texts which contain the beginnings of Sabbath songs are too broken

to reveal how the transition is made from the imperative calls to praise to the rest of the text.

After the imperative sentences, the body of the song consists largely of descriptions of the angelic praise of God in the heavenly temple. The descriptive part of the song may include sections that are rather loosely composed as well as highly formulaic passages. There appears to be no standardized form for the conclusion of the individual songs.

Despite the fragmentary condition of the texts it is possible to discern not only some of the formal features of the work as a whole but also a distinct development in the content. To demonstrate these features it is necessary to summarize the material preserved for each of the thirteen Sabbaths. I have marked the degree of certainty of each assignment according to the following scale: certain, virtually certain, highly probable, probable, conjectural. For further discussion of the assignment of particular fragments see the notes on the reconstruction of the various manuscripts or notes to the fragments in question.

Sabbath Song 1

4Q400 1 = 4Q401 15	Certain
4Q400 3 i-ii 6; 4 i; 5	Probable
4Q401 5, 17, 29	Conjectural

The well-preserved first column of the first song is mostly concerned with God's establishment of the angelic priesthood, the laws ordained for the priests whereby they insure their purity and that of the heavenly sanctuary, and their responsibilities for making atonement and for teaching. The second column is highly fragmentary but seems to include some general description of heaven or the heavenly sanctuary with its references to the "gates of the lofty heavens" (בשערי מרומי רום, line 4) and to the "seven paths" (לשבע נתיבות, line 10). Descriptive elements apparently occur in the context of statements of praise (הפארת מלכותה, line 3; ורוממו כבודו, line 13). The use of the second person forms is quite rare in the Shirot, occurring only in fragments from the first and second Sabbaths. I take these second person forms as address to God by a human speaker rather than an angelic one. (See notes to 4Q400 1 ii 3.) If the assignment of 4Q400 3 to the first Sabbath song is correct, then the song concludes in the third and fourth columns (4Q400 3 i 1-ii 6) with a formulaic account of the praises and blessings of the angelic princes. See the notes to the reconstruction of 4Q400 for further discussion.

Sabbath Song 2

4Q400 2 = 4Q401 14	Probable
4Q400 3 ii 6-12; 4 ii; 5	Probable

The extant fragments contain a small amount of the beginning of the Sabbath song (4Q400 3 ii; 4 ii; 5) plus a well preserved portion which is probably from the second quarter of the body of the song (4Q400 2 = 4Q401 14). This section describes the praise of God by the elite priestly angels and contrasts them with the human priesthood. Only here does the human community speak in the first person (מה נתחשב בם וכוהנתנו מה במעוניהם), line 6; תרומה לשון עפרנו, line 7; נרוממה, line 8). References to praise and to the communication of hidden things and mysteries occur in the following column (4Q401 14 ii).

Sabbath Song 3

No fragments can be assigned with certainty to the third Sabbath song, though it is probable that some of the fragments of 4Q401 belong here.

Sabbath Song 4

4Q401 1-2	Probable
4Q402 1	Conjectural

4Q401 1-2 appears to contain the heading for the fourth Sabbath song but breaks off with the call to praise. 4Q402 1, which probably belongs either to the fourth or fifth Sabbath song, contains references to "strong warriors: (לגבורי עוז) and to "councils of rebellion" (יסודי פשע).

Unassigned Fragments from 4Q401

It seems likely that most of the fragments from 4Q401 which cannot be assigned to a particular Sabbath come from the early part of the scroll, probably from the first five or six Sabbath songs. Particularly significant among these fragments are two (4Q401 11 and 22) which may contain references to Melchizedek. Unfortunately, in each case the reading is damaged. (See the discussion of the angelology of the Sabbath songs for further comment.)

Sabbath Song 5

4Q402 2; 3	Conjectural
4Q402 4 = MasShirShabb i 1-6	Certain

Only the end of the fifth Sabbath song is well preserved. After several references to war in heaven (מלחמת אלוהים, 4Q402 4 7; במלחמת שחקים, 4Q402 4 10) and to the mustering of the angelic hosts (אלוהים ירוצו)

לפקוד] 4Q402 4 9), the song concludes with a highly parallelistic account of God's predestination of all events.

Sabbath Song 6

4Q401 3; 13	Conjectural
MassShirShabb i 8-ii 26	Certain
= 4Q403 1 i 1-29	
= 4Q404 1; 2	
= 4Q405 1; 2; 3	

All but a few lines of this Sabbath song are extant or can be reconstructed with confidence. After a brief introductory section, which is largely lost, the song contains two highly formulaic sections. In the first the "psalms" (תלהי) of the seven chief princes are enumerated. Following this section, the blessings of the seven chief princes are recounted, and the song comes to a close with an account of a general blessing by the chief princes and a blessing by God. In neither section, however, are the actual words of any angelic song or blessing cited (such as, e.g., the Qedushah). It is only stated that the angels praise or bless. Both sections are characterized by repeated references to the number seven (e.g., שבועה בשבעה דברי רומי פלא, 4Q403 1 i 1), perhaps indirect allusions to the content of the angelic praise or blessing formulae.

Sabbath Song 7

4Q403 1 i 30-ii 16	Certain
= 4Q404 3; 4; 5; 6	
= 4Q405 4; 5; 6; 7	

The seventh Sabbath song begins with a series of seven intricately developed calls to praise addressed to the angels. In 4Q403 1 i 41 ff., the heavenly temple in all its various parts (walls, pillars, corner structures, etc.) is summoned to join in the praise of God and is in turn praised by the angelic spirits. Unfortunately, the end of 4Q403 1 i and all of the lines of 4Q403 1 ii are fragmentary, but the song seems to progress from the praise uttered by the outer parts of the heavenly sanctuary to the debir, its furnishings, and its attendant angels, anticipating to a certain extent the structure and content of the ninth through the thirteenth Sabbath songs. There appears to be a brief description of the divine throne in the initial lines of 4Q403 1 ii. In 4Q403 1 ii 10-16 and 4Q405 7 there are references to seven debirim

in the heavenly sanctuary. The song concludes with the praise uttered by the markabot (plural), their cherubim and ophanim.

Sabbath Song 8

4Q403 1 ii 18-48	Certain
= 4Q405 8-9; 10; 11; 12; 13	
4Q404 11; 16; 20	Conjectural
4Q405 64; 67	Highly Probable
4Q405 66; 68; 71; 74	Conjectural
11QShirShabb h-i; o; q; r	Probable

Despite the number of fragments which pertain to the eighth Sabbath song, it is very poorly preserved. Because much of the material in this song is highly formulaic and closely related to that of the sixth song, however, it is possible to get a good sense of the general content. As in the sixth song, the number seven dominates the content and structure of the song. After the initial calls to praise there are several references to the seven angelic priesthoods which serve in the seven heavenly sanctuaries. Then there follows a rather obscure formulaic passage introduced in 4Q403 1 ii 26 as "the offering of their tongues" (תרומת לשוניהם) and which, if I have interpreted it correctly, describes how each of the seven angelic figures (perhaps the "chiefs of the congregation of the King" mentioned in line 24) joins the others in praise, with the sound increasing sevenfold with each additional participant. The rest of the song seems to be occupied by versions of the formulaic descriptions of the psalms and blessings of the seven deputy princes, very similar to those of the chief princes in the sixth Sabbath song. Since the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs are closely similar in structure, it may be that the beginning of the sixth song which is now lost also contained a version of the "offering of the tongues." Two fragments from 4Q401 (frgs. 3 and 13) might contain part of such a section.

Sabbath Song 9

4Q405 14-15 i	Highly Probable
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The ninth Sabbath song is extant in only one fragment, which I would locate toward the middle of the composition. Frg. 14-15 i contains references to the vestibules of the heavenly temple (אולמי מבאיהם, line 4; אלמי מבואי מלך, line 5) as well as to the debirim (בד[בירי כבוד, line 6; בדבירי מלך, line 7). There are repeated references to figures or images of heavenly beings (בדני אלוהים חיים, line 5; בדני רוח אורים, line 6; etc.).

Although the passage is difficult, the heavenly images seem to be described as engraved or carved on the vestibules (ודמו[ת אלוהים חיים מפותח באלמי] מבוואי מלך, line 5), apparently the celestial equivalent of the cherubim, palm trees, and flowers described as ornamenting the walls of the Solomonic temple and the ideal temple of Ezekiel's vision. These animate figures in the Shirot are described as singing praise to God.

Sabbath Song 10

4Q405 15 ii-16	Highly Probable
4Q405 17	Conjectural
11QShirShabb f-c-k	Probable

Frg. 15 ii-16 appears to continue the description of the sanctuary and its praise, though perhaps with a more specific focus on the debir. There are two references to the paroket veil(s) (ת[פארת בפרוכת דביר המלך], line 3; פרוכות דבירי הפלא, line 5), the hanging which separated the outer court from the holy of holies in traditions about the earthly tabernacle and temple. In the second fragment from the tenth Sabbath song (4Q405 17) there are references to angels (מלאכי תפארת; מלאכי כבוד), but the context is unfortunately badly broken. 11QShirShabb f-c-k, which probably belongs either to the ninth or tenth Sabbath song, contains further references to the vestibules (line 2), to brickwork or pavement (לכני, lines 3-4), and to thrones (כסאי עולמים, line 5).

Sabbath Song 11

4Q405 18	Conjectural
4Q405 19 = 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p	Virtually Certain
4Q405 20 ii-21-22	Certain
= 11QShirShabb 3-4 1-7	

The fragments remaining from the eleventh Sabbath song are also concerned with the heavenly debirim. 4Q405 19 = 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p is very difficult to interpret but seems to describe the figures engraved on the walls of the debir (ב[דני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללכני] [כ]בדס), lines 5-6) and the praise which they render to God. The eleventh Sabbath song concludes in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 with a reference to the angelic priesthood (כול כוהני קורב), a brief description of the chariot thrones of the heavenly temple (מרכבות כבודו [...] כרובי קודש אופני אור), line 3), and apparently a reference to their movement (מרכבות כבודו בלכתמה), line 5).

Sabbath Song 12

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6-14	Certain
= 11QShirShabb 3-4 8-9	
4Q405 23 i	Virtually Certain
11QShirShabb 5-6	Virtually Certain

The twelfth Sabbath song begins with a lengthy description of the appearance and movement of the divine chariot throne. Whatever the nature of the plurality of markabot mentioned in the seventh and eleventh Sabbath songs, the one described in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6-14 is *the merkabah*, the throne of Glory, and is described in terms which depend heavily on Ezekiel 1 and 10. The appearance of the merkabah is greeted with praise and blessing from the assembled ranks of angels (lines 13-14). Probably only a few lines are missing before the continuation of the twelfth song in 11QShirShabb 5-6, a fragment which contains further description of the praise of the angels and, apparently, further references to cherubim (וּמַמִּיּוֹת, line 8). Material from the end of the song is contained in 4Q405 23 i where a highly parallelistic section describes the procession of worshipping angels in and out of the heavenly sanctuary. Here, too, the animate structures of the heavenly temple (gates, portals) seem to be described as singing praise.

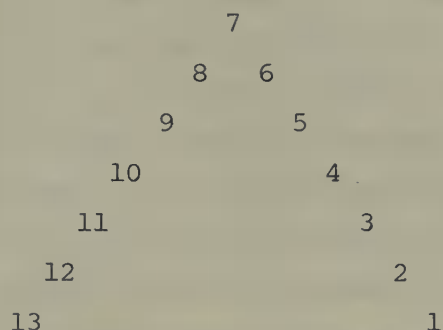
Sabbath Song 13

4Q405 23 ii	Virtually Certain
4Q405 94	Conjectural
11QShirShabb 8-7	Virtually Certain
11QShirShabb 2-1-9	Virtually Certain

Out of all the Sabbath songs it is only in the first part of the thirteenth (11QShirShabb 8-7; 4Q405 94) that there are explicit references to sacrifices (וּזְבִּחֵי קְדוּשִׁים, 11QShirShabb 8-7 2; וּרְיָא, 11QShirShabb 8-7 3). Immediately following these lines there is a rather lengthy description of the angelic high priests and especially of the vestments which they wear in their service before God (וּתְבִנִּית חֲשִׁנִּי, 11QShirShabb 8-7 4; אֶפֶס, 11QShirShabb 8-7 6; אֶפֶסֶת, 4Q405 23 ii 5; כַּמְעָשִׁי אֹרֶג, 4Q405 23 ii 7; רֹאשִׁי לְבוּשִׁי פֶלֶא, 4Q405 23 ii 10; etc.). The final fragment of text (11QShirShabb 2-1-9) probably comes from near the very end of the thirteenth Sabbath song. The passage contains references to God's mercy and blessing (רַחֲמֵי, line 2; בְּרִכּוֹת שְׁלוֹמָא, line 3). What is most striking, however, is a systematic list of the contents and structures of the heavenly temple which occurs at the end of the fragment.

The syntactical function of the list is not clear, but it appears to follow a verb of praise.

A consideration of the form of the entire work may well begin with the observation that in a composition with an odd number of parts the center of the work may be as much a point of emphasis as the beginning and end. Moreover, in a composition of thirteen parts, the central section is the seventh:



In the Sabbath Shirot this fact is exploited as a way of unifying form and content. The seventh and central Sabbath song contains a formally distinctive feature. Whereas all of the Sabbath songs begin with a brief call to praise (...לאלוהי), in the seventh Sabbath song this element has been developed into a sequence of seven elaborate calls to praise, frequently marked with a degree of paronomasia. The calls to praise are presumably addressed to each of the seven priesthoods or angelic councils which are mentioned in the latter part of the song (4Q405 7) and again in the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song (4Q405 8-9).

It is not just the coincidence of the seventh Sabbath with the seven calls to praise which underscores the centrality of this song. Its special position is further emphasized by the symmetry of the two highly formulaic Sabbath songs which bracket it, the sixth and the eighth. In these songs the number seven figures prominently, with references to seven priesthoods, seven councils, seven precincts, seven debirim, seven chief princes, seven deputy princes, seven psalms, seven words, etc. Even more than the repetition of the word שבעה, however, the emphasis on the sacred number is embodied in the structure of the songs, in which closely similar formulae are repeated for each of the seven angelic princes. Although the broken condition of many of the songs makes it difficult for one to be certain about the distribution of words, virtually all of the references to the number seven come from the first, sixth, seventh, or eighth Sabbath songs.

Thus in the first Sabbath song the references to the number seven and an apparently abbreviated section of formulaic praise and blessing anticipate the theme and formal structure which are fulfilled in the central sixth through eighth songs. By "anticipate" and "fulfill" I do not mean merely formal literary features but also aspects of the psychology of the work. The audience for this liturgical cycle of Sabbath songs was undoubtedly already largely familiar with its content and structure and knew what to expect during its recitation. Although the question of why the Sabbath Shirot form a thirteen week cycle is explored further below, it may well be that the length of the cycle was determined in part simply by the desire to emphasize the seventh Sabbath formally as well as by content.

In addition to the strong focus on the central seventh Sabbath song, a distinct development in content, mood, and style can be traced from the beginning to the end of the work. The first Sabbath song begins with an account of the establishment of the angelic priesthood. It is highly informational, almost didactic in places. While there appear to be some references to the heavenly temple, there is apparently much less description of heavenly realia than in the latter songs. The subject matter is more abstract, less directly descriptive. In terms of style, the first two Sabbath songs do exhibit repetitive, parallelistic features, but apart from the formulaic section in the first song, they contain a rather discursive and non-elliptical syntax with a substantial number of finite verb forms.³ The content and style of this section work together to produce a tone which is distinctly "cool" when compared with other sections of the work.

The fragmentary state of the text means that many observations must remain hypothetical, but it may be no mere accident of preservation that the only first and second person grammatical forms, as well as the only explicit reference to the human priesthood and worshippers, are found in the first two Sabbath songs. It would be plausible for the Shirot to begin with a stronger consciousness of the human worshipping community, a consciousness which increasingly becomes submerged in the concentration on the heavenly sanctuary in the latter part of the work.

Unfortunately, so little is preserved from the third through the fifth Sabbath songs that few conclusions can be drawn. About all that one can say is that the eschatological and predestinarian themes presented in

fragments from these songs do not appear to be continued in the second half of the work, where the focus is almost entirely on the heavenly sanctuary and its angelic worshippers.

The emphatic position of the middle songs (the sixth through the eighth) has been discussed above. The change in style and content in these songs, with their repetitious, almost hypnotic quality, produces a change in mood. The aesthetic/emotional effect of the sevenfold sequences is especially significant. A list of numbered elements involves an almost involuntary participation by the audience, as the audience's anticipation is matched by the execution of the sequence. Moreover, for an audience which considered the number seven to have an objective, transcendent, and holy quality, the intersection of the "internal" repetition of the number seven in the text with the "external" occurrence of the seventh Sabbath would have produced an intense effect on the religious emotions. The ecstatic quality of the seventh Sabbath song underscores its significance. The elaborate sevenfold call to praise is followed by a strange other-worldly section in which the animate structures of the heavenly sanctuary itself sing praise. There is an emphatic climactic structure to the song, too, with its culmination in the celestial holy of holies and the praise of the markabot themselves.

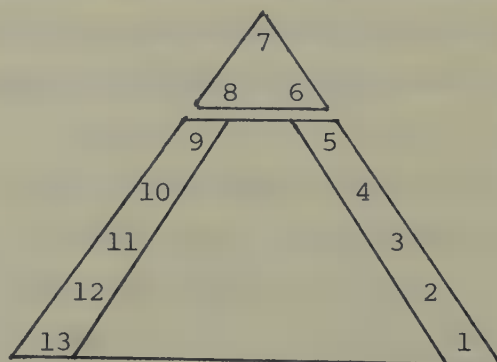
The last five Sabbath songs differ markedly from what can be known about the first five, while they more closely resemble the second half of the seventh Sabbath song. As far as one can tell, the content of these five songs exclusively concerns the structures, features, and beings of the heavenly sanctuary and their acts of worship. The transcendent quality of the heavenly sanctuary is emphasized by the allusive use of terminology drawn from that of the earthly holy places. Words and expressions taken from the descriptions of sacred structures or vestments in Exodus, I Kings, Ezekiel, etc., occur in these Shirot, but they are often used in a manner that does not correspond precisely or technically with their use in the Bible.

Stylistic differences also distinguish the last five songs from the first ones. Verbal sentences become quite rare, being replaced by nominal sentences in which long construct chains are juxtaposed. Even in relatively well preserved sections, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the beginnings and ends of sentences or to translate the expressions with any sense of certainty. Although the particular features differ in many

respects from those described by Gershom Scholem as characteristic of the Hekalot hymns,⁴ there is little doubt that the author of the Shirot was striving to create a "numinous" style in which to communicate an experience of the celestial temple and its worship. Despite the broken condition of the text, it appears that the ninth through the thirteenth songs describe the heavenly temple in a systematic fashion, moving in a type of "temple tour" from the description of the outer features of the heavenly temple to the holy of holies, the merkabah, and its attendant priestly angels. (This structure and its dependence on Ezekiel 40-48 are discussed further in the chapter on the heavenly temple.)

It is significant, however, that the final song is *not* the one which contains the long description of the merkabah but rather the one which describes the sacrificial service and the angelic high priestly vestments. One should remember, too, that the first Sabbath song was largely concerned with the establishment of the angelic priesthood, so that the theme of the angelic priesthood in the heavenly temple both opens and closes the work. This fact points to an important feature of the Sabbath Shirot. Although the individual songs all begin with an imperative call to praise God, it is not really God but the angelic priesthood and heavenly temple which are the subjects of the work. The angels are frequently described as praising God, but the words of their praise are never cited (contrast the hymns of the Hekalot tradition), and there is very little second person address to God (only in the first and second Sabbath songs). The effect of this style is to direct attention to the angels who praise rather than to the God who is praised.

To summarize, the pyramid shape drawn above to illustrate the central position of the seventh item in a thirteen part sequence can again be used to comment on the interlocking structure of the Sabbath Shirot.



There are three distinct parts to the overall form of the Shirot. Songs

one through five and nine through thirteen form the two "legs" of the composition. It is clear that songs nine through thirteen have their own internal structure, though unfortunately not enough of the first five songs are preserved to indicate what type of structuring principle might have been used there. The apex of the composition in the sixth through eighth songs is firmly marked by the use of the number seven and by the sevenfold literary structures in these central songs. Despite the sharp differentiation of the three parts of the cycle, each part is related to the others. The use of the sevenfold praise and blessings in the first Sabbath song anticipates the development of that formulaic material in the sixth through the eighth songs. The second part of the seventh song anticipates the systematic description of the structures and praise of the heavenly temple which follows in the final five songs. There is even something of a reference between the first and thirteenth Sabbath songs in their emphasis on the angelic priesthood. Broken references to gates and paths in the first Sabbath song suggest that the allusions to the structures of the temple may have been more explicit there, but unfortunately that material can no longer be recovered. Despite the fragmentary condition of the text the generally symmetrical structure of the cycle of the Shirot can still be discerned.

Reflections on the literary and rhetorical features of the Sabbath Shirot lead naturally to a consideration of their function.⁵ Both the highly descriptive content and the carefully crafted rhetoric direct the worshipper who hears the songs recited toward a particular kind of religious experience, a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of the angelic priests and worshippers. That this experience is intended as a communal experience of the human worshipping community is made clear by the first person plural forms which appear in 4Q400 2 6-8 (probably from the second Sabbath song): "our priesthood;" "the offering of our mortal tongue;" "How shall we be considered [among] them?"; "let us exalt." Even though the Sabbath Shirot do not appear to have been designed as vehicles for the incubation of visions or of mystical ascent by individuals, the sophisticated manipulation of religious emotion in the songs would seem to have increased the possibility of ecstatic experience among some worshippers. In any event the large number of manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot found at Qumran makes it possible for one to assume with confidence that the recitation of these Sabbath songs was a major

vehicle for the experience of communion with the angels as it is alluded to in the Hodayot and the Serek Ha-Yahad.⁶

Since it is the priestly/cultic sphere which provides the basis for the sense of communion with the angels in the Sabbath Shirot, it is pertinent to consider the significance of the somewhat ambiguous headings of the Shirot, שִׁיר עוֹלַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "song of the Sabbath sacrifice." Does such a heading identify the songs specifically as liturgical accompaniment for the sacrificial act? The close coordination of liturgical song and cultic sacrifice appears to have been a feature of the Second Temple cult. In the Chronicler's account of the purification of the temple by Hezekiah, for instance, the actual burning of the offering upon the altar is precisely coordinated with the songs of the Levites: "At the moment that the holocaust began, the song to Yahweh began...and the singers sang and the trumpeters played until the holocaust was completed" (2 Chr 29:27-28; וּבָעֵת הַהִיא הָחֵל הָעוֹלָה הַחֵל שִׁיר-יְהוָה...וְהַשִּׁיר מִשּׁוֹרֵר וְהַחֲצִצְרוֹת מִחֲצִצְרִים הָכֵל עַד לְכָלוֹת הָעֹלָה; see also Sirach 50 and m. Tamid 7:3).

There is evidence, in fact, for two different types of liturgical cycles for the accompaniment of the daily and Sabbath whole offerings. M. Tamid 7:4 describes a seven day cycle of biblical Psalms,⁷ while 11QPs^a DavComp refers to individual compositions of unknown content for each of the daily and Sabbath offerings. One might then imagine that the Qumran community, separated from the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem because of their judgment that it was impure, developed through the Sabbath Shirot a means of participating in the sacrificial cult of the heavenly temple itself.⁸

Attractive as this hypothesis is, there are several factors which militate against interpreting the Sabbath Shirot specifically as liturgical accompaniment to the offering of the Sabbath sacrifice in the heavenly temple. The content of the Sabbath Shirot, which ranges over many facets of the heavenly temple, its priesthood, the priestly vestments, and only once, apparently, explicitly refers to the sacrificial cult, does not seem altogether fitting for a cycle of songs composed expressly to accompany the Sabbath sacrifice. In fact, apart from the headings, nothing in the content of the songs would suggest such a specifically cultic function. More serious objections can be raised on the basis of the structure of the work. It would be easier to envision the work as a liturgical cycle for the sacrificial cult if the various songs were essentially independent

and equivalent compositions, as, for example, the Psalms designated by m. Tamid 7:4 to accompany the sacrifices, or the morning and evening prayers in the liturgical collection from Cave 4 recently published by M. Baillet.⁹ The cycle of the Sabbath Shirot, however, with its strongly marked overall structure, would appear to have a different function than that of accompanying a weekly sacrifice.

Finally, if the Sabbath Shirot were to be understood as a liturgical cycle for the weekly Sabbath offering, it would have to be shown that the thirteen songs were repeated quarterly. There is no direct evidence that this was the case and some indirect indication that they were not so repeated. As discussed above, the repetition of the number seven in both content and in formal features is most intense in the sixth through the eighth Sabbath songs, creating a strong point of emphasis on the numerically significant seventh Sabbath. Such a feature is scarcely accidental. Yet if the cycle were repeated quarterly, similar emphasis would fall on the twentieth, the thirty-third, and the forty-sixth Sabbaths. Although these are all the seventh Sabbaths in their respective quarters, the date formulae of the Shirot are *not* related to a quarterly reckoning but to a yearly system. (The date headings simply give the number of the Sabbath, the day and the month on which the Sabbath falls.) The overall structure of the Shirot favors understanding it as a thirteen week cycle, specific to the first quarter of the year.¹⁰ Its purpose, as I have suggested above, is better described as the praxis of something like a communal mysticism. During the course of this thirteen week cycle, the community which recites the compositions is led through a lengthy preparation. The mysteries of the angelic priesthood are recounted, a hypnotic celebration of the sabbatical number seven produces an anticipatory climax at the center of the work, and the community is then gradually led through the spiritually animate heavenly temple until the worshippers experience the holiness of the merkabah and of the Sabbath sacrifice as it is conducted by the high priests of the angels.

I will consider later, in the chapter on the Qumran context of the Sabbath Shirot, the possible social function of such a quasi-mystical text. Here, however, it is necessary to consider why the Sabbath and particularly the Sabbath sacrifice would be chosen as the vehicle for this type of spiritual exercise. Even though the Sabbath songs do not seem to have been composed as a cycle of liturgical accompaniments for the

sacrifice (such as are described in m. Tamid 7:4 and 11QPs^a Dav Comp), it seems likely that the Sabbath Shirot would have been recited at the time of the Sabbath whole offering. In this connection it should be remembered that the time of the offering of sacrifices seems to have been considered a time when heaven was peculiarly "permeable," and so a particularly efficacious time for prayer (see Jdt 9:1; Luke 1:10; Josephus *Ag.Ap.* 2.23; b. Ber. 26b).¹¹ Similarly, one could assume that it would be a propitious time for cultivating the experience of being present in the heavenly sanctuary. In addition, there is in early Jewish thought a special connection between earth and heaven associated with Sabbath observance. This special relation has its fountainhead, of course, in the Priestly writer's grounding of Sabbath observance in creation and in the imitation of the divine precedent (Gen 2:1-3; Exod 20:8-11). In the book of Jubilees, which has so many similarities with Qumran literature, the two highest angel classes, the angels of the Presence and the angels of sanctification, share with Israel two marks of distinction--Sabbath observance and circumcision (Jub 2:18). Although the emphasis in Jubilees is primarily on cessation from work on the Sabbath, it is also called a day for blessing God (2:21). Similarly 4QDibHaM calls upon "all the angels of the holy firmament" to join with the rest of creation in praising God on the Sabbath.

A further instance of the special association of the Sabbath with angelic worship is to be found in the use of the Qedushah in the synagogue service. This connection is of particular interest since, although no form of the Qedushah appears in the Shirot, the general content and style of the blessing in which the Yoṣer Qedushah is embedded provides a close parallel to the songs of the Shirot. Although the Qedushah is now part of both the morning and evening daily liturgies, its origin has been disputed. I. Elbogen associated it with the mystical "yorde merkabah" of the Geonic period.¹² While its connection with Merkabah mysticism has generally been upheld,¹³ its origins are now thought to be much more ancient. J. Heinemann argues that at least in some liturgies both the Yoṣer Qedushah and the Amidah Qedushah were extant during or even before the Mishnaic period.¹⁴ Others would associate the Yoṣer Qedushah with recitation in the Second Temple itself.¹⁵ What is more significant here is that, according to the investigations of E. Fleischer,¹⁶ both forms of the Qedushah which describe the angelic praise around the throne of God and join Israel's praise to the heavenly worship were originally recited

by the Jews of Palestine only on Sabbaths and certain holidays, not in the ordinary weekday liturgy. Thus, this type of liturgical communion with the angels was perceived as characteristic of the special nature of the Sabbaths and holidays. Similarly, it would appear that the Sabbath Shirot exploit this belief in a particularly close relation between heavenly and earthly worshippers on the Sabbath in specifying the Sabbath whole offering as the time for the recitation of the quasi-mystical Shirot.

ANGELOLOGY

Because the cycle of the Sabbath Shirot is a liturgical document and not a treatise on angelology, not all of the questions one would like to raise can be answered. Nevertheless, while respecting the intentions of the work itself and the limitations that its form imposes, it is possible to present the angelology of the work in a somewhat systematic fashion. What follows is an analytical list of the angelological terminology used in the songs and a discussion of the angelic priestly hierarchy reflected in the Sabbath Shirot.¹

Angelic Elim

4Q400 1 i 20; ii 17; 4Q403 1 i 21; etc.	אלים
4Q403 1 ii 35	אלי אור
4Q400 2 1; 4Q403 1 i 31; 4Q405 23 i 8; etc.	אלי דעת
4Q403 1 i 38	אלי הוד
4Q403 19 3	אלי עולמים
4Q403 1 i 33	אלי רום

אלים is a frequent designation for the angels in QL, especially in lQM and lQH. Note particularly 4Q491 24 4 (4QM^a), ובההל [ה] יחד עם בני אלים, In the OT compare בני אלים in Ps 29:1; 89:7; and אל אלים in Dan 11:36. The form of the epithets in the Shirot, אלי followed by a *nomen rectum*, is unusual, though Strugnell notes that the phrase אלי טוהר occurs in the unpublished 4QBerakot.

In several instances in the Shirot the spelling אילי occurs (4Q403 1 i 18, 38; ii 33; 4Q405 13 2). Since *serē* is not normally spelled with *yod* in the orthography of these manuscripts, the spelling probably reflects a popular etymology connecting איל ("magnate, powerful ruler") with אל ("heavenly being"). In QL the spelling אילים also occurs in the Cantiques du Sage, 4Q511 10 11 (בסוד אילים ואנשים ישפוט). The spelling and the possible etymological speculation which lies behind it are apparently not peculiar to QL, however, for several manuscripts of the MT read בני אילים in Pss 29:1 and 89:7. (See the apparatus to BHS).

Angelic Elohim

4Q400 1 ii 7; 4Q403 1 i 32; etc.	אלוהים
4Q405 46 2	אלוהי אורים
4Q403 1 i 44; 4Q405 14-15 i 4-5, 6; etc. See notes to 4Q403 1 i 44 for this phrase as an angelic epithet rather than a divine title.	אלוהים חיים
4Q405 23 i 5, 6	אלוהי כלילו

Many occurrences of אלוהים in the Shirot are ambiguous and might refer either to God or to the angels, though such expressions as כול אלוהים (4Q403 1 i 32, 32-33) and מלך אלוהים (4Q400 2 5) unequivocally attest the use of אלוהים for the angels. A biblical basis for אלוהים = angels is provided by Pss 8:6; 82:1, 6; 97:8; 138:1; etc., and by the expression בני אלוהים in Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7. Neither expression is ordinarily used for angels in other Qumran texts, though 11QMelch ii 10, citing Ps 82:1, designates Melchizedek and the other heavenly beings as אלוהים (אלוהים [נ]צב בעד[אל] בקורב אלוהים ישפוט). Melchizedek is probably mentioned by name in the Sabbath songs (see below), and it may be that a relationship between the Melchizedek traditions and the Sabbath Shirot is reflected in the choice of the unusual term אלוהים as a designation for the angels.

Angels

11QShirShabb 2-1-9 5	מלאכי הדעת
4Q405 81 2	מלאכי זב[ול]
4Q405 17 4	מלאכי כבוד
4Q403 1 ii 23	מלאכי מלך
4Q405 19 7; 22 9; 23 i 8 See 1QM vii 6; 1QS <i>a</i> ii 8; 1QS <i>b</i> iii 6; and cf. 1 Enoch, <i>passim</i> .	מלאכי קודש
4Q405 17 5; cf. Ps 96:6	מלאכי תפארה

Titles compounded with מלאכים are rare in the Shirot, as compared with other QL and with the OT.

Holy Ones

4Q400 1 i 17; 4Q403 1 i 24, 31; etc.	קדושים; קדושו
4Q403 1 i 31	קדושי אלוהים

4Q400 1 i 3, 15	קדושי עד
4Q400 1 i 2, 3, 19; etc.	קדושי קדושים
4Q400 1 ii 6	קדושי קודש קודש[ים]
4Q401 16 3; cf. כוהני קורב	קדושי קורב
Note 11QShirShabb 8-7 2, לזבחי קדושים	

For קדושים as an angelic title in the OT see Ps 89:6; Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech 14:5; Dan 4:14; 7:27; 8:13. See also Tob 12:15; T. Levi 3:3; Pss. Sol. 17:49; Job 31:14; and 1 Enoch, *passim*. At Qumran קדושים is commonly used of angels, especially in 1QH.

Spirits

4Q403 1 ii 8, 9; 4Q405 23 i 9-10; etc.	רוחות אלוהים
4Q405 22 12	רוחות [א]לוהים חיים
4Q405 19 4-5	רוחות מאירים
4Q403 1 ii 10	רוחות פלא
4Q403 1 i 38	רוחות צדק
4Q403 1 ii 7; 4Q405 22 11 cf. 1QH viii 12	רוחות קודש קודשים
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוחונ רוקמה
4Q403 1 i 43	רוחי אלוה[ים]
4Q405 19 3	רוחי אלי עולמים
4Q403 1 i 37	רוחי בין
4Q405 19 4; cf. 1QH iii 22-23	רו[חי] דעת אמת [ו]צדק
4Q405 17 3; cf. Isa 11:2	רוחי דעת ובינה
4Q405 14-15 i 5-6; cf. Ps 96:6	רוחי הדר
4Q405 24 2; cf. Ps 96:6	רוחי הוד והדר
4Q403 1 i 35; cf. 1QH i 11	רוחי עולמים
11QShirShabb 5-6 2	רוחי פל[א]
4Q405 23 ii 9	רוחי צבעי]
4Q403 1 i 44	רוחי קודש עולמים
4Q403 1 i 44 = 4Q405 6 5 cf. 1QH viii 12	רוחי קודש קודשים
4Q405 14-15 i 4	רוחי קורב קודש קודשים

רוח/רוחות, one of the most common designations for angels at Qumran, is exegetically based on biblical passages such as Num 16:22; 27:16; Ps 104:4 (LXX 103:4). Cf. the frequently used divine title, "Lord of Spirits" in 1 Enoch.

Priests

- 4Q400 1 i 20 כוהני מרומי רום
 4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19; 4Q403 1 ii 19; etc. כוהני קורב
 4Q401 13 3; cf. 1QM ii 1; xv 4; etc.; כוהני רוש
 also cf. 2 Kgs 25:18; Jer 52:24; etc.
 4Q401 11 3 [מלכי] צדק כוהן בעד[ת אל
 4Q403 1 ii 24 [רוש מכוהן קורב
 Cf. also:
 4Q400 1 ii 19 כוהנו[ת
 4Q403 1 ii 22 כוה[נות] שבע למקדש פלא
 4Q405 7 7 כהונת
 4Q405 7 8 כ[הונתו
 4Q405 8-9 4-5 שבע [כוהו]נת קורבו
 4Q403 1 ii 21 = 4Q405 8-9 5-6 ראשי נשיאי כוהנות פל[א]

To the best of my knowledge the term *כוהן*, or its equivalent in Greek, Ethiopic, etc., is not explicitly used of angels in other Qumran texts, in apocryphal compositions, or in rabbinic literature, even though the conception of angelic priests is common in these texts.

Ministers

- 4Q400 1 i 4 משרתי פנים
 4Q400 1 i 8 משרתי פני מלך קודש]
 4Q405 23 i 3 וכול דעה משרתי]

Cf. 1QH vi 13; 1QSb iv 24, 25 (מלאכי פנים). Cf. also Jub 2:2, 18; 15:27; 31:14; 1 Enoch 40:2; T. Levi 3:7; T. Jud. 25:2; Rev 1:4; 8:2. The term "ministering angels" (מלאכי השרת) is common in rabbinic literature. See also T. Levi 3:5. Strugnell notes משרתי קודש in 4QBerakot.

Princes

- 4Q403 1 i 1, 10, 21; etc. נשיאי רוש
 4Q400 3 ii 2 נשיאי משנה
 4Q405 13 2-3, 7 נשיאי מש[ני פלא
 4Q405 13 4-5 משני [נשי]אי פלא
 4Q401 23 1 נשיא קודש
 4Q400 1 ii 14 מלך נשיאי]

Cf. also:

4Q403 1 ii 20 ראשי נשיאים

4Q403 1 ii 21 = 4Q405 8-9 5-6 ראשי נשיאי כוהנות פל]א

So far as I have been able to determine, the term נשיא is not otherwise used of angels in Jewish sources, except in the magical text Sefer Ha-Razim, where it is said that the fifth heaven contains twelve angels called נשיאי הכוֹכָבִים.

Chiefs

4Q403 1 ii 11 ראשי דבירו

4Q405 23 ii 10 ראשי לבושי פלא

4Q403 1 ii 3; 4Q405 23 ii 11 ראשי ממלכות

4Q401 14 i 6 ראשי ממשלות

4Q403 1 i 34 ראשי מרומים

4Q403 1 ii 20 ראשי נשיאים

4Q403 1 ii 21 = 4Q405 8-9 5-6 ראשי נשיאי כוהנות פל]א
cf. Neh 12:7

4Q403 1 ii 24 ראשי עדת המלך

4Q403 1 ii 16 ראשי תבנית אלוהים

4Q405 23 ii 12 ראשי תרומות

4Q403 1 i 31; cf. Asc. Isa 9:4, 32 ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים

ראשי is a common term for human rank--political, military, and priestly--both in the OT and in QL, especially in lQM. I do not know, however, of its being applied elsewhere to angels, though perhaps cf. As. Mos. 10:2.

Miscellaneous

Angelic titles and epithets occurring less frequently in the Sabbath Shirot include the following:

4Q403 1 i 29 ברוכי עד

4Q402 1 4 גבורי עוז

4Q403 1 i 36 הוגי דעה

MasShirShabb i 4 ידעים

MasShirShabb i 9 יושבי מרומי רומים

4Q403 1 ii 35; cf. מאירי פלא in 4QBerakot מאירי דעה

4Q403 1 i 35 מעשיו

4Q405 23 ii 12	מעשי כבודו
4Q400 1 i 5	מעשי רוח
4Q405 14-15 i 3	מרוממים
4Q403 1 i 37	מרנני עד
11QShirShabb 5-6 3	נוראי כוח
4Q400 2 2; 3 ii 9; cf. 1QH x 8	נכבדים
4Q400 1 i 6	קרובי דעת
4Q403 1 i 30	הרמים
4Q401 6 4 (cf. 4Q400 1 i 12) cf. also Dan 10:13, 20; 12:1	שרי קודש

In the list which he published in 1960 Strugnell included a number of angelic epithets compounded with צירות ("messengers"). The contexts in which these phrases occur, however, now make it appear more likely that the word is to be read צורות ("images, figures"). See 4Q405 19 4-7 for discussion.

Listed below are the epithets of those who are blessed by the seven chief princes in 4Q403 1 i 10-27. While they probably are all angelic epithets, it is not impossible that some terms refer to the common community of human and angelic worshippers.

4Q403 1 i 11 = MasShirShabb ii 25	כול סודיהם
4Q403 1 i 11 = MasShirShabb ii 26	ידועי עולמים
4Q403 1 i 13	טהורי עולמים
4Q403 1 i 14 = 4Q405 3 ii 4	רומי דעת
4Q403 1 i 17	הול[כי יו]שר
4Q403 1 i 17 = 4Q405 3 ii 7	יוסדי הוד
4Q403 1 i 19 = 4Q405 3 ii 9	יודעי רזי...טוהר
4Q403 1 i 20	נמהרי רצונו
4Q403 1 i 20	מודי לו
4Q403 1 i 21	גבורי שכל
4Q403 1 i 22	תמימי דרך
4Q403 1 i 23	חוכי לו
4Q403 1 i 24 = 4Q405 3 ii 16	קדושים מיסדי דעת
4Q403 1 i 24-25	מרימי משפטיו
4Q403 1 i 27	נועדי צדק

Citations to the parallel text of MasShirShabb or 4Q405 are given when the reading in 4Q403 is badly damaged.

The terminology for the organization of the angels is similar to that which the Qumran community applies to itself. Three military terms are used:

4Q400 2 2 = 4Q401 14 i 8; 4Q405 22 13	מחני אלוהים
4Q405 22 14	דגליהם
4Q405 22 14; cf. 4Q402 4 9	פקודיהם

All three terms are common in the book of Numbers in the Priestly writer's account of the organization of Israel in the wilderness. For מחנה in QL see lQM, *passim*, and CD xii-xiv. דגל occurs most frequently in lQM vi. For פקודיהם see lQM ii 4, 14; xii 8; lQSa i 9; CD x 2. Note, however, that צבא, the military term commonly applied to the angels in the OT and in lQM, is not used in the Sabbath Shirot.

The language of council and assembly, used elsewhere in QL both for the heavenly and earthly communities (e.g., lQS v 20; lQH iii 22) occurs frequently in the Shirot with reference to the angels:

MasShirShabb ii 25 = 4Q403 1 i 11	סודיהם
4Q400 1 ii 9; cf. lQH iv 25	סוד אל]ים or סוד אל]והים
4Q403 1 i 34; cf. lQS ii 25; lQH iii 21	סודי עולמים
4Q403 1 ii 19	סוד שני
4Q403 1 i 22; cf. lQS viii 5	שבעת סודי קודש
4Q400 1 i 4; cf. lQM i 10	עדה לכול אלי]
4Q403 1 ii 24	עדת המלך בקהל]
4Q401 11 3	מלכי] צדק כוהן בעד]ת אל
4Q405 23 i 3	עדת משתתפי]

The military/liturgical term מעמד, very frequent in lQS, lQSa, lQM, and lQH, is also used of the angels in the Shirot:

4Q405 22 14	מעמד
4Q405 37 2; cf. 11QShirShabb 5-6 9	מע]מדיה]ם
4Q405 23 ii 7	מעמד פלאיהם
4Q405 23 ii 8-9	מעמד קודשם לפני המלך
Cf. also 4Q400 2 5 (מעוני עומדים).	

In general terms the functions of the angels as described in the Sabbath Shirot correspond with what is known of contemporary Jewish angelology from other sources. The primary task of the angels is the praise of God, a motif ubiquitous in the Shirot and prominent in most Jewish and Christian descriptions of the angels (cf. e.g., T. Levi 3:8;

1 Enoch 61:10-12; Rev 4-5).² Of all the qualities which are associated with the angels in the Sabbath songs, however, knowledge is the most prominent. The angels are repeatedly designated as "angels of knowledge" (אלי דעת), as "those who know" (ידעים), "those who establish knowledge" (מיסדי דעת), etc. In fact the superiority of the angelic praise arises precisely from their more exalted understanding of divine mysteries. They "declare the splendor of His kingdom according to their knowledge" (4Q400 2 3). One is reminded of the similar motif in the apocryphal Hymn to the Creator from Qumran Cave 11 ("Separating light from deep darkness, by the knowledge of His mind He established the dawn. When all His angels had witnessed it they sang aloud, for He showed them what they had not known," trans. Sanders; מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת לבואו ראו כול מלאכיו; cf. Jub. 2:3). While "the chiefs of praise offering" have "tongues of knowledge" (בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת, 4Q405 23 ii 12), the human worshippers reflect on the poverty of their own praise. "What is the offering of our mortal tongue (compared) with the knowledge of the angels?" (מה] תרומת לשון עפרנו בדעת אל[ים), 4Q400 2 7). Even the cherubim, by virtue of their nearness to God, are described as having "wings of knowledge" (כנפי דעת, 11QShirShabb 3-4 5). The angels are the instruments through which heavenly mysteries are revealed, presumably to the faithful human community (4Q401 14 ii 7). The Shirot also refer in general terms to the "missions" of the angels (4Q403 1 i 35-36; 4Q405 23 i 12-13; cf. Tob 12:11-15) and more specifically to their role in the eschatological war (4Q402 1; cf. Dan 12:1; 1 Enoch 56:5; As. Mos. 10:2; Rev 12; and in QL cf. 1QM i 10-11; vii 6; xii 4-8; xv 14; xvii 6-8).

The primary focus of the Sabbath Shirot, however, is on the role of the angels as priests in the heavenly temple. Here, too, their functions correspond to those attributed to the angels in works such as Jubilees, T. Levi, and 1 Enoch. They are responsible for maintaining the purity of the heavenly temple through their obedience to the laws which God has inscribed in heaven (4Q400 1 i 4, 14-15; cf. Jub. 1:29; 6:17-18; and contrast 1 Enoch 15).³ The angelic priests make propitiation to God for the repentant and apparently execute judgment on the wicked (4Q400 1 i 16; cf. T. Levi 3:5). In the priestly context the knowledge and revelatory function of the angels is understood as the teaching of priestly torah (4Q400 1 i 17; cf. the halakah which the angel of the Presence reveals to Moses in Jubilees). Finally, the heavenly sacrificial service is

the responsibility of the angelic priesthood (11QShirShabb 8-7; cf. T. Levi 3:5; Rev 8:3-4; b. Hag 12b).

The priestly angelology of the Sabbath Shirot is more detailed than that of other contemporary sources. Its most distinctive feature is the sevenfold division of the angelic priests. While there may have been references to the seven groups of angels in the first Sabbath song (see 4Q400 1 i 9; ii 7, 10), these passages are unfortunately badly broken. In the list below, except for the first item, which comes from the end of the seventh Sabbath song, all of the references to the sevenfold organization of the angelic priests come from the beginning of the eighth Sabbath:

4Q403 1 ii 11	לשבעת קודשי רום
4Q403 1 ii 19	שניים בכוהני קורב סוד שני במעון פלא
4Q403 1 ii 21	שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו
4Q403 1 ii 22	כוה[נות] שבע למקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש
4Q403 1 ii 27	לשבעת גבולי קוד[ש]
4Q405 7 7	שב[ע] דבירי כהונו[ת]
4Q405 8-9 4-5	שבע [כוהו]נת קורבו

These passages indicate the existence of seven holy areas which, if the restoration of 4Q405 7 7 is correct, are the seven debirim of the heavenly temple. Unfortunately, the two explicit references to seven priesthoods are both damaged, but the references to seven holy councils leaves little doubt that there are seven separate divisions among the angelic priests. Presumably each angelic priesthood is associated with one of the seven holy places.

It is not certain whether this sevenfold division applies to all the angels or only to the angelic priests. There are references to camps and units of angels who do not appear to have priestly responsibilities (4Q400 2 2; 4Q405 22 13-14), but in these instances there is no explicit mention of the number or organization of the camps. It seems fairly plausible, however, that the entire body of angels should be understood as divided into seven groups. The use of numerous terms adapted from the description of Israel in the book of Numbers (see further below), suggests an analogy between the division of the angels into seven groups and the division of Israel into twelve tribes. Each number has symbolic significance (i.e., they are distinct but complementary numbers in the calendrical reckoning of the solar calendar) and would perhaps imply the distinct but

complementary roles of the two categories of beings in the divine order. In 1QM ii 1-2 reference is made to a group of twelve chiefs of the priests and twelve chiefs of the levites who serve in the sanctuary continually, one for each tribe. In a similar fashion the seven angelic priestly councils may correspond to the groupings of the entire body of angelic beings.

The importance of the number seven is also reflected in the references to the seven chief princes (נְשִׂאֵי רוּשׁ) and the seven deputy princes (נְשִׂאֵי מִשְׁנָה). The angelic princes are mentioned in the first Sabbath song and again in the long formulaic passages in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs. As indicated above, נְשִׂאֵי is not a common designation for an angelic figure in Jewish sources contemporary with the Sabbath Shirot. The term appears to be derived from the book of Numbers, where it refers to the twelve tribal leaders (cf. Numbers 2, 7, 34, etc.). At Qumran נְשִׂאֵי is adopted as a political/military title for certain leaders of Israel during the eschatological conflict (see 1QM iii 3, 15, 16; iv 1; v 1). In several of its occurrences in Numbers the term נְשִׂאֵי appears in apposition with רִאשִׁים (see Num 7:2, נְשִׂאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רִאשֵׁי בֵּית אֲבוֹתָם; 10:14, הַנְּשִׂאִים רִאשֵׁי הַנְּשִׂאִים יִשְׂרָאֵל; 36:1, הַנְּשִׂאִים רִאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת, אֵלֶּפֶי יִשְׂרָאֵל). The terminology in Numbers thus provides a source not only for the title נְשִׂאֵי in the Shirot but also for the series of titles compounded with רִאשִׁים. In Numbers רִאשִׁים and נְשִׂאֵי refer to the same group of persons, and a similar equivalence seems to hold in the Shirot, or at least so expressions such as רִאשֵׁי נְשִׂאֵי and נְשִׂאֵי כֹהֲנִים could suggest. The dependence on Numbers for titles for these superior angels is also suggested by the epithet found in the beginning of the sixth Sabbath song, just before the account of the praises of the seven chief princes, קְרוּאֵי רוּם רוּמִים. The epithet is apparently drawn from Num 1:16 אֱלֹהֵי קְרוּאֵי הָעֵדָה נְשִׂאֵי מִטּוֹת אֲבוֹתָם רִאשֵׁי אֵלֶּפֶי (יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵם), where it is in apposition with the pair of terms נְשִׂאֵי and רִאשִׁים.⁴

One might initially assume that if these titles are drawn from the terminology of Numbers, the functions of the angels thus designated would be similar to that of their human counterparts in Numbers. Such does not appear to be the case. In Numbers the princes and chiefs are purely political/military leaders. In the Sabbath Shirot, however, several of the titles compounded with רִאשִׁים suggest priestly responsibilities. (See the list above.) Moreover, the chief and deputy princes are described in

the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs as blessing in the name of God, a presumptively priestly activity (see Deut 10:8; 21:5; Num 6:22-29).⁵ It seems clear that the Sabbath Shirot, in using the terms נשיאים and ראשים, is not describing angelic military lay leadership alongside a priestly hierarchy but rather is assimilating both military/political and priestly titles and functions to one group of angels. One might also note that in lQM the families of the tribe of Levi are organized according to the same military structure as the non-priestly families (see lQM iv 1). Moreover, the combination of priestly and military functions is not unusual in Jewish angelology. Cf. the traditions concerning Michael and Melchizedek (lQM xvii 7; Dan 12:1; 3 Apoc. Baruch 11-15; b. Hag. 12b; 11QMelch; Heb 7; etc.). In As. Mos. 10:2 the technical expression for the consecration of a priest, "to fill the hands" is applied to the angel who leads the heavenly army.

There are, finally, several references which indicate that the נשיאים and the ראשים are the angelic high priests. In 4Q405 23 ii the "chiefs of wondrous raiment" (ראשי לבושי פלא) are described as wearing high priestly dress (אפודיהם; cf. חשני in 11QShirShabb 8-7 4, from the same Sabbath song). The assumption that these are the angelic high priests would also explain the pairing of the titles נשיאי רוש and נשיאי משנה. In the Shirot the נשיאי רוש and the נשיאי משנה are both represented as having identical priestly functions of blessing in the name of God. The only difference between them appears to be one of rank. The נשיאי משנה seem best explained as deputy priests alongside the high priestly chief princes. The existence of deputy priests (כוהן המשנה) alongside the high priests is recognized in the OT (2 Kgs 23:4, הכהן הגדול ואת-כהני המשנה; 25:18, שריה כהן הראש ואת-צפניהו כהן משנה) and at Qumran (lQM ii 1, כוהן הראש ומשנהו), though the duties are not closely defined. In the Mishnah, however, the deputy priest, called the סגן, accompanies the high priest during the temple service and substitutes for the high priest even on the day of atonement, if the latter is for any reason unable to officiate (m. Tamid 7:3; m. Yoma 4:1; see also b. Yoma 39a). The similarity of terminology and the relationship of functions between the high priest and his deputy in 2 Kings, Milhamah, and the Mishnah makes it plausible to see in the נשיאי רוש and נשיאי משנה of the Shirot the chief and deputy priests of the heavenly sanctuaries. The fact that there are

seven of each corresponds to the existence of the seven angelic priest-hoods in the seven sanctuaries of the heavenly temple.

It is virtually certain that the seven chief princes are to be identified with the seven archangels (cf. Tob 12:1-5; T. Levi 8; Rev 1:4). Note, however, that 1QM ix 14-16 refers to only four archangels. The variation need not imply that 1QM and the Sabbath Shirot originate in different communities or from sharply different traditions. The variation between four and seven archangels is known from other apocryphal texts (four: 1 Enoch 9:1; seven: 1 Enoch 20) and is not of great significance. In the case of the Sabbath Shirot the reference to seven chief angelic princes must be seen in the context of the general preoccupation of the work with the number seven.

There are also traces of a hierarchical ordering of the angelic princes and, presumably, of the priestly councils which they head. The numbers by which the seven angelic princes are identified suggests a hierarchical order, and the slight differences in the formulae of blessing and praise attributed to the various angelic princes support this notion. In the litany of the tongues in the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 27-29 = 4Q405 11 2-5) and in the formulaic account of the psalms of the chief princes in the sixth Sabbath song (MasShirShabb ii 1-23 = 4Q403 1 i 1-9) the formula for the seventh prince varies from that of the previous six. The use of increasingly complex formulae is most highly developed in the account of the blessings of the seven angelic princes (4Q403 1 ii 10-27; cf. the parallel account in 4Q405 13). Here the blessing formulae of the fourth through the seventh princes are distinguished from that of the first through the third by the addition of a new element in the formula. Similarly, the formulae of the sixth and seventh princes include yet another additional element, with the formula of the seventh prince being still more elaborate than that of the sixth.

There is one piece of information that seems difficult to assimilate to this pattern of seven hierarchically ordered sanctuaries, priesthoods, deputy and chief priestly angels. At the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song one finds the line שניים בכוהני קורב סוד שני במעון פלא בשבע (4Q403 1 ii 19). Since the song contains the account of the blessings of the deputy princes (and probably an account of the psalms of the deputy princes as well), one seems justified in assuming that it is the deputy princes who are referred to here as "second among the priests of the

inner sanctum, the second council in the wonderful dwelling among the seven...." If this interpretation is correct, it would seem to suggest that the angelic councils consist of hierarchical groupings of angels of different ranks (e.g., the chief princes in the first council, the deputy princes in the second council, and presumably angels of lower rank in the third through the seventh councils). There are parallels in Jewish and Christian literature for this sort of ranking of angels.⁶ Such an organization of the angels, however, is in tension with the picture which emerges from the passages previously examined. Moreover, it seems somewhat peculiar that if this were the nature of the hierarchy that the titles and functions of the lower ranking angels would not be specified.

One can always take refuge from the apparently inconsistent usage in the regrettably broken condition of the text, which does obscure the syntax and reference of the passage. But one can fairly easily account for the different usages by assuming that the author employs two overlapping systems of description of the angelic order. Primarily the author refers to a system of seven hierarchically ordered priesthoods in the seven sanctuaries, presided over by the seven chief princes and the seven deputy princes, one pair for each sanctuary. By virtue of their high status among the angels, however, the chief princes as a group can be referred to as first in rank among the angels, as the deputy princes are second in rank. The other priestly angels remain undifferentiated. The term **710** would then appear to be used with two different referents, usually to designate each of the seven angelic priesthoods, but also occasionally to designate the circles of the highest ranking chief and deputy princes.

A comparison with the angelology of Jubilees may be relevant at this point. Jubilees presents a system of two elite angelic classes with priestly functions, "the angels of the Presence" and "the angels of sanctification," also called simply "the holy ones" (Jub. 2:2, 18; 15:27; 31:14). In Jubilees the lower ranking angels are not priestly but are angels responsible for the phenomena of the natural world. While the angelology of Jubilees is clearly not identical with that of the Sabbath Shirot, there are certain similarities. In particular there is an intriguing similarity between the titles of the two highest classes of angels in Jubilees and the priestly angels mentioned in the first Sabbath song. In 4Q400 1 i the angels are variously referred to as "priests of

the inner sanctum" (כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב), "ministers of the Presence" (מִשְׁרָתֵי פָנִים), and "the holiest of the holy ones" (קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים). The question is whether these terms refer specifically to the two classes of highest ranking angels, the chief princes (כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב and מִשְׁרָתֵי פָנִים) and the deputy princes (קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים). In the discussion of the reconstruction of 4Q400 I suggest on other grounds that the first Sabbath song originally contained sections of formulaic praise and blessing attributed to the angelic princes. If that were the case, then it would not be unexpected to have an account of these two groups of angels in the first part of the song. Unfortunately, the broken condition of the first Sabbath song makes it difficult to determine whether the author uses these epithets in the manner just suggested. Insofar as one can determine, it seems rather that the terms are used synonymously. In 4Q400 1 i 19 קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים appears to be in apposition to כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב (קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים [כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב]). Moreover, in 4Q400 1 i 3 (בְּקְדוּשֵׁי עַד קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים וַיְהִיו לוֹ לְכֹהֲנֵי [קֹרֶב]) the subjects of וַיְהִיו would appear to be "the holiest of the holy ones." If that interpretation is correct, then the equation between קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים and כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב would be well established. Although מִשְׁרָתֵי פָנִים is most easily taken as a reference to the angels of the Presence (cf. 1QSb iv 24-25), it is not entirely clear whether the phrase כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב refers to an elite group of priestly angels or to the angelic priesthood as a whole. In two instances, however, 4Q403 1 ii 19 and 4Q405 8-9 4-5, the phrases כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב and שִׁבְעָ [כֹּהֲנֵי] קֹרְבָנוּ seem better taken as inclusive of the entire angelic priesthood. Although it is not impossible that the angelological conceptions of Jubilees concerning two classes of priestly angels have influenced the notion of the chief and deputy princes in the Sabbath Shirot, evidence for such influence cannot be clearly traced in the epithets from the first Sabbath song.

The expression כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב requires further comment, for it is without close parallel either as an angelic epithet or as a priestly title. The form קֹרֶב is probably a reformulation of the BH segholate *gereb* as a *gutl* form, as in 11QMelch ii 10 (בְּקֹרֶב אֱלֹהִים).⁷ From the meaning of *gereb* in BH as "midst, inward part," one would assume that כֹּהֲנֵי קֹרֶב refers to priests who are present in the innermost part of the sanctuary. While the verb קָרַב is regularly used in the OT as a technical term for approaching the holiness of the sanctuary and especially for approaching the altar for sacrifice (e.g., Lev 21:17-23; Num 16-18; etc.), the noun

gereb is not used as a designation for the sanctuary or the debir (though see Ps 48:10, *דמינו אלהים חסדך בקרב היכלך*).⁸

The last question to be raised in connection with the angelology of the Sabbath Shirot is whether there is a single superior angel who presides over the angelic priestly hierarchy. As in so many other matters, a definitive answer is prevented by the broken condition of the text. It appears highly likely, however, that a reference to Melchizedek was originally contained in 4Q401 11 3 (*מלכי צדק כוהן בעד[ה אל]*). A second possible reference to Melchizedek occurs in 4Q401 22 3 (*מל[כי צדק]*) in a line immediately following a reference to the ordination of the angelic priests (*מלו ידיהם*). Other fragments from the same manuscript make reference to a single angelic figure (*נשיא*, 4Q401 23 1; *נבון*, 4Q401 20 2; cf. *השר*, 4Q403 1 ii 23, and *רוש מכוהן קורב*, 4Q403 1 ii 24). Speculation about Melchizedek is attested at Qumran in 11QMelchizedek and, almost certainly, in 4QAmram, although in neither case is the heavenly priesthood of Melchizedek explicitly referred to. What is particularly noteworthy about the reference in 4Q401 11 3 is that its allusion to Ps 82:1 presumes the exegesis of that verse in 11QMelch but goes beyond what is said there to identify Melchizedek's role as specifically priestly. One has to be circumspect in drawing conclusions from such a small and broken fragment as 4Q401 11, but it does not seem likely that the author would have connected Melchizedek's priestly role with Ps 82:1 unless he already knew of the exegesis of that verse in connection with Melchizedek's role as eschatological judge. If so, then one has some clue as to the relationship and relative dates of 11QMelch and the Sabbath Shirot.⁹

Melchizedek was probably identified at Qumran with the archangel Michael (1QM xiii 10; xvi 6-8; xvii 7), the angelic leader of the forces of light, who is also called "the prince of light" (1QM xiii 10-11; cf. 1QS ii 20-22 and CD v 17-19) and "the angel of His truth" (1QS iii 24).¹⁰ If these equations are sound, then it would seem most plausible that Melchizedek is to be identified with the seventh and highest of the chief princes, as Michael is customarily identified with the highest of the archangels. The probable reference to Melchizedek in the Sabbath Shirot would be the earliest attestation of the tradition of his heavenly high priesthood, an attestation made all the more important because it occurs in an actual liturgical text and not merely in a haggadic or speculative document. The Jewish and Christian traditions relating to Melchizedek

have been collected and critically examined by F. Horton.¹¹ Horton's study of the available evidence led him to be skeptical of the possibility of a Jewish tradition of Melchizedek as heavenly high priest, though he held out the possibility that such a development might be found in the then unpublished Qumran texts. Such a tradition does seem to be reflected in the Sabbath Shirot, and it is therefore particularly unfortunate that the tantalizing references to Melchizedek in the Sabbath Shirot occur in that part of the document which is the least well preserved.

THE HEAVENLY TEMPLE

Listed below are the terms used in the Sabbath Shirot to describe the heavens and the heavenly temple. A few phrases, badly damaged and restored by conjecture, are omitted.

General Terms for Heaven

4Q400 1 i 20; ii 4; etc.	מרומי רום
4Q400 1 ii 2; 4Q403 1 i 30; etc.	מרומים
4Q400 2 4	שמי מלכותו ובכול מרומי רום
4Q403 1 i 41	לזבול רום רומים
MasShirShabb i 9	מרומי רומים
MasShirShabb i 12	רום רומים

The term **מרום** is a common designation for heaven in the prophetic and poetic books of the OT. Cf., e.g., Isa 35:5; 57:15; Jer 25:30; Pss 71:19; 102:20; 148:1; Job 16:19. Cf. lQM xiv 14; xvii 8. For **זבול** see 1 Kgs 8:13; 1 Chr 6:2; Isa 63:15; lQS x 3; lQM xii 1, 2; lQH iii 34. In the Sabbath Shirot the terms for heaven are still epithets, as in the OT, not proper names for separate heavens, as one often finds in later tradition.

Dwelling (of God or Angels)

4Q400 2 5	במעוני עומדם
4Q400 2 6	במעוניהם
4Q403 1 ii 19 = 4Q405 8-9 3 cf. 4Q403 1 ii 23	במעון מעוני פלא
4Q405 6 7 + 4Q404 5 6 Cf. 4Q402 11 4; 4Q403 1 ii 45; 4Q406 1 2	למעון מלך אמת וצדק

מעון is used in the OT both for the temple as the earthly dwelling of God (Ps 26:15; 2 Chr 36:15) and for God's dwelling in heaven (Deut 26:15; 2 Chr 30:27). The usage is similar in QL (see lQS viii 8; lQSb iv 25). For heaven as the dwelling or resting place of the righteous and the angels see 1 Enoch 39:4-5 and 41:1-2.

Building or Structure

4Q403 1 i 41	כול פנות מבניתו
4Q405 14-15 i 6; 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7	מבנית

The term מבנית is not BH. Cf. Ezek 40:2 (מבנה עיר). In QL see 1QS xi 8. It is possible that תבנית has a similar meaning in some of its occurrences, though it may mean "likeness, pattern" as in BH.

4Q403 1 ii 3	מראי תבנית כבוד
4Q403 1 ii 16	ראשי תבנית אלוהים
11QShirShabb 5-6 2	תבנית רוחי פלא
Cf. also 4Q403 1 i 43-44	

Tabernacle

4Q403 1 ii 10	משכן רוש רום
4Q405 22 7	משכ[ן אלוהי] דעה

משכן occurs very frequently in the Priestly writer's description of the wilderness cult but also appears as a general term for the sanctuary, most often in Psalms. See Pss 26:8; 46:5; 74:7; 84:2; 132:5, 7; etc.

Holy Place

4Q400 1 i 14	בקודשיהם
4Q403 1 ii 11	לשבעת קודשי רום

קודש is a common term for the sanctuary in the OT. Cf., e.g., Exod 28:29; 35:19; Lev 4:6; Num 4:12; 1 Kgs 8:8; Ezek 41:21; 45:2; Pss 68:25; 150:1. The phrase קודש קודשים recurs frequently in the Shirot, always (where the immediate context is preserved) in one of the following constructions: רוח/רוחי/רוחות קודש קודשים; קדושי קודש קודשים; or רוחי קורב קודש קודשים. It is not possible to say whether the phrase refers specifically to the debir as the "holy of holies," whether the phrase is to be taken as a superlative genitive, "most holy spirits," or whether different meanings are intended in the various occurrences of the phrase.

Sanctuary

4Q400 1 i 7; cf. 4Q405 41 1	למקדשי קודש]
4Q403 1 i 42	למקדש קודש[ו]
4Q403 1 ii 21	בחוקות מקדשיו

4Q403 1 ii 22	במקדש פלא
4Q404 5 5 = 4Q405 6 7	כול מקדשי פלא
4Q405 23 ii 4; cf. 4Q405 11 5	מקדש כול]
4Q405 23 ii 11-12	בכול מרומי מקדשי מלכות כבודו

Although occurring in some portions of the Priestly writer's account of the Mosaic sanctuary (mostly in Leviticus and Numbers), מקדש is the primary term for the temple in Ezekiel 40-48.

Temple

4Q400 1 i 13	בהיכלי מלך]
11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7	להיכלי כבודו

היכל occurs several times in 1 Kings 6-7 but even more frequently in Ezekiel 41. In 4Q400 1 i 13, where the term בהיכלי מלך occurs, other expressions describing the sacred area (בגבולם ובנחלתם) also point to Ezekiel as the probable source of the terminology. (See further below.) The context in which להיכלי כבודו occurs in 11QShirShabb 1-2-9 7 may suggest that היכל is not used to specify the nave of the heavenly sanctuary in contrast to the debir but is instead a term for the sanctuary as a whole.

Debir

4Q400 1 i 4; 11QShirShabb 3-4 3	דביר/דבירי כבודו
4Q403 1 ii 11	מראשי דבירו]
4Q403 1 ii 13	וכל מחשבי הדביר
4Q403 1 ii 14	דביר לדביר
4Q403 1 ii 15	מרכבות דבירו
4Q403 1 ii 16; 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 6	בדביר קודשו
4Q405 7 7	שב[עת דבירי כהונו]ת
4Q405 14-15 i 7	בדבירי מלך
4Q405 15 ii-16 3	דביר המלך
4Q405 15 ii-16 4	בדביר פנו
4Q405 15 ii-16 5; 4Q405 19 3, 7	דבירי הפלא
4Q405 15 ii-16 6	מביתה ליקה הדביר

דביר is found only in 1 Kings, in Chronicles, and once in Ps 28:2. Ezekiel (41:4) and the Priestly writer (Exod 26:31-37) use the term קדש קדשים.

Firmament

4Q403 1 i 42	רקיע טוהר טהורים למקדש קודשו
4Q403 1 i 43	רקיע רוש מרו[מ]ים
4Q405 22 8, 9	ממעל לרקיע הכרובים...רקיע האור
4Q405 23 i 6-7	רקיעי הטהור
4Q405 23 i 7	רקיעי כבודו
11QShirShabb 2-1-9 4	בכול רקי[עי]
11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7	ולרקיעי]
11QShirShabb 5-6 4-5	מארבעת מוסדי רקיע הפלא

רקיע appears to be used in the Sabbath Shirot as a cosmological term to refer to the heavens (see notes to 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7; cf. Gen 1:7; Pss 19:2; 150:1; Dan 12:3; 1 Enoch 18:5; As. Mos. 10:9; Apoc. Ab. 19), as a structural part of the heavenly temple (see 4Q403 1 i 42; cf. 1 Enoch 14), and as the throne dias above the cherubim (see 4Q405 22 8-9; cf. Ezek 1:25).

Architectural Features (Gates, Portals, Vestibules)

4Q400 1 ii 4	בשערי מרומי רום
4Q403 1 ii 4	שערים
4Q405 14-15 i 4	אולמי מבואיהם
4Q405 14-15 i 5 cf. 11QShirShabb f-c-k 2	באלמי מבואי מלך
4Q405 23 i 7	ומהללים שעריו
4Q405 23 i 8	בפתחי כבוד
4Q405 23 i 9	פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא
4Q405 23 i 10	בשע[ר]י קודש
11QShirShabb 2-1-9 6-7	ולפתחי מבואי מלך

Although the language used to describe the component structures of the heavenly temple and its equipment is rather eclectic, Ezekiel 40-48 emerges as the immediate source for much of the terminology. Consider, for example, the reference to the "gates and portals" in 4Q405 23 i. Both terms are relatively common in the Priestly writer's account of the tabernacle but are used together only in Ezekiel (40:11, 38, 40; 46:3). In this case one can even specify Ezek 46:2-3 as the probable source of the phrase in 4Q405 23 i 9, because of the occurrence there of all four terms (בוא, יצא, שער, פתח) in a description of the prince's offering. (For the further significance of this passage for the Sabbath Shirot see

the discussion below.) The references to the אולם also appear to be dependent on Ezekiel, as indicated in the discussion below.

Sevenfold Division

4Q400 1 ii 10	לשבעת נתיבות
4Q403 1 ii 21	שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו
4Q403 1 ii 27; cf. 4Q405 44 1	לשבעת גבולי קוד[ש]
4Q403 1 ii 11	לשבעת קודשי רום
4Q405 7 7	שב[עת דבירי כהוננו]
Also cf:	
4Q400 1 i 13	בגבולם ובנחלתם
4Q405 23 i 7	מכול מפלגיו

The division of the heavenly temple into seven sanctuaries is discussed below. See also the discussion of the angelology of the Shirot.

Minor Architectural Features and Furnishings

4Q403 1 i 41	עמודי משא לזבול רום רומים
4Q403 1 i 41	כול פנות מבניתו
4Q403 1 i 42	וקירות
4Q403 1 ii 2; cf. 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 6	ובהדום רגליו
4Q403 1 ii 13	וכל מחשבי הדביר
4Q403 1 ii 14	כול מחשביהם
4Q405 15 ii-16 1; cf. Deut 22:12; 1 Kgs 7:17; 1QM v 8	גדיל שפה
4Q405 15 ii-16 3	וה[פארת בפרוכת דביר המלך]
4Q405 15 ii-16 5	פרכות דבירי הפלא
4Q405 19 2-3	מדרס דבירי פלא (?)
4Q405 19 5	דבקי פלא (?)

Only a few terms referring to the smaller architectural features of the heavenly temple are mentioned in the Shirot, the עמודי משא, פנות מבניתו, and קירות. Parallels for the terms can be found in all three major biblical descriptions of the sanctuary (Exodus, 1 Kings, 1 Chronicles), although עמוד is more common in Exodus and קיר in Ezekiel. In Exodus and Ezekiel פנות refers to the corners of the altar, though in 4Q403 its association with pillars and walls suggests rather the corners of the building itself.

The furnishings of the temple are rather laconically described. Instead of the welter of technical equipment detailed so minutely in Exodus and 1 Kings 6-7, 4Q403 1 ii 13 and 14 refer simply to "all their crafted furnishings" (cf. *מחשבת* in Exod 31:4; 35:32, 33, 35; 2 Chr 2:13; 26:15). The only clearly technical term used in the Shirot is *פרוכה*, the term for the curtain which hung before the holy of holies of the tabernacle according to the Priestly writer (see Exod 26:31-35). Although apparently not a feature of the Solomonic temple (1 Kgs 6:31; though cf. 2 Chr 3:14), the *פרוכה* was part of the Herodian temple (see Josephus, *J.W.* 5.5; Matt 27:51). Context suggests that *גדיל שפה* ("fringed edge") may be related to the description of the *פרוכה*, though it is not clear what is intended by the phrase. Cf. *גדילים* (Deut 22:12) which refers to the fringes on non-priestly garments. Cf. also 1 Kgs 7:17 where the term refers to "chain work" as an architectural ornament. In 1QM v 8 the phrase *גדיל שפה* is used to describe "a rim of cable work" around a shield.

The divine footstool (*הדום רגליו*) is associated in poetic texts with the ark (Ps 132:7; cf. 1 Chr 28:2) and with the cherub throne (Ps 99:5). For the difficult phrases *מדרס דבירי פלא* and *דבקי פלא* see notes *ad loc.*

Miscellaneous

4Q400 1 i 7	מקור הקודש
4Q405 15 ii-16 2	ונהרי אור
4Q405 22 10	מראי שבולי אש

It is not certain whether *מקור הקודש* is to be taken as a rather weak metaphor or as an allusion to the celestial equivalent of the spring of water which was thought to rise in the temple (Ezek 47:1; Ps 46:5; cf. 1 Enoch 39). Rivers and streams of fire become a commonplace in apocalyptic descriptions of the divine presence in heaven (cf. Dan 7:10; 1 Enoch 14:19; 3 Enoch 36:1).

Throne Chariot

4Q403 1 ii 15	מרכבות דבירו
4Q403 1 ii 15	כרוביהם ואופניהם
4Q405 20 ii-21 2; cf. 4Q405 17 4	מושב ככסא מלכותו
4Q405 20 ii-21 3, 5	מרכבות כבודו
4Q405 20 ii-21 3	כרובי קודש אופני אור

4Q405 20 ii-21 4	מושב כבוד למרכבו]ת
4Q405 22 7	יפול[ו] לפנו ה[כרו]בים
4Q405 22 8	והמון רנה ברום כנפיהם
4Q405 22 8; cf. 1 Chr 28:18	תבנית כסא מרכבה
4Q405 22 8-9	ממעל לרקיע הכרובים...רקיע האור
4Q405 22 9	מושב כבודו
4Q405 22 9	ובלכת האופנים
4Q405 22 10	[ג]לגלי כבודו
4Q405 22 11-12	כבוד מרכבות [ה]פלא
4Q405 23 i 3; cf. 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 5-6	כסאי כבוד
4Q405 40 3; cf. 11QShirShabb 5-6 8	כנפיהם
11QShirShabb 2-1-9 6	מר[כבות הדרו
11QShirShabb 3-4 5	כנפי דעת
11QShirShabb 5-6 8	כ[נפיהם
11QShirShabb f-c-k 5	כסאי עולמים

In the OT only the Chronicler uses the term *מרכבה* to refer to the structure which is the central cult object of the temple (1Chr 28:18, תבנית המרכבה הכרובים). While Ezekiel does not use the term to describe the vision which he saw (though cf. LXX to Ezek 43:3), Ben Sira identifies it as such (Sir 49:8, מראה מראה ויגד זני מרכבה). The description of the merkabah in the Shirot draws heavily on Ezekiel 1 and 10, though unlike the description in Ezekiel the merkabah is located in the debir of the heavenly temple. While the merkabah which bears the Glory is described in 4Q405 22, the Shirot also make reference to a plurality of markabot (see 4Q403 1 ii 14-15 and 4Q405 20 ii-21).

Priestly Vestments

The garments of the high priestly angels are described at some length in the thirteenth Sabbath song (11QShirShabb 8-7 and 4Q405 23 ii). Only those terms drawn from the technical vocabulary of the corresponding OT descriptions are listed here.

11QShirShabb 8-7 4	ותבנית חשני]
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See Exod 25:7; 28:4; 29:5; 35:9, 27; 39:8; etc., where the *חשן*, the breastplate of the ephod is described. In the *חשן* were set twelve gems, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel (פתוחי חותם; Exod 28:11, 21, 36; 39:6, 14, 30). Cf. the phrases *תפארת לפתוחי]* and

פתוחי צורות הדר (4Q405 23 ii 1, 7) which would have occurred only a few lines after]ותבנית חשני. Although the angelic garments are said to be engraved with "figures" or "patterns" (צורות), it seems likely that an allusion to the engraved breastplate of the high priest is intended.

4Q405 23 ii 5

אפודיהם

11QShirShabb 8-7 6

]אפוד

See Exod 25:7; 28:4, 6, 12, 15; 29:5; etc. According to the priestly tradition, the ephod is worn only by the high priest. The plural אפודיהם in 4Q405 23 5 and חשני in 11QShirShabb 8-7 5 suggest that the head of each of the angelic priesthoods functions as high priest.

4Q405 23 ii 10

חשב כמעשי אורג

It is possible that חשב is to be understood as the waistband worn by the high priests (Exod 28:8 and 39:5), though I think it more likely that חשב is here a non-technical term synonymous with מחשבת (see notes *ad loc.*). For מעשי אורג see Exod 38:32; 39:22, 27, where it describes the plain blue weave of the robe of the ephod and the robes of Aaron's sons.

4Q403 1 ii 1

אורתום רוקמה רוח קודש קודשי]ם

4Q405 14-15 i 3

רוקמותם

4Q405 14-15 i 6

ב]תוך מעשי רוקמות פלא

4Q405 22 11

ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוהר

4Q405 23 ii 7

רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג

11QShirShabb 8-7 5

]ממולח טוהר צבעי

Cf. also 4Q405 15 ii-16 4; 4Q405 19 5

For the reading רוקמה instead of ריקמה (BH *riqmâ*) see notes to 4Q403 1 ii 1. The noun רקמה does not occur in the Priestly writer's description, though the phrase מעשה רקם occurs frequently (Exod 26:36; 27:16; 28:39; etc.), describing the screens of the tent and the high priest's sash (אבנט). In 1QM vii 10, a passage dependent on Exod 39:29, biblical מעשה רקם is rendered by the phrase צורת רקמה מעשה חשב ("a bro-caded pattern, cunningly wrought;" trans. Yadin). In non-priestly contexts רקמה occurs several times in Ezekiel where it refers to richly colored fabrics traded by merchants and worn by women and kings (Ezek 16:10, 13, 18; 26:16; 27:16, 24).

4Q405 19 3-4	מעשי רחוקים [חות] פלא ממולח טוהר
4Q405 22 11	ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוהר
4Q405 23 ii 10	וכל מחשביהם ממולח טוהר
11QShirShabb 8-7 5	[ממולח טוהר שבעה]

The phrase ממולח טוהר is undoubtedly dependent on Exod 30:35, "incense blended as by a perfumer, mixed with salt, pure and holy," a special type of incense to be used only in the Tent of Meeting. In the Shirot the phrase ממולח טוהר is used twice in contexts which clearly indicate that it refers to the angelic high priestly garments (4Q405 23 ii 10 and 11QShirShabb 8-7 5). In 4Q405 22 11 the phrase occurs in the context of the appearance of the Glory or of the spirits who are the visible manifestation of the Glory. The referent of the phrase is less clear in 4Q405 19 3-4, though there too it is clear that it applies to some phenomenon of the heavenly debir. See notes to 4Q405 19 3-4 for further discussion.

Sacrificial Terminology

Apart from the phrase תרומת לשון (4Q400 2 7; 4Q403 1 ii 26; 4Q405 23 ii 12) and the headings of the songs, שיר עולת השבת, sacrificial terminology occurs only in the first part of the thirteenth Sabbath song.

11QShirShabb 8-7 2	לזבחי קדושים
11QShirShabb 8-7 2	ריח מנחותם
11QShirShabb 8-7 3	ור[י]ח נסכיהם למס[פר]
4Q405 94 2	הזבחים

One would expect a reference to the עולה, though perhaps it has been lost in the lacunae. The passages are so fragmentary that one is not able to draw any definite conclusions as to possible biblical sources for the terminology.

General Comments

Only a very few terms in the Sabbath Shirot allude to heaven in general language (שמי מלכותו, מרומי רום, etc.). Virtually all of the expressions describe a heavenly building in terms largely drawn from the technical language of the cult. The two most common terms in the Shirot are דכיר and מקדש, with קודש, משכן, and היכל also occurring. Other expressions, such as תכנית and מעון are also associated in the OT with

the sanctuary (Exod 25:9; Ps 26:8; 1 Chr 28:11; 2 Chr 36:15; cf. Deut 26:15; 2 Chr 30:17). Even when the term **רקיע** is used in the Shirot, it seldom appears to be a synonym or name for heaven, as is often the case in rabbinic descriptions. Instead, **רקיע** appears to be used in the Shirot primarily to refer to the dais under the chariot throne or as an architectural term to describe part of the heavenly temple. The image of heaven as a temple is maintained also in the description of the angelic attendance upon God, which is explicitly defined as priestly. The merkabah throne (or thrones) is clearly located in the debir in two passages (4Q403 1 ii 10-16; 4Q405 20 ii-21 2), suggesting that it is to be understood as a heavenly cult object in the celestial sanctuary, much as the merkabah in 1 Chr 28:18.¹

The most striking aspect of the description of the heavenly temple in the Sabbath Shirot, however, is the reference to seven territories, sanctuaries, or debirim, a feature discussed in the preceding section in connection with the seven angelic priesthoods. At the end of the seventh Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 10-16), after the seven angelic councils have been summoned to praise, there is apparently a description of the praise which arises from "the seven lofty holy places" (**לשבעת קודשי רום**). Although the ends of the lines are broken, lines 14-15 are particularly important for the image of the heavenly temple:

14. פלא דביר לדביר בקול המוני קודש כול מחשביהם]

15. והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניהם]

In the style of the Sabbath Shirot **פלא** regularly occurs as the *nomen rectum* in a construct phrase or as an adverb after a verb of praise. Consequently, the words **דביר לדביר** should be interpreted as part of a single phrase. It is difficult to see what the phrase could mean except "debir to debir" (cf. Ps 42:8, **ההום אל-תהום קורא**). In the context of angelic praise one thinks perhaps of antiphonal singing across the various debirim (see 4Q403 1 ii 27-29). Line 14 continues with the phrase "all their crafted furnishings" (cf. Exod 31:4; 35:32, 35), in which the suffix appears to refer to the plurality of debirim. In the following line if, as seems most probable, one takes **מרכבות** to be the subject of **והללו**, then the adverbial **יחד** confirms the reference to a plurality of chariot thrones, as does the plural suffix on **כרוביהם** and **אופניהם**. The text does not specify how many chariot thrones there are. Though it is possible that one should think of there being seven markabot, one in each debir,

it is also possible that the multiple markabot should be seen as distinct from the throne of Glory. These markabot are perhaps present in the various parts of the heavenly temple in large numbers, as in Ma^saseh Merkabah 6.

The notion of there being seven heavenly sanctuaries would seem to account for the abundance of plural terms used to describe the heavenly temple (e.g., מקדשיו, היכלי מלך, מושבי). But if so, what is one to make of the unequivocally singular terms which appear alongside the plural ones? Even in the passage discussed above (4Q403 1 ii 10-16), which contains clear evidence for multiple debirim, one finds expressions such as כול מחשבי הדביר (line 13). One might rationalize this seeming inconsistency by assuming that one sanctuary is hierarchically superior to the others and is referred to in the singular in distinction to the others of lesser sanctity. Such might arguably be the case in 4Q405 15 ii-16 3 and 5 (פרכות דבירי הפלא and בפרוכה דביר המלך). The alternation between singular and plural forms occurs in other contexts, however, in which no such explanation seems likely (cf., e.g., 4Q405 14-15 i 7 and 8: ד[ביר מלך and דבירי מלך). There are even instances in which the same phrase occurs in overlapping texts both as singular and as plural (e.g., 4Q403 1 ii 19, במעון פלא = 4Q405 8-9 3, במעוני פלא). While it is probably the case that one of the seven sanctuaries is exalted over all the others, that does not seem to provide an adequate explanation for the fluctuation between singular and plural forms in the text of the Shirot. Instead it seems more likely that one is often dealing with plurals of majesty and even with intentional violations of ordinary syntax and meaning in a text which is attempting to communicate something of the elusive transcendence of heavenly reality. It is important to keep in mind that the Sabbath Shirot do not present their conceptions with the rationality of sober exposition or even with the sequential logic imposed by the narrative framework of a visionary's heavenly journey. Instead, allusions to heavenly realia are incidental to descriptions of angelic praise. The entire composition seems at times to be a rhapsody on the sacred number seven, so that one may simply have in the Shirot a fluctuation between a vision of heaven as one and as seven holy sanctuaries. Consequently, in translating the Sabbath songs, not all of the plural forms need be rendered as plurals, even though it is clear that in some contexts a genuine plurality of sanctuaries is envisioned.

It is extremely difficult to supply parallels for the notion of seven heavenly sanctuaries. In most descriptions of multiple heavens, each heaven contains different inhabitants and/or distinct structures, with the heavenly temple located in one of the heavens, not necessarily the highest (cf. T. Levi, 3 Apoc. Baruch, 2 Enoch; b. Hag 12b; Re³uyot Yehezkel; etc.). One can at least find references in two texts to seven heavens, each with its own throne, though in neither text are the heavens themselves described as sanctuaries. In the Christian portion of the Ascension of Isaiah the prophet sees thrones in each of the heavens that he passes through. The text is somewhat obscure, however, and it is not clear whether "thrones" is an angelic title, or, if taken in its simple sense, whether the thrones are empty or occupied.² Even if the thrones are occupied, it seems that they are occupied by angelic figures, not by manifestations of the divine Glory. While praise is offered by hosts of angels in each heaven, their praise is directed not to the thrones but to God who sits enthroned in the seventh heaven. The thrones themselves do not praise.

In one of the earliest texts belonging to the tradition of Merkabah exegesis, Re uyot Yehezkel, R. Meir is cited as authority for the notion that "God created seven heavens, and there are seven chariots in them" ([שבעה מרכבות בהן] (שבעה רקי[עים] ברא הק' ושבעה מרכבות בהן)).³ Each of these chariots is named and assigned to a particular heaven, though it is clear that the chariots are not to be thought of as cult objects in seven angelic sanctuaries. As Gruenwald notes, the names of the chariots are largely derived from biblical citations to divine theophanies.⁴ The merkabah in the third heaven, for example, is identified as the one on which God descended upon Mt. Sinai (והמרכבה בתוכו שבו ירד הק' ב'ה' בהר סיני) (lines 83-84). Moreover, although the second heaven contains the angels who sing Qedushah, and the fifth heaven contains the heavenly Jerusalem and all the vessels of the temple, it is clear from the enumeration of the contents of each of the seven heavens that they are not conceived of as seven sanctuaries. In short, the image of the seven heavens with their seven markabot in Re³uyot Yehezkel corresponds more closely to that of a heavenly seven-car garage.

Perhaps closer to the conception of the Sabbath Shirot is that of Ma⁶aseh Merkabah 6. There in each of seven hekalot stand thousands upon thousands of chariots which sing dōxologies to God. As each group

of markabot finishes singing, their voices are carried as flames to the next chamber where another group of markabot sings praise.⁵ Although the depiction of the worship of the markabot is far more elaborate in Ma^caseh Merkabah than in the Sabbath Shirot, there are two significant points of similarity. In both texts the markabot themselves utter praise, and in both texts the praise is either antiphonal or sequential, passing from hekal to hekal in Ma^caseh Merkabah and from debir to debir in 4Q403 1 ii 14 (cf. 4Q403 1 ii 27-29). Elsewhere in the Hekalot tradition it is made explicit that the seven chambers are concentrically arranged (3 Enoch 1:1-2; Hekalot Rabbati 15-16).⁶ There is even a graphic representation of such a heavenly temple in a mural from Dura Europus. In that painting a heavenly sanctuary, counterpart to the earthly one which is also shown, is depicted as having seven concentric walls with an inner shrine at the center.⁷

While one is inclined to assume that the notion of seven sanctuaries in the Sabbath Shirot is in some way related to the later idea of seven hekalot, the Sabbath songs themselves are quite reticent as to the spatial arrangement of the sanctuaries. Although it does appear that the seven angelic priesthoods (and presumably the sanctuaries in which they serve) are hierarchically ordered, the extant fragments of the Sabbath Shirot preserve no phrase such as one finds in the Hekalot literature indicating their arrangement (e.g., חדר בתוך חדר, 3 Enoch 1:1). Moreover, in the ninth through the thirteenth Sabbath songs, where one does have something of a progressive description of the parts of the heavenly temple, it seems to be one temple which is described, not a concentric or sequential arrangement of seven such temples. Plural terms are used in those Sabbath songs, but with the ambiguous sense noted above. There are no explicit references to seven areas, holy places, debirim, or angelic priesthoods such as one finds in the sixth through the eighth Sabbath songs.⁸ It may be that the Hekalot literature represents a later rationalizing of the elusive and numinous presentation of the heavenly temple as both one and seven found in the Sabbath Shirot and perhaps in other contemporary sources.

In order to understand the representation of the heavenly temple in the Sabbath Shirot, it is necessary to investigate their relationship to Ezekiel. The Sabbath Shirot draw on a variety of sources for their concepts, images, and language. The descriptions of the cult in Exodus,

1 Kings, and 1 Chronicles, as well as the apocalyptic traditions about the heavenly realia are all reflected in the Sabbath songs, as noted in the lists above. It is Ezekiel, however, which emerges as the dominant influence on the conceptions of the Shirot. In addition to the various phrases throughout the document which reflect the imprint of Ezekiel's language (e.g., *בגבולם ובנחלתם*, 4Q400 1 i 13; *בחוקות מקדשיו*, 4Q403 1 ii 21), the most obvious influence is in the extensive description of the merkabah in 4Q405 22 (and in 4Q403 1 ii 1-16). It appears, however, that the use of Ezekiel 1 and 10 in the description of the merkabah is secondary to the use of elements of Ezekiel 40-48 in the structure and contents of the second half of the Sabbath Shirot.

The Sabbath Shirot are in no sense simply a commentary on Ezekiel 40-48. Many of the interests of the Shirot do not coincide with those of Ezekiel. The Shirot are not, for instance, concerned with the dimensions of the heavenly temple, with a complete account of all its chambers, or with the details of the legal material found in Ezekiel 40-48. What does concern the Sabbath Shirot is a description of the angels and their praise in the heavenly temple; and it appears that the author has selected and expanded those materials in Ezekiel which lend themselves to such an account. While the broken condition of the Sabbath songs makes it difficult to specify just how closely Ezekiel 40-48 served as a structural outline for Sabbath songs nine through thirteen, there is enough evidence to indicate its crucial role.

It is clear that the last five Sabbath songs describe the heavenly temple and angelic worship in a progressive fashion. The account begins with the outer temple, its vestibules and nave (ninth Sabbath song; 4Q405 14-15 i), then moves to a description of the *פרוכת* veil which separates the outer area from the debir (tenth Sabbath song; 4Q405 15 ii-16). The next section which is well preserved appears to contain a description of the debir, concluding with an account of multiple chariot thrones (eleventh Sabbath song; 4Q405 19; 20 ii-21). In the twelfth Sabbath song there is an extended description of the merkabah which bears the Glory (4Q405 22), followed by a description of the praise of the angels who process in and out of the heavenly temple (11QShirShabb 5-6; 4Q405 23 i). It is partly because the description of the merkabah occurs in the twelfth and not in the thirteenth Sabbath song that I suggest that the influence of Ezekiel 1 and 10 is in some sense secondary to the more

general influence of Ezekiel 40-48. The Sabbath Shirot are not "ma'aseh merkabah" pure and simple. The vision of the chariot throne is not the goal of the composition. The chariot throne is a part of the experience of the temple. The climactic position in the series of songs is reserved for an account of the sacrifices performed by the angelic high priests and for a description of their magnificent appearance (11QShirShabb 8-7; 4Q403 23 ii).

The survey of the preceding paragraph is sufficient to indicate that the form of the last five chapters does borrow from the logic of the "temple tour," such as one finds in Ezekiel 40-48.⁹ To a certain extent, of course, the physical logic of a description of a temple "from the outside in" would produce an arrangement similar to parts of Ezekiel 40-48. It remains necessary to indicate the particular points of contact with Ezekiel 40-48 which provide the basis for the structure and content of these songs. Although one cannot know what the beginning of the ninth Sabbath song contained, 4Q405 14-15 i, which probably comes from the middle of that song, makes reference to vestibules or porches (אולמי and מבואיהם; אלמי מבואי מלך; lines 4 and 5). Ezekiel 40 and 41 abound with references to vestibules, a term used in connection with the description of the outer gates of the compound and of the first of the three main parts of the temple building proper. It is possible that the author of the Shirot is referring to the description of the outer east gate (Ezek 40:5-16). Note that where Ezekiel refers to אלם השער (Ezek 40:8, 9) the Sabbath songs speak of "the vestibule(s) where the King enters," a phrase which alludes to Ezek 43:1-5, the description of the entry of the enthroned Glory through the eastern gate and into the temple. I will consider below what such a phrase as "the entry of the King" may mean in the context of the Sabbath songs.

There are other phrases in 4Q405 14-15 i which suggest, however, that the author of the Shirot may have a passage other than Ezek 40:5-16 in mind (or, perhaps, a conflation of the two). In several places the text of 4Q405 14-15 i refers to "images" or "likenesses" (דמות פלא; line 2; בדני רוח אורים and בדני א[ו]ר כבוד, line 5; בדני אלוהים חיים, line 6)¹⁰ which are said to be engraved in the vestibules (ודמו[ת] אלוהים חיים מפונה) (באלמי מבואי מלך בדני רוח אורים etc.). This combination of motifs suggests that the author has in mind the description of Ezekiel 41:15-26, a passage which mentions the

vestibule of the temple in connection with the wall decorations of palm trees and cherubim engraved throughout the temple building.¹¹ In the Sabbath Shirot these figures in the heavenly temple are evidently considered animate spiritual beings which join in the praise of God.

The next column of the Shirot (4Q405 15 ii-16) describes the פרוכת veil which hangs before the debir. Ezekiel contains no description of the veil, which is, however, described at length in the Priestly writer's account of the Mosaic tabernacle (Exod 26:31-35; etc.) and mentioned in the Chronicler's description of the temple (2 Chr 3:14). What appears to interest the author of the Shirot is that, like the walls and doors of the temple itself, the veil was said to be worked with figures of cherubim. Although the passage in the Shirot is badly broken, it too seems to refer to some kind of figures associated with the veil (see, e.g., 4Q405 15 ii-16 4, בדביר פנו רוקמת[...] ת כול מחקת ה"ם[מה בדני אלו]הים). Similarly, 4Q405 19 (coming perhaps two columns after frg. 15 ii-16) gives a lengthy description of more praising figures (ושבחהו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק[ודש], line 2; [ב]דני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללבני [צ]ורות אלוהים חיים, line 4; [כ]בודם, lines 5-6; etc.), which I have taken to be the images which adorn the walls of the debir (see line 3). Here, too, the author of the Shirot enlarges on and departs from Ezekiel's account in the interests of describing angelic praise in the heavenly sanctuary.

At the conclusion of the eleventh Sabbath song (4Q405 10 ii-21 = 11QShirShabb 3-4) there is a description of an apparent plurality of markabot. While there is no doubt that these markabot are located in the debir (or debirim?; see line 2), their movement is described (בלכהמה, line 5; and perhaps also לו א י סבו, 11QShirShabb 3-4 6). Similarly, in the beginning of the twelfth Sabbath song (4Q405 22) the movement of the chariot which bears the Glory is described. Customarily, in apocalyptic accounts of the throne of God the throne is described as stationary, even if details from Ezekiel's vision are employed (cf. e.g., Dan 7; 1 Enoch 14; T. Levi 3). How, then, should one understand the references to the movement of the chariot or chariots in these passages? There is, frankly, not enough evidence in the fragmentary Sabbath Shirot to make a certain determination, but there is enough to propose a reasonable hypothesis. Ezekiel 40-42 with their meticulous description of the temple are, at least in the present form of the book, preliminary to the vision which Ezekiel sees in 43:1-5, the vision of the chariot throne returning

to the temple. "And the Glory of the God of Israel was coming from the east; and its sound was like the sound of many waters....And the Glory of Yahweh entered the temple by way of the gate facing east....And the Glory of Yahweh filled the temple" (והנה כבוד אלהי ישראל בא מדרך הקדים וקולו) ... כקול מים רבים....וכבוד יהוה בא אל-הבית דרך שער אשר פניו דרך הקדים....¹² I would suggest that the author of the Shirot, still following the outline of Ezekiel 40-48, first described the structure of the heavenly temple and then gave an account of the entry of the divine chariot throne into the temple and the appearance of its glory there, an account modelled after Ezek 43:1-5 but enriched with details from Ezekiel 1 and 10. It is unfortunate that the material before 4Q405 19 is so poorly preserved, since this is where one might expect to find some clearer reference to the entry of the chariot throne.¹³

The description of the chariot throne in 4Q405 22 is drawn primarily from the language of Ezekiel 1 and 10, as the following comparison indicates:

4Q405 22		Ezekiel	
Line 7	הכבוד	1:28	כבוד יהוה
Line 7	ה[כרו]בים	10 (<i>passim</i>)	כרוב/כרובים
Lines 7-8	הכרובים יברכו בהרומם... והמון רנה ברומם כנפיהם	10:16-17	ובצאת הכרובים את-כנפיהם לרומם...וברומם ירומו
		1:24-25	קול כנפיהם...בלכתם...כקול מחנה
Line 8	תבנית כסא מרכבה	1:26; 10:1	דמות כסא
Line 8	ממעל לרקיע הכרובים	1:26	וממעל לרקיע אשר על-ראשם
		10:1	הרקיע אשר על-ראש הכרובים
Line 9	[והו]ד רקיע האור	1:22	רקיע כעין הקרח
Line 9	מתחת מושב כבודו	10:20	החיה אשר...תחת אלהי-ישראל
Line 9	ובלכת האופנים	1:16-17	מראה האופנים...בלכתם ילכו
Line 9	ישבו...יצא	1:14 (LXX)	(יצוא ושוב)
Lines 9-10	מבין [ג]לגלי כבודו	10:6	מבינות לגלגל
Line 10	כמראי אש	1:13	כגחלי-אש...כמראה הלפדים
Line 10	בדמות חשמל	1:4, 27	כעין החשמל מתוך האש
Lines 10-11	ומעשי [נ]וגה	1:4, 27	ונגה לו סביב
		1:28	כן הראה הנגה סביב

Line 12	בהמון לכתם	1:24	קול כנפיהם...בלכותם קול המלה
Lines 12-13	בהרומם ירוממו פלא ובשוכן [יעמ] ודו	10:17	בעמדם יעמדו וברומם ירוממו אותם
Line 13	קול גילות רנה השקית	Tg. 1:24	(במקמהון משתקן גפיהון)

One phrase, however, which describes the movement of the chariot throne and its attendant angels (בהשיב דרכיהם) cannot be derived from Ezekiel 1 or 10 but seems to depend instead on Ezekiel 43:2 (והנה כבוד אלהי ישראל) (בא מדרך הקדים). The sense of a theophany in the heavenly temple is suggested further by the end of frg. 22. As the chariot throne settles into its place, the sound of praise from the angels who accompany it falls silent (lines 12-13). In response the angels who are gathered in camps and divisions raise their voices with the sound of blessing (lines 13-14).

One can find a general parallel for such a scene in Hekalot Rabbati 3. There it is described how, three times a day at the hours of prayer, God descends from the eighth heaven which is over the heads of the cherubim and seats himself on the throne of Glory in the seventh heaven.¹⁴ While the similarities between these passages are interesting, the texts do not appear to be directly related. What is more pertinent for understanding the Sabbath Shirot is a further examination of its relationship to Ezekiel 40-48.

The second half of the twelfth Sabbath song (preserved in 11QShir-Shabb 5-6 and 4Q405 23 i) continues the description of the angelic praise which greets the appearance of the chariot throne. The crucial lines are those of 4Q405 23 i 8-10 where the procession of the angels is described: במבואי אלי דעת בפתחי כבוד ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש לממשלתם פתחי במבואי אלי דעת בפתחי כבוד ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש לממשלתם פתחי במבואי אלי דעת בפתחי כבוד ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש לממשלתם פתחי במבואי אלי דעת בפתחי כבוד ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש לממשלתם פתחי. The passage is almost certainly derived from the account of the Sabbath worship and sacrifice prescribed in Ezek 46:1-10 (words and roots common to both passages are underlined in the excerpt from 4Q405 23 i 8-10 above).

(1) Thus the Lord Yahweh said: 'The gate of the inner court which faces east shall be closed for the six days of work, but on the Sabbath day it shall be opened, and on the day of the New Moon it shall be opened. (2) The Nasi shall enter by way of the vestibule of the outer gate and shall stand by the post of the gate while the priests offer his holocaust and his peace offering. (3) He shall prostrate himself upon the threshold of the gate and then go out. But the gate shall not be closed until evening. The people of the land shall worship before Yahweh at the portal of that gate on

Sabbaths and New Moons. (4) The whole offering which the Nasi shall bring to Yahweh on the Sabbath day shall consist of six unblemished lambs and an unblemished ram.

The text continues in vv. 5-8 to specify the grain offering for the Sabbath and the offerings for the New Moons. Then in vv. 9-10 the procession in and out of the sanctuary is described.

(9) When the Nasi enters by way of the vestibule of the gate, he shall enter and go out by the same way. But when the people of the land enter before Yahweh on their appointed days, those who enter to worship by way of the north gate shall go out by way of the south gate. Those who enter by way of the south gate shall go out by way of the north gate. They shall not return by way of the gate through which they entered but by the one opposite it they shall go out. When they go in, the Nasi shall go in with them; and when they go out, he shall go out.'

כה-אמר אדני יהוה שער היצר הפנימית הפנה קדים יהיה סגור ששת ימי המעשה וביום השבת יפתח וביום החדש יפתח: ובא הנשיא דרך אולם השער מחוץ ועמד על-מזוזת השער ועשו הכהנים את-עולתו ואת-שלמיו והשתחוה על-מפתן השער ויצא והשער לא-יסגר עד-הערב: והשתחוה עם-הארץ פתח השער ההוא בשבתות ובחדשים לפני יהוה: והעלה אשר-יקריב הנשיא ליהוה ביום השבת ששה כבשים תמימים ואיל תמים:....ובבוא עם-הארץ לפני יהוה במועדים הבא דרך-שער צפון להשתחות יצא דרך-שער נגב והבא דרך-שער נגב יצא דרך-שער צפונה לא ישוב דרך השער אשר-בא בו כי נכחו יצאו: והנשיא בתוכם בבואם יבוא ובצאתם יצאו: (Ezek 46:1-4, 8-10)

It would appear that the author of the Shirot has combined the description of the return of Yahweh to the ideal temple in Ezekiel 43 with the description of the Sabbath worship and offerings which are prescribed in Ezekiel 46 in order to create the scene of the Sabbath worship in the heavenly temple. Where Ezekiel only briefly refers to the actual offering of the Sabbath whole offering by the priests (Ezek 46:2, 4), however, that element is separately treated in the Sabbath Shirot in the climactic thirteenth song.

As so often in the Shirot, only a small portion of the material is extant (11QShirShabb 8-7), but it is enough to confirm that the beginning of the thirteenth Sabbath song does at last explicitly treat the subject which is anticipated by every heading of the individual Sabbath songs, the sacrificial service of the Sabbath. At the same time it should be noted that the sacrifice itself does not seem to be the central concern of the song, since the apparently brief account of the sacrifice is followed by a lengthy section describing the magnificent vestments of the high priestly angels who offer the sacrifice. There is an account in Ezek 44:15-19 of the special status of the Zadokite priests and of the

sacred garments which they are to wear when they attend in priestly service in the inner court, and it may be that there is a reference to the analogous statutes which govern the vestments of the angelic priests in 4Q405 23 ii 13, though that line is badly broken. In any event the emphasis is different in the Shirot than in Ezekiel. Here it is the splendor of the angelic high priests and their praise which is emphasized, just as the author of the Shirot has elsewhere shaped the elements upon which he drew in order to glorify the angelic priests of the heavenly temple and their praise of God. Although the second half of the cycle of Sabbath Shirot is in no sense an exegetical midrash on Ezekiel 40-48, it is clear that these chapters, as well as Ezekiel 1 and 10, play a central role in informing the conception of the heavenly temple and the Sabbath worship conducted there.¹⁵

THE QUMRAN CONTEXT OF THE SABBATH SHIROT

In the preceding sections I suggested that the cycle of the Sabbath Shirot is a quasi-mystical liturgy designed to evoke a sense of being present in the heavenly temple. While the Shirot draw on the understanding of the Sabbath as the bond between heaven and earth, the cycle does not seem to have been designed as the liturgical accompaniment to the performance of the weekly Sabbath sacrifice in heaven or on earth. The strong focus on the angels as heavenly priests and the detailed description of the heavenly temple, however, indicate clearly the priestly and cultic interests of those who composed and used the Sabbath songs. In addition references to esoteric knowledge and the revealing of secrets, the strong influence of Ezekiel 1, 10, and 40-48, and the number of parallels between the Shirot and contemporary apocalypses suggest a relation to visionary traditions. At the same time the psalmic exhortations to praise with which each song opens, and the presentation of all description of heavenly realia as a description of angelic praise underscore the purpose of the Sabbath Shirot as acts of worship and distinguish them from the apocalyptic visions of heaven.

If one wishes to inquire more closely into the question of the social function of such a document as the Sabbath Shirot, then the piece needs to be set in context and compared with other literature and traditions with which it shows affinities. That task could be drawn either very broadly or very narrowly. In the narrow sense the cycle of the Sabbath Shirot is unique, a document without any close parallels. In the broader sense, however, the traditions about common worship with heavenly beings on which it draws are ancient and ubiquitous in the ancient Near East. Hymns containing long descriptions of the praise addressed to the supreme god by the divine retinue are numerous in Mesopotamian literature and share many common motifs with Israelite psalmody (cf. e.g., Pss 29; 89:6-8; 148:1-3).¹ The depiction of heavenly worship, often as part of the universal praise of God, becomes a staple of apocalyptic descriptions of heaven (T. Levi 3:8; 1 Enoch 39-40; 2 Enoch 20-21; Apoc. Ab. 17-18;

Rev. 4-5; Asc. Isa. 7-9; etc.). Not only does the idea of such common worship find an express place in the liturgies of synagogue and church, but the nature of the angelic praise becomes a subject of continued speculation in Jewish and Christian tradition.²

The situation is similar with respect to the imaging of heaven as a temple. In general the notion that earthly temples and their service are in some sense dependent on heavenly prototypes is widespread. It is difficult to say, however, just how this notion was understood in pre-exilic Israel and whether it led to a speculative development on the nature of a heavenly temple. In fact the only clear example of the description of heaven as a temple in a pre-exilic source is Isaiah 6. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether this piece represents a *tour de force* on the part of the prophet, in which categories from the temple cult are superimposed on the traditional elements of the prophetic call vision for a specific rhetorical purpose, or whether Isaiah draws on an already established body of speculative tradition about the heavenly presence of God.

The reference in Exod 25:9, 40 (cf. also 1 Chr 28:19) to the pattern (תבנית) which God shows to Moses as the model for Israel's cultus may have been an impetus to speculation about a heavenly temple in later tradition (cf. Heb 8:5), but it does not in itself necessarily reflect a belief in a heavenly temple corresponding to an earthly one. Even Ezekiel's vision of the ideal temple is similarly a three-dimensional תבנית, not a heavenly temple. The continuation of interest in a divinely ordained model for the temple and cult can be traced in the columns of the Temple Scroll. In none of these instances, however, is that model assumed to be a heavenly temple with an angelic priesthood.

It is often thought that the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians in the sixth century B.C. encouraged the development of the notion of a heavenly temple and cultus,³ but we are poorly informed as to the origin and growth of such speculation. Belief in a heavenly temple with an angelic priestly service may be reflected in the vision of Zechariah 3, in which Joshua the high priest stands accused before God, but the language is too ambiguous for one to be certain. It is only with the literature from the Hellenistic period that one finds clear evidence of speculation on a heavenly temple. The structure described in 1 Enoch 14 is probably that of a temple with nave and adytum.⁴ More explicit

references to angelic priestly service in a heavenly temple are found in Jubilees, the Apocryphon of Levi, and the Testament of Levi (see below). Nor is it merely in apocalyptic speculation that one finds references to the heavenly temple. Certain psalmic descriptions of the praise of the angels are explicit in identifying their place of worship as a temple. Already in the call to praise of Ps 150:1 קודש is apparently synonymous with רקיע עזו. The Song of the Three Youths from the additions to Daniel is even more precise: "Blessed are you who behold the depths from your seat upon the cherubim;...Blessed are you on your royal throne;...Blessed are you in the dome of heaven" (vv. 31-33). In literature from the Roman period the notion is attested in very diverse sources, both Jewish and Christian, e.g., in Philo and Josephus, in 3 Baruch and the Apocalypse of Paul, in Hebrews and Revelation, etc.

The Sabbath Shirot differ from many of the contemporary texts which refer to the heavenly temple in that they devote much more attention to the details of the structure of the heavenly sanctuary, its priesthood, holy vestments, etc. In a thorough investigation of the context of the Sabbath Shirot one would also need to consider the tradition of idealized description of the temple and cult. Already in the biblical sources one finds such idealized recreations of the Mosaic cult in the Priestly writer and of the Davidic/Solomonic temple and cultic service in the Deuteronomist and in the Chronicler. This tradition continued to be a living one in the Hellenistic period, when the institutions of the temple and priesthood served as a particularly important focus for national identity and pride. The writings of Ben Sira, Eupolemus, and Pseudo-Aristeas all testify to the interest in recounting the holiness and magnificence of the temple cult, past and present. While there is no particular verbal similarity between these writings and the Sabbath songs, there is perhaps a relationship between the religiosity which produces Ben Sira's exalted description of Simon the Just and that which produces the account of the heavenly high priests in the thirteenth Sabbath song.

It is my intention, however, to raise the question of the place and function of the Sabbath Shirot in a narrower context.⁵ As I indicated above, I think it most likely that the Sabbath Shirot were produced by the Qumran community. Certainly they were copied, preserved, and used in that setting. From this it follows that the most significant context for understanding the Sabbath Shirot is that of the Qumran community. A series

of important studies in the past twenty years has established beyond any doubt the centrality of temple cult and priesthood in Qumran thought.⁶ The leadership of the movement was priestly, as reflected in the institutional structures of the community (1QS vi 3-4; iv 7; though cf. v 2-3), in its rules of precedence (1QS ii 19-20; vi 4-8; vii 2-3), and in its expectations concerning the structure of the community and the messianic leaders of the eschatological age (1QSa). The dominant personality of the movement, the Righteous Teacher, was a priest (4QpPs37 iii 15) as was his chief opponent, the Wicked Priest (1QpHab vii 8, 16; ix 9; etc.). In fact, the crystallization of the movement as a sectarian organization is to be traced to its rejection of the current cult practices in the Jerusalem temple as hopelessly defiling both with respect to cultic calendar and halakah (1QpHab vii 8-13; xii 7-9; CD vi 11-14; etc.).⁷

As a consequence of the contradiction between the absolute necessity of a pure and acceptable cult and the present pollution of the Jerusalem temple and priesthood, the programmatic document of the Qumran community contained in the Serek Ha-Yahad defined the community as the temple--both in symbolic and in functional terms. Since the Qumran community could not conduct an actual sacrificial cult, atonement was effected through the community's prayer, praise and obedience to the law (1QS viii 4-10). The conception of the community as the temple is reflected in the exclusion from the pure food and drink or from community assembly of those who did not abide by the rules of the community and of persons with physical or mental defects (1QS v 13-14; vi 25; vii 3, 16, 19-20; CD xv 15-17 [4QCD^b]; cf. 1QSa ii 3-11 and 4QFl i 3-5, referring to the eschatological community). Thus, although the distinction between priesthood and laity was maintained as a central feature within the Qumran community, in several important respects, including the requirements of purity and the ability to effect atonement, the life of the entire community was seen as the functional equivalent of priestly service in the temple. The development of the idea of the community as a temple was not, to be sure, a matter of spiritualization of the cult. The Qumran community anticipated restoration of the Jerusalem cult to a condition of purity in the eschatological age and planned for its reconstitution (4QFl i 3-7; lQM ii 1-9).

It is in relation to the idea of the community as a temple that the allusions to communion with the angels are primarily to be situated. The nature of that communion is conceptualized in various places as common

worship and as shared priestly service. The most explicit statements, those found in 1QSb, refer particularly to the association of the Qumran priesthood with the angelic priestly service. First the priests are blessed as follows:

May the Lord bless you from His [holly] [abode] and set you as a splendid ornament in the midst of the holy ones. The covenant of the [everlasting] priesthood [may He re]new for you and set your place in the holy [abode] (iii 25-26).

There is a certain ambiguity in the term קדושים, which might refer either to the members of the Qumran community or to the angels. In the blessing of the high priest which follows, however, the reference is unequivocal:

May you be as an angel of the Presence in the holy abode for the glory of the God of hos[ts....] May you attend upon the service in the temple of the Kingdom and decree destiny with the angels of the Presence, (and may you be) in common council [with the holy ones] for eternal time and for all the everlasting ages (iv 24-26).

It is probably the case, as Klinzing maintains,⁸ that the blessings have a future orientation (see the blessings of the princely messiah in col. v) and refer to service in the eschatological age. One should also note that insofar as the blessings of the lay members and the princely messiah are preserved, there does not appear to be any references to special communion with the angels. Shared priestly service in the eschatological or heavenly temple is the peculiar blessing of the priesthood.

In other contexts, however, the extended sense in which the life of the entire community could be considered as priestly is also related to the idea of communion with the angels. The requirements for physical soundness for admission to the community, mentioned above in connection with the community's self-identity as a temple, are always justified by the appeal to the presence of the angels in the midst of the community, not merely for the eschatological community (1QSa; cf. also 4QFl i 2-5, which probably refers to the eschatological community) but also for the present community (CD xv 15-17; see Milik, *Ten Years*, 114). The combination of categories of clean/unclean, deriving from the priestly legislation for the sanctuary (Lev 21:16-24), with the reference to the angels implies that a realm of specifically cultic holiness is defined by the presence of the angels, in short, that life in the community becomes in some sense priestly service before God shared with the angels.

A similar understanding is reflected also in the hymns of the community, where the psalmist thanks God for his salvation and describes his present condition, including the experience of communion with the angels. Although lacking the explicitness of lQSB about service in the heavenly temple, the description of this communion with the angels draws allusively on the language of priestly service (e.g., *טהר, התיצב במעמד, קדש, נחל, אחזת, קדש*).

You have purified a perverse spirit of great sin so that it may stand in assembly with the host of the holy ones, and enter into community with the congregation of heavenly beings (lQH iii 21-22);

For the sake of Your glory You have purified man of sin in order to be made holy for You without abominable uncleanness or faithless guilt, to be united [with] the children of Your truth and share in the lot of Your holy ones;...to stand in the appointed place before You with the everlasting host and with [Your holy] spirits (lQH xi 10-13);

God has given them to the ones He has chosen as an everlasting possession, and has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones. He has joined their assembly with the heavenly beings to be a council of the community.... (lQS xi 7-8).

Unquestionably, the Sabbath Shirot share the emphasis on priesthood and cult reflected in other QL, though here the emphasis is focused on the heavenly priesthood and cult which corresponds to the earthly institutions. Where the other Qumran documents merely allude to the experience of communion with the angels, the Sabbath Shirot provide a primary vehicle for the experience of "standing before You with the everlasting host.... in common rejoicing with those who have knowledge" (lQH xi 13-14). The nature of the experience provided by the Sabbath Shirot is somewhat difficult to define. The Shirot stop short of describing the co-participation in the heavenly cult referred to in lQSB as one of the blessings of the eschatological age. Nor is there reference to the common recitation of a liturgical formula with the angels, such as one finds in the use of the Qedushah in the liturgies of synagogue and church. What characterizes the Sabbath Shirot is description--insistent and often vivid description of angelic praise and blessing, of the heavenly temple, its structures and appurtenances, the merkabah, the procession of the angels, the splendid vestments of the celestial high priests, and so forth. It might seem that there is a similarity between the descriptive element in the Shirot and the descriptions of apocalyptic visionaries, but one must

recall that the mode is completely different. The descriptions of the visionaries are third or first person reports with functions varying with the different writings in which they are contained. In the Shirot the descriptions of the heavenly temple follow upon the calls to praise and are in themselves acts of worship. Through these calls to praise and the descriptions of heavenly worship the earthly community evokes that sense of being present in the heavenly temple. That this is the effect of the recitation of the Shirot is suggested by a passage which comes from the early part of the cycle, probably from the second song: "How shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their habitations?" (4Q400 2 6, *מה נחשב [ב]ם וכוהנהנו מה במעוניהם*).

The question of the origin of the notion of a liturgical communion with the angels at Qumran is important for clarifying further the function of the Sabbath Shirot. One of the most thoroughly worked out hypotheses, and one which has explicitly addressed the question of the purpose and function of the Sabbath Shirot, is that of J. Maier. In *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* Maier suggested that the idea derives from a traditional view of the temple as the place of intersection between the earthly and heavenly realms, so that service in the earthly temple is at the same time service in the heavenly presence of God and of God's ministering angels. The self-understanding of the Qumran community as the replacement for the defiled Jerusalem temple provides, in Maier's view, the means by which the idea of common priestly service with the angels is experienced as a present reality and not just as a blessing for the eschatological future. In many ways Maier's hypothesis would seem to account well for a work such as the Sabbath Shirot, and in his study he interpreted the fragments of the Sabbath Shirot already published by Strugnell in just this manner.⁹ According to Maier, the Sabbath Shirot were produced when the priestly community of Qumran, for whom connection with the Jerusalem temple had been severed, combined liturgical elements (blessings) with an exegetical-speculative development of the visions of Ezekiel, in order to recreate the sense of unity between heaven and earth previously available to them in the actual exercise of the cult. Maier further suggests that the cycle of Sabbath Shirot was not a radically new composition but a reworking of an older *Vorlage*, that is, a continuation of the inner liturgy of the temple by which the priests expressed their sense of the mythic unity of heavenly and earthly cult or, in its more attenuated form, their sense of

serving among the angels of the Presence. Though Maier's insights about the Sabbath Shirot lead in the right direction, there are difficulties with his broader thesis.

Maier's view of the origin and basis of the experience of communion with the angels at Qumran has been qualified and challenged by other scholars. While H.-W. Kuhn basically accepts Maier's analysis of the origin of the idea of communion with the angels, he insists that in its use in the community songs the motif has become the expression of a present realization of eschatological salvation.¹⁰ G. Klinzing argues, however, that there is no evidence of a traditional priestly self-understanding which includes the idea "von einem Ineinsetzen von irdischem und himmlischem Kult und einem mystischen Erleben."¹¹ Against the citations which Maier had adduced (Jub 31:13-17; T. Levi 2-5; Apoc. Levi 18; lQSB iii 25-26 and iv 24-26) Klinzing argues that all of them refer either to a *correspondence* (but not an intersection) between heavenly and earthly cults or to a *future* common service in the heavenly temple or in the eschatological temple.¹² Klinzing further claims that the source of the idea of communion with the angels is not a traditional priestly self-understanding but is the eschatological expectation that the righteous will be united with the angels in the eschatological future. Similarly, in his review and critique of Kuhn, D. Aune comments that "temple symbolism is not to be considered the *cause* of the community's belief in the present realization of eschatological salvation, but rather one of the modes of conceptualizing the presence of final salvation, a conceptualization made possible on other grounds."¹³

Maier himself freely admits that there is very little evidence for reconstructing the pre-exilic priestly ideology or the liturgy of the inner temple. His attempts to go behind texts such as Num 12:6-8 and Isaiah 6 to discern priestly self-understanding are intriguing but ultimately inconclusive.¹⁴ Moreover, in my view Klinzing is correct in rejecting Jubilees, the Levi traditions, and lQSB as evidence for a general tradition of priestly mysticism in post-exilic Judaism. If the case for such a tradition cannot be established independently of the Sabbath Shirot, then one cannot appeal to the Sabbath songs as evidence for such a tradition and then use the tradition thus posited to interpret the function of the Sabbath songs. To do so would be to fall into a hopelessly circular argument. At the same time Klinzing's reference to a general expectation

that the righteous will be united with the angels in the eschatological future seems inadequate to explain the scope and content of the Sabbath Shirot as they are now known. It may be possible, however, by reexamining the biblical and apocryphal texts that refer to the relation between the angels and the priesthood to suggest an explanation for the creation and use of the Sabbath Shirot which accounts for their thoroughly priestly orientation without having recourse to the hypothesis of a longstanding tradition of priestly mysticism.

There are only three or four relevant passages which antedate or were contemporary with Qumran literature and which one knows were read by the community. The earliest is the vision contained in Zechariah 3, in which the prophet sees the high priest Joshua being accused in the heavenly court. There is, to be sure, no explicit reference here to heaven as a temple or to an angelic priesthood. What is relevant, however, is that the passage is concerned with an accusation of impurity against the high priest.¹⁵ The imagery is very strong, for the high priest stands before God and God's angel in garments smeared with excrement. One need only contrast Isaiah 6 or the strictures on the necessity of ritually clean garments for the priest in Leviticus 16 to have a sense of the enormity of the cultic guilt imputed to Joshua. Rather than punishing Joshua with death, however, God removes his guilt and has him clothed in clean garments and a pure turban. The scene is, of course, a heavenly reinvestiture of Joshua as high priest. When Joshua is instructed in his duties, he is promised that if he fulfills them faithfully, he will be granted access to the heavens and fellowship with the angels who stand before God (וַיִּתְּתֵנִי וְנִתְּתִי לַאֲנָשִׁים מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה). I do not think that one can deduce from this passage that fellowship with the angels was part of the self-understanding of the priesthood of the second temple. In fact the opposite conclusion seems more likely. The language of the passage is thoroughly hyperbolic, both in its description of Joshua's guilt and in the results of his rehabilitation. The purpose or function of that language about access to heaven in v. 7 is to give a further divine guarantee of the legitimacy of Joshua's high priesthood.

A second important passage occurs in Jubilees, in Isaac's blessing of Levi:

May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages. And may the Lord

give to thee and to thy seed greatness and great glory, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones (Jub. 31:13-14).¹⁶

First it should be noted that while Jubilees speaks in the traditional language of the priests approaching God (שרת, קרב), it does not speak clearly of any common service with the angels but rather of a correspondence or analogy between the angelic service and that of the Levitical priests.

Furthermore, to understand the significance of the blessing in the context of the book of Jubilees, one has to realize that the analogy which is set up between Levi's priesthood and that of the angels is part of a pervasive correspondence in Jubilees between Israel and the angels, between Israel's torah and the observances commanded of the angels.

Consider what the angel of the Presence says to Moses about the Sabbath.

And he gave us (the angels) a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes-- He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. And He said unto us: 'Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these shall keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them....' And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day" (Jub. 2:17-19, 21).

Similarly, the angel says of the Feast of Weeks that "this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah" (6:18).

Circumcision, too, is a sign which separates Israel from the nations while it unites them to the angelic realm.

And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels" (Jub 15:26-27).

No one, I think, would appeal to the phrase "with Him and with His holy angels" in order to claim that all of Israel enjoyed a mystical communion with the angels. Instead the purpose of such statements as these seems to be to legitimate Israel's torah and the significance of Israel's separateness from the other peoples. What divides them from the other nations is what unites them with the angels. In a way that is neither eschatological nor mystical Israel nevertheless exists as something like an extension of the heavenly realm on earth. The references in Jubilees to the correspondence between Israel and the angels and between the Levitical priesthood and the angelic priesthood are part of a rhetorical argument about the significance and character of Israel.¹⁷ They do not tell one whether such conceptions were also embodied in liturgy or in special devotional practices.

The Apocryphon of Levi (or Aramaic Testament of Levi) appears to draw on some of the same traditions and sources as Jubilees, but because it is preserved only in fragmentary copies,¹⁸ it is rather more difficult to specify its purpose and function. The idealization and glorification of the figure of Levi in the Apocryphon of Levi is perhaps intended not only to enhance the status and image of the priesthood but also to serve as a critique of the priesthood as it actually functioned.¹⁹ In this work Levi is again associated with the angels. The immediate context of the statement is the instruction from Isaac concerning the condition of sexual purity made necessary by Levi's holy office. "Thou art nigh to (God) and nigh to all His holy ones. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every defilement of all men" (v. 18; trans. Charles). The admonition recalls similar statements in QL linking requirements for cultic eligibility to the presence of the angels, but it is difficult to draw many conclusions from this passing comment.

What one would like to have is the text of the two visions to which Apoc. Levi 7 makes reference. It seems clear that they were versions of the two which occur in Testament of Levi 2-5 and 8, though it is not possible to determine specifically in what respects the versions in the Apocryphon of Levi may have differed from those in the Testament. Although the material in Testament of Levi cannot be used as direct evidence of ideas current in writings found in the Qumran library, the motifs of the heavenly temple and priesthood in Testament of Levi closely resemble the

traditions present in Jubilees and the Apocryphon of Levi and warrant consideration.

It is apparent that in the Testament of Levi, Levi's visions serve to authenticate and glorify the institution of the priesthood. At the beginning of the vision in chaps. 2-5 the angel tells Levi that when he enters the highest heaven "you shall stand near the Lord. You shall be his priest" (2:10).²⁰ The angel then describes the heavens, culminating in the heavenly temple with its angelic priesthood (chap. 3). After a recapitulation of the promise of the blessings of the priesthood (chap. 4), the vision reaches its climax. "At this moment the angel opened for me the gates of heaven and I saw the Holy Most High sitting on the throne. And he said to me, 'Levi, to you I have given the blessing of the priesthood until I shall come and dwell in the midst of Israel'" (5:1-3).

It is possible to be somewhat more specific about the use of the visionary ascent in T. Levi 2-5 than about the Apocryphon of Levi. Here the vision not only authenticates Levi's priesthood but also defines it in a particular way. It is not Levi's specifically ritual responsibilities which are highlighted in these chapters but the knowledge necessary for obedience to God's will which is the responsibility of the priests. The vision is presented as a response to Levi's prayer about the moral decadence of the world and his desire to be delivered from it. The angel's announcement of Levi's priesthood associates it with special knowledge: "You shall stand near the Lord. You shall be his priest and you shall tell forth his mysteries to men. You shall announce the one who is about to redeem Israel" (2:10). Through the gift of understanding which Levi receives saving knowledge is mediated to Israel by the priests. "The Most High has given heed to your prayer that you be delivered from wrongdoing, that you should become a son to him, as minister and priest in his presence. The light of knowledge you shall kindle in Jacob....Therefore counsel and understanding have been given to you so that you might give understanding to your sons concerning this" (4:2-5; trans. Kee). There is no suggestion that Levi's presence in the heavens is repeated or reexperienced through his cultic service or that of his descendents. In fact the stress laid on Levi's passing his knowledge to his descendents suggests the contrary view. It is only with the coming of the eschatological priest that "the heavens will be opened, and from the temple of glory sanctification will come upon him" (18:5).

Testament of Levi 8 recounts a vision of the investiture of Levi by seven men clothed in white, undoubtedly the seven archangels who serve as priests in the heavenly temple. Their investiture of Levi naturally associates him with their own honor and dignity and stresses the heavenly authorization of his special position in Israel in a more emphatic way than, e.g., the terse and unspecific account of Levi's dream of ordination in Jub. 32:1. In its present context the vision of Testament of Levi 8 forms the context for a claim to a broad range of traditional and institutional powers for Levi's descendents (8:11-17).

In each of the texts examined the association of the human priesthood with the heavenly temple and its angelic priesthood reflects no trace of a living tradition of priestly self-understanding of common service with the angels. Instead the motif functions as part of a literary or rhetorical argument for the legitimation, idealization, or glorification of the priesthood.²¹ While there are appreciable differences in the specific use of the motif even in works that draw on common traditions, the element of legitimation of some aspect of the priesthood seems to be a constant.

The background of this use of the motif of the heavenly temple and priesthood is important, I believe, for understanding the origin and function of the Sabbath Shirot, where one does finally encounter something like the cultivation of a mystical communion with the angels.²² The priests of the Qumran community understood themselves as alone representing the true and faithful priesthood, בְּנֵי צִדִּיק and בְּנֵי צִדְקָה. Yet physical realities seemed to contradict their claim. They did not have authority in the temple; they could not conduct its sacrificial service; they possessed neither the sacred vestments nor utensils. The danger in the situation was not that outsiders would discount their claims but that their claims to represent the true priesthood would cease to remain plausible to the members themselves, especially to those who were not of the founding generation. Through the traditions represented in Zechariah, Jubilees, and the Apocryphon of Levi, the Qumran community was familiar with the way in which the heavenly temple and angelic priesthood were used to authenticate and glorify the Levitical priesthood. What was specifically needed at Qumran, however, were not merely arguments couched in visionary form to demonstrate the authenticity of the claims of the

group but rather some form of experiential validation of their claims. I would suggest that the cycle of songs in the Sabbath Shirot was developed precisely to meet this need for experiential validation. Although no claim is made that the audience which recited or heard the Shirot was actually transported to the heavenly realms, the hypnotic quality of the language and the vividness of the description of the celestial temple cause even the modern reader of these fragments to feel the power of the language to create a sense of the presence of the heavenly temple. The carefully developed and sophisticated form of the cycle of the Shirot further reflects the intention to produce and guide a particular type of experience. That the Sabbath songs functioned primarily to form the identity and confirm the legitimacy of the priestly community is also reflected in the fact that the work does not find its climax in the description of the divine merkabah but rather in the glorious appearance of the celestial high priests in their ceremonial vestments, model and image of the Qumran priesthood.

To the extent that the worshipper experienced himself as present in the heavenly temple through the recitation of the Sabbath Shirot, his status as a faithful and legitimate priest would have been convincingly confirmed in spite of the persistent contradiction of his claims in the world. It is even possible that the Sabbath Shirot had a specific ritual function in connection with the consecration or rededication to the priesthood. The beginning of the recitation of the Sabbath Shirot on the first Sabbath of the new year would have fallen during the seven day period of the consecration of the priesthood, which began on the first day of the first month (see Exodus 29; Leviticus 8; 11QTS xvi-xvii). We do not know in what way this period was observed at Qumran, but its coincidence with the beginning of the cycle of the Sabbath Shirot suggest that the Shirot may have provided an initiatory experience or an occasion for the spiritual formation of the newly reconsecrated priesthood.

PROVENANCE - NOTES

1. Portions of the Sabbath Shirot have been published in the following sources:

J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran--4QSerek Šîrôt 'Ôlat Haššabbāt," *Congress Volume: Oxford, 1959* (VTSup 7: Leiden, Brill, 1960), 318-45;

Y. Yadin, "The Excavations at Masada: 1963-64. Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 15 (1965), 105-8;

A. van der Woude, "Fragmente einer Rolle der Leider für das Sabbatopfer aus Hohle XI von Qumran (11QŠirŠabb), *Von Kanaan bis Kerala*, ed. W. C. Delsman et al. (AOAT 211; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 311-37;

C. Newsom and Y. Yadin, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *IEJ* 34 (1984) 77-88.

In addition, 4Q400 1 was published orally by J. Strugnell in a lecture at a congress on Merkabah literature held at Hebrew University in May, 1976.

2. See F. Cross, "Jewish Scripts," especially fig. 2, 176-177. The script of 4Q400 is intermediate between that of 4QDeut^c (ca. 125-100 B.C.) and that of 4QSam^a (ca. 50-25 B.C.).

3. The solar calendar may even have been the official cultic calendar of the Jerusalem temple during the early centuries of the Second Temple period. See J. VanderKam, "The 364 Day Calendar," 390-411.

4. A. Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments*, I, 23, 38. Reasonable arguments can be made that some of these writings and the sources on which they depend go back to the third century B.C., if not earlier. See Hultgård, 29.

5. J. Milik, "Milkî-šedeq," 136.

6. J. Milik, "Milkî-šedeq," 136

7. It is, of course, possible to suppose that a pre-Qumran Sabbath Shirot influenced the language of the Qumran Berakot, but that explanation seems less than economical, especially in light of other close relationships between passages in the Shirot and various Qumran documents. Similarities in diction and motif are noted throughout the sections of the commentary. See especially MasShirShabb 1 2-7 (cf. 1QS iii 15; CD ii 9-10; 1QH i 19-20) and 4Q405 14-15 i 4-6 (cf. 1QM v 6-9).

8. See the discussion of G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22-25.

9. See, however, the variant to 1QS v 1 which Milik reports in one of the 4QS manuscripts. Where 1QS reads וְזֶה הַסֵּרֶךְ לְאַנְשֵׁי הַיְחָד, the 4QS fragment

reads מדרש למשכיל אנשי ההורה המתנדבים. Milik, "Le travail," 61

10. Concerning the Qumran provenance of the Cantiques themselves, the editor M. Baillet says, "Les rapprochements avec les Hodayôt sont si nombreux qu'il peut y avoir une communauté d'auteur avec au moins certain passages." DJD VII, 220.

11. The presence of a copy of the Sabbath Shirot at Masada is perhaps best explained by assuming that it was taken there by a member of the Qumran community who participated in the revolt against Rome, presumably after the destruction of the community center at Khirbet Qumran. See Y. Yadin, *Masada*, 173-74.

FORM, CONTENT, AND FUNCTION - NOTES

1. J. Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 318.
2. A portion of a date heading for the twelfth Sabbath song is preserved in 11QShirShabb 3-4 (= 4Q405 20 ii-21-22). The position of this fragment relative to the others in 11QShirShabb confirms that the scroll contained only thirteen compositions. (See the notes to the reconstruction of 11QShirShabb.)
3. It is not a matter of deciding whether this section of the Shirot is or is not poetry. As J. Kugel has pointed out, there is no simple prose-poetry division in biblical and early post-biblical literature. There is, rather, a continuous scale of "heightening features" which "mark a sentence as special, lofty, carefully made" (*The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 94). The issue here is to try to discern, within a single work, the differing intensities of heightening features and their function within the text.
4. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 21, 128.
5. This topic is considered further in the chapter on the Qumran context of the Sabbath Shirot.
6. See, e.g., the following passages from 1QH and 1QS: להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים והפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות דעו צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים והפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות דעו להלל שמכה ביחד רנה ולספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה (1QH iii 21-23); [...] ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד ורוחי (1QH xi 13; cf. 1QH xi 25); וינחילם בגורל קדושים ועם בני שמים חכר סודם לעצת יחד (1QS xi 7-8).
7. According to *b. Roš. Haš.* 31a, the Musaf offering of the Sabbath was accompanied by sections of Deuteronomy 32.
8. Such is the conclusion of A. van der Woude ("Fragmente," 332) on the basis of the 11Q fragments.
9. 4Q503, Prières Quotidiennes, DJD VII, 105-36.
10. This is not to suggest that the Sabbath Shirot are in some way coordinated with the liturgical cycle of feasts and holy days of the first quarter of the year. If such a connection exists, I have been unable to discern it. There are no references in the body of the thirteen Shirot to the New Year, to Passover and the feast of unleavened bread, to the waving of the omer, etc. (Contrast the Prières Quotidiennes, cited above, in which Baillet identifies allusions to Passover and to the feast of unleavened bread.)
11. J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, 15.

12. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 66, 380.
13. J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, 232-33.
14. J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, 24.
15. See the discussion in Heinemann, *Prayer*, 231.
16. E. Fleischer, "The Diffusion of the Qedushot" (Heb.), 255-84.

ANGELOLOGY - NOTES

1. An earlier version of such a list was published by Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 331-34). I have included here only epithets which are textually certain or nearly certain. The reader should consult the transcriptions, photographs, and comments *ad loc.* for details of the readings and restorations. Where a term occurs several times, only a representative sampling of citations is given. For an exhaustive list the reader should consult the concordance.
2. A rich collection of information about Jewish and Christian traditions concerning the angels can be found in H. Bietenhard's volume, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*.
3. Both D. Suter ("Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest," 123) and G. Nickelsburg ("Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 585) interpret the accusation of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 15 as a defilement of the angelic priesthood.
4. In view of the strong influence of Ezekiel 40-48 on the Sabbath Shirot (discussed in the chapter concerning the heavenly temple), it may be that the title נְשִׂאִים is also influenced by Ezekiel's use of the term נְשִׂא to identify the political leader of the restored community, though the role of Ezekiel's נְשִׂא and that of the angelic נְשִׂאִים appear to be quite different. The title נְשִׂא רֹשׁ occurs in Ezek 39:1 as a title for Gog, but it seems doubtful that that usage has influenced the Sabbath Shirot.
5. In 1 Chr 16:2 it is said that "David blessed the people in the name of Yahweh" during the ceremonies celebrating the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem. In these ceremonies, however, David assumes a number of priestly prerogatives, dressing in linen, wearing a linen ephod, and participating in the sacrifice of burnt offerings.
6. See Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 104-8.
7. See Y. Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 201.
8. Alternatively, one could see in קֹרֵב a non-BH *qutl* noun related to the masculine Syriac noun *qorbā* ("nearness, intimacy, vicinity") and the Jewish Aramaic קורבא ("connection"). Cf. also the feminine Hebrew noun from the Babylonian Talmud, קורבה ("nearness, approach, contact"), which corresponds to the BH feminine noun קרבה (*qirbah*, "nearness," occurring only in the phrase קרבה אלהים in Isa 58:12 and Ps 73:28). This derivation of the word קֹרֵב would suggest that the phrase כוהני קֹרֵב refers to the right of the priestly angels to approach God. In Ezekiel the participle הקרבים and the adjective הקרובים are used virtually as epithets for the priests who conduct the sacrificial service. Cf. Ezek 40:46; 42:13; 43:19; 45:4. Note the strong influence of Ezekiel on the Sabbath Shirot, discussed in the following chapter.

9. There are four texts from Qumran which reflect a concern with Melchizedek and his angelic opponent, Melchiresha, the prince of darkness--4QAmram; 11QMelch; 4QTeharot; and 4QBerakot. See Milik, "Milki-šedeq et Milki-reša^c," 95 and Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 1. Although the nature of the relationships among the texts cannot be clarified until they are fully published, they do appear to represent a coherent body of speculation about these angelic figures and a liturgical tradition of blessings and curses related to this speculative angelology. The very close stylistic and lexical relationship between the Sabbath Shirot and 4QBerakot and the possible dependence of 4Q401 11 on 11QMelch suggest that the Sabbath Shirot should also be understood as a part of this related group of texts. There are also certain small similarities in diction which may also suggest a common tradition, such as the use of the unusual term אלוהים as an angelic title in 11QMelch and the Sabbath Shirot and the description of the garments of the high priestly angels in 4Q405 as צבעי אור. In 4QAmram^b 1 13 Melchiresha's garments are described as follows: [ומ]ל[ב]ושה צבענין וחשיך חשור. In view of the thoroughgoing dualism in that text, one would expect the garments of Melchizedek and his followers to be צבעי אור. Such comparisons are not sufficient by themselves to establish a relationship among the texts, but they contribute to the impression that the author of the Sabbath Shirot wrote in the context of a coherent and well-developed tradition of speculative angelology which was also reflected in these other texts.

10. See the discussions of Y. Yadin, *War Scroll*, 234-36; P. Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 139; J. Milik, "4QVisions de ^cAmram," *RB* (1972) 86.

11. F. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*. See especially 170-72.

THE HEAVENLY TEMPLE - NOTES

1. Gruenwald (*Merkavah Mysticism*, 71-72) observes that the throne of God is very seldom situated in the temple in Merkabah texts.
2. See R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, 49, n. 14 and I. Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 59 and n. 105.
3. I. Gruenwald, "Re'uyot Yehezqel" (Heb.), *Temirin* 1 (1972), 119.
4. I. Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 137.
5. See commentary to 4Q403 l ii 14. The text of Ma'aseh Merkabah was published by G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 2nd ed., 103-17.
6. See the discussion of P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 240.
7. E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, X, 42-73; XI, pl. 9.
8. It is not impossible, I suppose, that the first part of the ninth Sabbath song, now lost, indicated that the remaining description concerned only the most exalted sanctuary, corresponding to the seventh chamber in hekalot speculation, but I find nothing to encourage such a supposition.
9. These chapters seem also to have influenced the composition of 1 Enoch 14. See the remarks of G. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580.
10. The rare word כְּנִי is a synonym for צִוּרוֹת, "images, patterns, figures." See comments to 4Q405 14-15 i.
11. See the notes of Zimmerli on the text of these verses. 1 Kgs 6:28-35 and 1 Chr 3:4-7 contain similar accounts of the carved figures in the Solomonic temple.
12. Note that the LXX of Ezek 43:3 apparently read וְכִמְרָאָה הַמְרֻכְבָּה אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי for MT וְכִמְרָאָה הַמְרָאָה אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי.
13. It is possible that part of this material is preserved in 11QShirShabb f-c-k. Judging from the shapes of the fragments, it is quite plausible that frg. f-c-k came from the column preceding 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p, the combination which overlaps 4Q405 19. See the notes on the reconstruction of 4Q405 and 11QShirShabb. In 11QShirShabb f-c-k there are references to vestibules of entrance and exit and to thrones (אֹלָמִי מִ[בּוֹאִי... מו]צֵא אֹלָמִי) ...נִי... מעשי לב[...], lines 2-3; כְּסֵאֵי עוֹלָמִים and כְּסֵאֵי פֶלֶא, line 5.
14. See the discussion of this passage in I. Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 153-55.

15. The relationship between Ezekiel and the understanding of temple and cult has been studied by S. Fujita in his 1970 Princeton Theological Seminary dissertation, "The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C."

THE QUMRAN CONTEXT OF THE SABBATH SHIROT - NOTES

1. See the study of S. N. Kramer and M. Weinfeld, "Sumerian Literature and the Book of Psalms" (Heb.).
2. See E. Peterson, *The Angels and the Liturgy*, 14-40 and H. Bietenhard, *Die Himmlische Welt*, 137-42. The benediction from the morning service which contains the Yoşer Qedushah is in many respects similar to the tone and style of the Sabbath Shirot. "Be thou blessed, our Stronghold, our King and Redeemer, Creator of holy beings; praised be thy name forever, our King, Creator of ministering angels, all of whom stand in the heights of the living God and everlasting King. All of them are beloved, all of them are pure, all of them are mighty; they all perform with awe and reverence the will of their Creator; they all open their mouth with holiness and purity, with song and melody, while they bless and praise, glorify and reverence, sanctify and acclaim--The name of the great, mighty, and revered God and King; holy is he. They all accept the rule of the kingdom of heaven, one from the other, granting permission to one another to hallow their Creator. In serene spirit, with pure speech and sacred melody, they all exclaim in unison and with reverence: 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.' Then the celestial ofannim and the holy beings, rising with a loud sound toward the seraphim, respond with praise and say: 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his abode.' To the blessed God they offer melodies; to the King, the living and eternal God, they utter hymns of praise" (trans. P. Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book*).
3. See J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, 103-6.
4. See G. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580, n. 19.
5. A number of studies have already begun to explore the connections between the Sabbath Shirot and other traditions about the heavenly temple and angelic worship. See, e.g., F. Francis, "Humility and Angel Worship in Col. 2:18" and H.-M. Schenke, "Erwägungen zum Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes." D. Aune (*Realized Eschatology*, 32, n. 2) comments that "the frequent use of the number seven in the Angelic Liturgy calls to mind the heptadic structure of the Apocalypse of John, thereby disposing us to view its cultic realization of the Kingdom of God and final judgment as historically and genetically related to the identical cultic phenomenon in the worship of the Qumran community."
6. See especially the following works: K. G. Kuhn, "Essener," *RGG*³ 2, 702-3; "Qumran," *RGG*³ 5, 740-56; J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*; H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*; H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus der Qumran-gemeinde und im Neuen Testament*.

7. I am in essential agreement with H. Stegemann's reconstruction of the history of the Qumran community in *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*.
8. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus der Qumrangemeinde*, 126.
9. J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, 133.
10. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 66-72, 113-17.
11. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus der Qumrangemeinde*, 127.
12. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus der Qumrangemeinde*, 128-29.
13. D. Aune, *Realized Eschatology*, 37, n. 1.
14. J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, 106-12.
15. It is irrelevant here whether Zechariah 3 reflects an actual division within the Jewish community over the legitimacy of Joshua's high priesthood or whether it addresses a more generalized sense of doubt about the validity of the old institutions after the trauma of exile.
16. Quotations from Jubilees are from the translation of R. H. Charles, *APOT II*.
17. Most probably the immediate historical context for the statements was the opposition to the Hellenizing faction within Judaism in the first half of the second century. G. Nicklesburg (*Between Bible and Mishnah*, 78-79) suggests a date of ca. 168 B.C. for Jubilees. A somewhat later date, ca. 161-152 B.C. is favored by J. VanderKam (*Textual and Historical Studies*, 283-84).
18. See M. de Jonge, *Testaments*, 38-52 and J. Milik, "Le Testament de Levi," 398-406, and *Books of Enoch*, 23-24.
19. J. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 23-24. Even in this context Milik notes the parallel between angel and priest. "At lines 6-7 of this passage [4QLevi^a 8 iii] there was certainly an allusion to the accusations made by the patriarch against the Watchers (En. 13-16), who were responsible for the evil which had spread among men (En. 13:2 and 16:3). The priests are likened to the angels, both groups being upholders of wisdom and the true cult of God; the corruption of men is due to the corruption of the two groups."
20. Quotations from T. Levi are from the translation of H. C. Kee, *OTP I*.
21. The same function is probably to be attributed to the Testament of Amram where the angelic leaders of the forces of light and darkness struggle over Amram, father of Aaron. 4QAmram^c 9 18 apparently referring to Aaron, reads as follows: "he will be seventh among men of [His] good will [and ho]nor, and it will be said...he will be chosen as a priest forever." J. Fitzmyer, "'Men of His Good Will,'" 103.
22. One cannot say, of course, whether the recitation of the Sabbath Shirot was restricted to those members of the Qumran community who were priests.

Certainly the strong priestly focus of the document would make this a plausible supposition. Even if the document were recited for a mixed lay and priestly group, it is the function of the document for the community's understanding of its priestly leadership that is most important.

4Q400: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q400: Material Description

The leather is of medium thickness, ranging in color from yellow to buff. When stained, it becomes orange, sometimes tinged with blue. The sub-glossy surface is generally smooth, though occasionally it has lost its topmost layer. The back is less well prepared, ranging in color from reddish grey to brown. Vertical lines can be seen, though with difficulty; horizontal lines are somewhat clearer. Top margin: 10-13 mm. Bottom margin, measured from dry line: 13 mm. Space between cols. (measured between vertical dry lines): 12 mm. (frg. 1), 12 mm. (frg. 3). Space between lines: ca. 5 mm. Height of average letter (e.g., *dalet*, *resh*): 2mm. Width of column: 10 cm., est. (frg. 1); 10 cm., est. (frg. 2). Height of col.: 12.7 cm., including margins. Photos: PAM 40.596; 40.601; 40.607; 41.320; 41.849; 41.852; 41.916; 42.495; 42.970; 42.974; 43.473; 43.510.

4Q400: Orthography

The pronouns and pronominal suffixes are the forms standard in the MT (וֹ-, תוֹ-, לוֹ, יוֹ-, נוֹ, תָנוּ-, ם-, ם-, הם-, הם-, למו) with the exceptions, characteristic for Qumran, of כה-, המה. *Yod* is *mater lectionis* for long *i*, both accented and unaccented (e.g., נַחֲבִינֹוּ, בְּדַבֵּיר) and for *ê* from *ay*, both internal and final (e.g., הִיכְלִי, אֵין), but for no other *i* vowel. *Waw* is used much more extensively. Every vowel originating from *u*, short or long, accented or unaccented, as well as *ô* from *aw* and *ô* from *ā* is customarily represented by *waw*. It is not clear whether ידעי (4Q400 2 9 and 3 ii 5) is to be understood as a defectively written *qal* participle or as a noun of the *qattal* pattern. See Qimron §100.221.

The forms לוֹא (4Q400 1 i 14), הראישון (4Q400 1 i 1) combine historical and phonetic orthography. The weakening of the guttural *he* also results in mixed historical/phonetic spellings of BH *kěhunâ*. See כוהנתנו (4Q400 2 6) and כוהנונת (4Q400 1 ii 19).

The form תשבוחות (4Q400 1 i 21; 400 2 1; see also 4Q405 22 13) is noteworthy. Cf. תשבוחה in lQM iv 8, תשבוחת in 4Q511 2 i 8, and תשבוחות in

in 4Q510 1 l. BH and MH attest only תושבחות and תשבחות, forms which also occur in 4QShirShabb (4Q403 1 i 31, 32; ii 25, 36). See Qimron §200.221.

4Q400: Paleography

The hands of the Sabbath Shirot are analyzed according to the typology established by F. M. Cross in "The Development of the Jewish Scripts."

4Q400 is a formal hand from the late Hasmonean period (ca. 75-50 B.C.), earlier than the script of 4QSam^a (ca. 50-25 B.C.). Several letters have rather archaic features. Note the curvature of the legs of *he* and the simple vertical stroke of *zayin* (3 ii 1). Medial *kap* tends to be long and narrow, with a rounded base. The downstroke often slants inward like a figure "three" (1 i 15, 16, 17: כול). Final *kap* shows similarly archaic features, especially the rather tightly ticked head. *Lamed* has a large top without the enlargement of the hook characteristic of Herodian hands. In the clearest examples medial *mem* can be seen to be made in the late Hasmonean fashion, with the left oblique panned last from left to right (2 i: נרוממה; 2 9: מכול). Final *mem* preserves the long narrow form of the Hasmonean *mem*. Several of the *sameks* are open (e.g., 2 2: מוסדי; 2 3: יספרי), suggesting an early date for the hand. The small form of several *ayins*, an archaic feature, is also noteworthy (2 5: במעוני; 2 7: עפרנו, כדעה; 3 ii 4: ושבעה). Other letters show transitional features, such as the examples of *bet* in which the base line appears to be a separate left-to-right stroke (1 i 4: בדביר; 1 i 9: לשבעה; 1 i 19: קורב). Similarly late is *tet*, which is drawn with two strokes (1 i 5: ומשפטיו; 1 i 15: ויטהר ויטהרי). Note the isolated example of a cursive *taw* in 2 13: תם[.

4Q400: Proposed Reconstruction

Three large and four small fragments remain from this manuscript. It is likely that they come from neighboring parts of the scroll rather than from widely scattered locations. Since frg. 1 preserves the beginning of the first Sabbath song, perhaps the scroll was rolled with the beginning of the work inside, in the most protected position.

At first it appears as though frg. 3 i might contain the ends of the lines preserved in 400 1 ii, but the text produced by the join 400 1 ii-3 i would present such improbable syntax that such a distant join has to be rejected. One might next ask whether frg. 2 or 3 preserves col. III of the original manuscript. It is possible to determine at least that frg. 2

cannot have been from col. III. 4Q401 14 i overlaps with 4Q400 2 1-2 and also preserves part of the preceding lines, lines which would have belonged at the bottom of the preceding column in 4Q400. Although the lines are not completely preserved, enough remains to make it clear that 4Q401 14 i 5-6 are not the same as 4Q400 1 ii 20-21. Consequently, the reconstruction of frg. 2 as col. III of the original scroll is impossible.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to make a positive assignment of frg. 3 to col. III. Given varying assumptions about the probable length of Sabbath songs, the likelihood that some of the early columns are not represented by extant fragments, etc., one might suggest any number of possible reconstructions. Even if one can offer only a tentative reconstruction, however, the heuristic value of the exercise justifies the attempt. The following reconstruction offers a very plausible account of the evidence, but one which cannot be established as certain:

Col. V	Col. IV	Col. III	Col. II	Col. I
frg. 2	frg. 3 ii	frg. 3 i	frg. 1 ii	frg. 1 i

Since a transition between two Sabbath songs occurs in frg. 3 ii 7, the first Sabbath song would be some three and one-third columns long, a length roughly equivalent to that which can be calculated for Sabbath songs six, seven, and eight (see the reconstruction of 4Q405). Frg. 3 contains a long formulaic description of the praise of the angelic princes (3 ii 2: לנשיאי משנה). In the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs closely similar formulaic passages occur, concerning the psalms and blessings of the seven chief princes (נשיאי רוש, sixth Sabbath) and the seven deputy princes (נשיאי משנה, eighth Sabbath). Comparison of the remains of 4Q400 3 i-ii with these accounts suggests that the formulaic passage in frg. 3 included all of 3 i and the first several lines of 3 ii. One might see in frg. 1 ii 13 (ורוממו כבודו) and 14 (מלך נשיאי) the introduction to such a formulaic section. Since the formulaic praise of the sixth through the eighth Sabbath songs forms a climactic center for the entire collection of Shirot, one might well expect a section which anticipates this material in an abbreviated form to occur in the first Sabbath song rather than, e.g., in the third. Moreover, the relationship of themes produced by this reconstruction would fit well. The first Sabbath song would give an account of the heavenly priesthood and the formulaic praise of its angelic princes. The second Sabbath song (frg. 2) would contain an admiring description of the elite priestly angels and a deprecation of human worship when compared

with that of the angels. Notwithstanding their lesser status, the human community is finally summoned to join in the praise of God.

There is a possible difficulty with the reconstruction suggested above, however, one concerning the occurrence of the phrase לְנִשְׂיָאֵי מִשְׁנָה in 3 ii 2. Should one assume that the entire section of formulaic praise was assigned to the deputy princes? (Cf. the sixth Sabbath song where the entire song describes the praise and blessing of the chief princes.) If so, it would seem strange that the first Sabbath song describes the praise of the lower ranking deputy princes and not that of the chief princes. Yet there is not room for two parallel accounts as the text is reconstructed above. Perhaps one should not rely too heavily on the analogy of the sixth Sabbath song, however. Because frgs. 1 ii and 3 i-ii are so fragmentary, the details of their structure are not clear, and it is possible that they do make reference both to the chief princes and to the deputy princes. It might well be, for example, that the long formulaic passage in 3 i is to be attributed to the chief princes, while the reference to the deputy princes in 3 ii 2 introduces only the concluding blessing in 3 ii 2-6. Despite the caution raised by the fact that the extant remains of the fragments refer to the deputy princes but not to the chief princes, the reconstruction proposed here provides a useful working hypothesis.

Two of the remaining small fragments can be placed in relation to frg. 3 i-ii. It is probable that frg. 4 i-ii contains additional material from these two columns, but it is not clear how many lines are missing between 3 i 12 and 4 i 1. It is virtually certain that frg. 5 contains the ends of lines 3 ii 4-8. The two blank lines of frg. 5 correspond to the end of line 3 ii 6, which concludes the Sabbath song, and 3 ii 7, the *vacat* line which separates it from the following Sabbath song. The word שְׁנָ[עָה in frg. 5 2 (= 3 ii 5) makes a good join with פְּלָא דְּבְרֵי in 3 ii 6 (see]וּשְׁבַעָה דְּבְרֵי[in 3 ii 3). Moreover, the אֱלוֹהִי of 5 5 fits well in the formulaic beginning of a new Sabbath song. One should reconstruct 3 ii 8-9 + 5 5 as follows: לְמַשְׁכִּיל שְׁ[יִר עוֹלַת הַשַּׁבָּת הַשְּׁנִית בְּאֶחָד עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן
[הַלְלוּ] אֱלוֹהֵי הַנִּכְבָּדִים

1. [למשכיל שיר עולת השב] ת הראישונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון הללו

2. [לאֹוּהי] ה אלוהי כול קדושי קדושים ובאלוהותו

3. [מלכותו גילו כיא יסד] בקדושיעד קדושי קדושים ויהיו לו לכוהני

4. [קורב במקדש מלכותו] משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו בעדה לכול אלי

5. [דעת ובסודי כול רוחות] אֱלֹוְהִים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח ומשפטי

6. [כבודו לכול מיסדי] דַעַת עֵם בִּינוֹת כְבוֹדוֹ אֱלֹוְהִים(vac) לקרובי דעת

7.] עולמים וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש

8. [קודשים] כֹוָה[כי] קורב משרתי פני מלך קודש

9. [קודשים] כבודו וחוק בחוק יגברו לשבעה

10. [סודי עולמים כיא י] סֶדֶם [ל] וְ לַקֹּדֶשׁ[ושי קדושים משרתים בק] ודש קודשים

11.] רְבוּ בִם לְפִי סוֹדְ[] מדעת

12.] קודש קודשים כו[הני] הִמָּה שְׂרִי

13.] מתיצ] בים בהיכלי מלך [בגבולם ובנחלת

14.] .[] לֹוְלֹוּ לוא יכלכלו כול נְעוּי [דרך ואֲ[י]ן טמא בק

15. [וחוקי קוד] שים חרת למו במ יתקדשו כול קדושי עד ויטהר טהורי

16. [אורי לגמו] ל כֹוָה נְעוּי דרך ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע (vacat)

17.] דעת בכוהני קורב ומפיהם הורות כול קדושים עם משפטי

18. [כבודו] .[] סדיו לסליחות רחמי עולמים ובנקמת קנאתו

19.] סֹוֹת יסד לו כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים

20.] א[ל]והי] אלים כוהני מרומי רוֹם הִ[קר]בים

21.] [ל][ל] [ל] [ל] [ל] תש]בוחות

Note: It is impossible to represent the actual spatial relationships between the letters and the lines of text in a typewritten transcription. The reader should consult the photographs for this information.

4Q400 1 ii: Transcription

1. רום מלכות^{°°}] כה
2. מרומים והנ[°]]
3. תפארת מלכותכה]
4. בשערי מרוסי רום]
5. ב.° [] °° רוח כול ר.°]
6. קדושי קודש קודש[°]] ים
7. מלך אלוהים לשבעת מ]
8. כבוד המלך[°] (vac) ש.°]
9. כבודו בסוד אל[°]] ים
10. לשבע נתיבות[°]]
11. למשפטי שקט[°] ב]
12. עולמים (vac)]
13. ורוממו כבודו °.]
14. מלך נשיאי]
15. קדושים]
16. קודשי]
17. אלים ו.°]
18. צדק[°] (vac)]
19. כוהנו[°]] ת
20. חסדי אלו[°]] היים
21. להתקדש בא]

4Q400 1: Notes on the Readings

Column i

Line 1. ת[השב]. The left leg and foot of *taw* are clear on the manuscript. See PAM 40.601.

Line 6. ד[ע]. Traces of ink at the edge of the fragment are compatible with *dalet* but do not exclude other readings.

Line 7. וממקור. A superscribed mark between *mem* and *qop* resembles *waw/yod* but appears to be an accidental blot of ink. The parallel text of 4Q401 15 2 reads קודש ה[מקור] (ומ[מקור]). The surface of the leather is cracked around *resh*.

Line 10. י[סדם] ו[ל] ו לקד]. The first *dalet* is certain. Before *dalet* there is a trace of a vertical or diagonal descender, capable of many identifications. A spot of ink is visible between י[סדם] and ו לקד]. The space between words would be abnormally large if no additional letters were read. The space available and the traces of ink are compatible with ו[ל]. Cf. lines 3 and 19. In ו לקד] the slant of the descender and the leftward curve at its end make the last letter better for *dalet* than *resh*.

Line 11. רבו[. Either *dalet* or *resh* is materially possible.

Line 12. Either כ[י] or כ[ו] is materially possible.

Ibid. מה[. The traces favor *mem* (e.g., for מה[ה]) over the group *bet, ayin* (e.g., ש[בעה]) or the group *kap, lamed* (e.g., כלה[)], but the reading is not certain.

Ibid. שרי. *Shin/sin* is certain. The last letter may be either *waw* or *yod*.

Line 14. לר[. *Lamed* is virtually certain. The following letter is either final *kap* or, less likely, *mem*. The traces, however, do not support הלך or מלך.

Ibid. כול נ[. The trace is good for *nun*, though *kap* or *pe* is not impossible.

Ibid. וא[י]ן טמא. The traces identified as *waw* and *alep* are ambiguous and might materially be *he* or *waw, dalet*, etc.

Line 15. למו במ. There is no trace of a letter between *waw* and *bet*. The dark mark which appears in some photographs is merely a crack in the leather.

Line 16. The group of letters before נְעוּי דָרָךְ is probably to be read as לָלוּ, though לָלוּ is not impossible.

Ibid. וִיכַפְרוּ. The initial waw is almost obliterated by a fold in the leather.

Line 17. הוֹרוֹת. Although the right shoulder is normally not so angular in *resh*, the third letter cannot be *dalet*. Cf. *dalet* in דַּעַת and קְדוּשִׁים in the same line.

Line 18. The traces before סְדִיּוֹ are quite ambiguous but probably preserve the remains of two letters, possibly *alep*, *nun*, e.g., for אֲנִי שִׁי.

Line 19. סִיּוֹ. The waw/*yod* is preceded by a vertical or diagonal descender without any projection to the left, e.g., *zayin*, *nun*, *sade*, *shin*.

Line 21. תַּשׁ בְּרוּחוֹת. The trace identified as the base of *bet* is too horizontal and meets the following letter too low to be the tail of *lamed*.

Column ii

Line 1. מַלְכוּתָּהּ. The traces of the tail of *kap* are good. Compare לָלוּ in 400 l i 5. Although there appears to be a rather large space before waw, it is not possible to read מַלְכוּתָּהּ.

Line 2. וְהִנֵּה. The letter after *he* is either *nun* or *kap*.

Line 4. מְרוֹם רֹם. The scribe apparently first wrote the singular מְרוֹם, then corrected it to the plural מְרוֹמִי.

Line 5. בְּנֵי. After the initial *bet*, the first trace is best read as *dalet*, *zayin*, *het*, or *nun*.

Line 10. נְתִיבוֹתָהּ. A slight trace of *taw* is visible on the leather.

Line 17. אֱלִים וְ. Waw is clear on the leather.

Line 19. כְּוִהוֹנֵה. The last letter could materially be waw, *yod*, or the right leg of *taw*.

4Q400 1: Translation

Column i

1. [By the instructor. Song of the sacrifice of the] first [Sabba]th
on the fourth of the first month. Praise
2. [the God of...]o, O you godlike ones among all the holiest of the
holy ones; and in the divinity
3. [*of His reign rejoice, for He has established*] among the eternally
holy the holiest of the holy ones, and they have become for Him
priests
4. [*of the inner sanctum in His royal sanctuary*], ministers of the
Presence in His glorious debir. In the assembly of all the elim of
5. [*knowledge and in the councils of all the*] godlike [*spirits*] He
inscribed His statutes for all spiritual creatures and [*His glorious*]
judgments
6. [*for all who establish*] knowledge, the people (who possess) His
glorious insight, the godlike beings who draw near to knowledge.
7. [...] eternal [...] and from the source of holiness of the sanctuaries
of holiest
8. [holiness...] pries[ts of] the inner sanctum who serve before the
King of holiest
9. [holiness...] of His glory. And every statute they confirm to the
seven
10. [*eternal councils; for He es*]tablished them [*for Him*]self as the
ho[li]est of the holy ones who serve in the ho[ly] of holies.
11. [...And] they became great among them according to the council[...]oo
from the knowledge of
12. [...] holiest holiness, pr[iests...Th]ey are princes
13. [...who take their sta]nd in the temples of the King [...] in their
territory and in their inheritance
14. [...]o[...]oooo They do not tolerate any whose way is per[verted].
There is n[o] unclean thing in their holy places.
15. [Statutes of holi]ness He inscribed for them. By these all the
eternally holy ones sanctify themselves. And He purifies the pure ones
16. [*of light in order that they may requite*] all whose way is perverted.
But they propitiate His good will for all who repent of sin.
17. [...] knowledge in the priests of the inner sanctum. And from their
mouths (come) the teachings concerning all matters of holiness

together with [*His glorious*] commandments

18. [...]oo[...] His [lo]ving kindness for an eternal compassionate forgiveness; but in the vengeance of His jealousy
19. [...]ooo He established for Himself priests of the inner sanctum, the holiest of the holy ones
20. [...]g]od[like] elim, priests of the lofty heavens *who* [draw] near
21. [...]o[.]o[.]o[.]o[...]pr]aises of

Column ii

1. [Your] lofty kingdom [...
2. heavens ooo[...]
3. the beauty of Your kingdom [...
4. by the gates of the lofty heavens [...
5. in o[...]oo spirit of all the oo[...]
6. the holy ones of holiest hol[iness]...
7. King of the heavenly beings *for the* seven o[...]
8. glory of the King (vac) oo[...]
9. glory in the council of the el[im]
10. to the seven paths [...
11. for judgments of quietness o[...]
12. of eternity (vacat) [...
13. And they exalt His glory o[...]
14. King of the princes [...
15. holy ones [...
16. holy [...
17. angels [...
18. righteousness (vac)[...]
19. priesthood[s]...
20. mercy of Go[d]...
21. to be sanctified *by* o[...]

4Q400 1: Comments

4Q400 1 i-ii preserves the beginning of the first song of the Sabbath Shiroṭ. The passage is written in elevated prose, a balanced, rhythmical style characterized by parallelistic structures, long construct chains, and compound epithets. In style it resembles the "two spirits" section of the Serek Ha-Yahad. The fragment describes the establishment and organization of the angelic priesthood, the members of which are called "priests of the inner sanctum" (כֹּהֲנֵי קֹדֶשׁ) and "the holiest of the holy ones" (קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים). The text further describes the institution of laws for the angels who serve in the heavenly temple as well as their priestly responsibilities for propitiation, for judgment, and for teaching. Although the second column is badly broken, it contains evidence of direct address to God (ii 3) and references to features of the heavenly realm (ii 4, בְּשַׁעֲרֵי רוּם; ii 10, לְשֹׁבַע נְתִיבוֹת). Beginning in ii 13 there may be a description of the praise of the seven angelic princes, but the text is too badly broken for one to be certain.

Line 1. לְמַשְׁכִּיל שִׁיר עוֹלָה הַשָּׁבָת

The phrase is reconstructed with certainty on the basis of 400 3 ii 8; 401 1 1; 403 1 i 30; 403 ii 18; and 405 20 ii 6. The question remains, however, whether this reconstruction fills the missing portion of the line completely. Depending on scribal practice, the beginning of a new section may be indicated by indentation of the first line or not. (See M. Martin, *Scribal Character I*, 117-144.) In the manuscripts of 4QShirShabb both practices are attested (403 1 i 30, not indented; 405 20 ii 6, indented). The scribe of 4Q400 did not indent the first line of the new song which begins in 400 3 ii 8, but instead separated the sections by a blank line. Consequently, one would not expect indentation in 400 1 i 1 either. Moreover, as the date formula indicates, 400 1 i preserves the beginning of the entire work. It appears to be contrary to Qumran scribal practice to indent the beginning of the first paragraph of a work even if this is done within the body of the work (see, e.g., 1QS, 1QSa). It also seems unlikely that one should reconstruct a general heading for the document, e.g., זֶה סֵרֶךְ הַשָּׁבָת, or the like. Most Qumran scrolls do not appear to have had separate titles. In two cases (4QDibHaM [DJD VII, pl. 49] and 1QS [DJD I, pl. 22]) the titles are written on the *verso*, perhaps by a hand other than that of the copyist.

Assuming that the heading reconstructed above began flush with the right margin, the line length of 4Q400 1 i 1 would be 55 letter spaces (counting all letters and spaces between words as one). Since the letters of line 1 are more closely spaced than those of some other lines, the average column width would be ca. 50-55 ls.

Ibid. למשכיל שיר עולת השב[ח הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראשון

The headings of the individual songs may be modelled on psalm headings, with למשכיל taken either as indicative of authorship (as with לדוד) or as a directive (similar to למנצח). For the translation of למשכיל adopted here see the discussion in the introduction on the provenance of the Sabbath Shirot. The words following למשכיל would indicate the type of composition, analogous to the terms מזמור, מכתב, משכיל, etc., in the Psalms. The date formula assumes the use of the solar calendar in which the first day of the year falls on Wednesday and the first Sabbath on the fourth day.

Lines 1-3.

The body of the Sabbath song begins with הללו. The phrases ובאלוהות in line 2 and ויהיו in line 3 mark the beginnings of subsequent sentences. Although הללו could theoretically be a perf. verb, its position at the beginning of the song makes an impv. much more likely. Cf. the frequent use of impv. הללו in Psalms (Pss 77:1; 135:1; 148:1-5; 150:1-6; etc.).

Since the introductory call to praise of the Sabbath songs appears to be somewhat formulaic, the lacuna in line 2 can be partially restored on the basis of parallel passages:

403 1 i 30-31: הללו אלוהי מרומים הרמים בכול אלי דעת

405 8 2: הללו לאלוהי כול מ[] כו[] ל קדושי

401 1 1: הללו לאל[והי]

The use of *lamed* with אלוהי in 405 8 and 401 1 makes clear that in those texts the first phrase following the verb is the object, not the vocative. (M. Dahood's attempt to make a case for vocative *lamed* in BH [*Psalms I*, 21] seems unconvincing.) In LBH, especially in Chronicles, the direct object after the verb הלל is regularly introduced by *lamed*. Despite the absence of *lamed* in 403 1 i 30, אלוהי also appears to be the object of the verb there. See notes *ad loc.* The vocative in 403 1 30 is the phrase, "O you lofty ones among all the angels of knowledge."

Following the pattern of the texts cited above, I take אלוהי כול to be the vocative following the direct object, which is now קדושי קדושים

lost in the lacuna at the beginning of line 2. For the object one might restore, e.g., אלוהי מרומים, as in 4Q403 1 i 30. The parallels adduced above furnish no clue, however, as to the word or phrase ending in the *he* visible at the edge of the lacuna. Schematically, one might suggest an adverbial phrase, such as בקול רנה (cf. 4Q405 23 i 7-8, ומהללים שעריו, (בקול רנה), and translate, "Praise [the God of heaven with a ringing cr]y, O you godlike beings among all the holiest of the holy ones."

It is difficult to find appropriate translation values for the various terms for angelic beings which occur in the Sabbath Shirot. In general, I have translated מלאכים as "angels," and simply rendered אלים as "elim" or "angelic elim." Since אלוהים is such an unusual term for the angels, I have tried to translate it in ways that underscore its aura of divinity ("godlike beings," "godlike ones," etc.).

Lines 2-3. ובאלוהותו

One can only speculate as to what occasioned the error. Perhaps an original ובאלוהות מלכותו gave rise by haplography to ובאלוהותו. This abstract noun, which occurs in MH but not in BH, appears also in 4Q403 1 i 33 (אלוהות כבודו) and in the unpublished Berakot texts from Qumran Cave 4.

One expects ובאלוהות to introduce a second imperative, parallel to הללו. (See the discussion of the form of the Shirot in the introduction.) Thus, perhaps restore here גילו or the like, governing באלוהות. One must also assume that the lacuna contained some transition from the imperatives of praise to the following narrative sentence, ויהיו לו. Observing the similarity between this sentence and that of line 19 below (ויסד לו כוהני) (קורב), the simplest solution is to supplement כיא יסד.

In the following sentence (ויהיו לו לכוהני) the implicit subject is most easily taken to be קדושי קדושים. The phrase קורב כוהני is restored on the basis of its occurrence in lines 8, 17, and 19 below. (The only other occurrences of כוהני as *nomen regens* in the Shirot are in the phrases כוהני מרומי רום [line 20 below] and בכוהני רוש [4Q401 13 1]). In line 19 ויסד לו כוהני is in apparent apposition with קדושי קדושים and in line 8 with משרתי פני מלך, suggesting that all three terms refer to a special class of angelic beings with priestly functions, i.e., the angels of the Presence.

The form קורב is equivalent to BH *qereb* ("inner part, midst"). See 11QMelch ii 10 where the BH phrase בקרב אלהים (Ps 82:1) is rendered בקורב אלוהים. For the preference for *qutl* forms in QH see Goshen-Gottstein, "Linguistic Structure," 126-27. Here the phrase קורב כוהני must mean "priests of the inner sanctum."

Lines 3-4.

After קורב כוהני perhaps restore a locative expression (e.g., במקדש משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו) parallel to the following phrase, (מלכותו).

Line 4. משרתי פנים

Cf. line 8 below, משרתי פני מלך. It is not clear whether משרתי פנים should be taken as a nominalized title ("ministers of the Presence") or simply as a participial modifier. The phrase cannot be precisely paralleled, but cf. Esth 1:10, המשרתים את-פני המלך, and 1 Sam 2:18, ושמואל משרת. Compare also משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו in 4Q400 1 i 4 with 1QSb iv 25-26, ואתה כמלאך פנים במעון קודש...סביב משרת בהיכל מלכות.

Lines 4-5. בעדה לכול אלי [דעת

Cf. Ps 82:1, בעדה אל. The use of *lamed* to break up construct chains is not infrequent in the Shirot (cf. 400 3 1 i). For עדה as a form of angelic organization see 1QM i 10; 1QH iii 22; 1Q22 iv 1. The supplement דעת אלי reflects the preference of the Shirot for this phrase. Combinations also attested in the Shirot include אלי הוד, אלי רום, and אלי עולמים. The phrase בעדה לכול אלי [דעת could be construed either as concluding the previous sentence or introducing the following one.

Line 5. [אלוהים

If דעת אלי [דעת introduces the sentence which has its predicate in חרת חוקיו, then perhaps supplement a parallel expression such as ובסודי אלוהים [כול רוחות. Alternatively, if בעדה לכול אלי [דעת is taken with what precedes it, then one might indicate a transition to a new sentence here with כול [אלוהים כיא מלך כול or the like.

Lines 5-6. [דעת חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח ומשפטי]

חרת occurs in BH only once (Exod 32:16, על-הלחת). In QL the root appears as a passive participle in the phrase חוק חרות (1QS x 6, 8, 11), as an inflected verb (1QM xii 8), and as a noun (1QH i 24), meaning "stylus." Here, in line 15 below, and in 405 23 ii 3 חרת is best taken as a 3d masc. sg. perf. qal verb.

The phrase **רוח מעשי לכול** could refer either to the recipients, "for all spiritual creatures" (see 403 1 i 35-36, where **מעשי** refers to angels), or to the content of the statutes, "concerning all spiritual matters." In 1QM xii 3 the verb **חרת** is immediately followed by *lamed*, introducing the class of recipients (**ובורית עולמכה חרתה למו בחרת חיים**). After **ומשפטיו** restore a *nomen rectum*, e.g., **כבודו** or **פיהו**. The following phrase is perhaps parallel to **רוח מעשי לכול**, e.g., **לכול רזי** [דעת, cf. 403 1 ii 27] or **לכול מיסדי** [דעת, cf. 403 1 i 24], depending on how one construes **מעשי רוח**.

The idea of laws inscribed on heavenly tablets finds its closest parallel in the book of Jubilees. There, although events of the past, present, and future are said to be written on heavenly tablets, by far the greatest number of reference to heavenly tablets concern legal matters (Jub. 3:8-14; 3:31; 4:5, 32; 5:13; 6:17, 29-35; 15:25-26; 16:9, 29; 18:19; 24:33; 28:6; 30:9; 32:15; 33:10; 50:13. See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 25). There is even some verbal similarity in the cases which refer to laws "written and engraved" on the heavenly tablets (see 5:13; 24:33; and 32:15). Moreover, since Jubilees speaks of the highest angels sharing with Israel the mark of circumcision (15:27), the celebration of the Sabbath (2:21, 30) and of the feast of Tabernacles (6:18), at least those laws which regulate the calendar and holy days appear to be binding on the angels as well as on Israel. In QL note the use of the expression **חוק חרות** in connection with times ordained for praise and prayer in 1QS x 6, 8, 11.

Line 6. **עם בינות כבודו אלוהים (vac) לקרובי דעת**

Although **עם** might be taken either as the preposition "with" or as the noun "people," the latter is to be preferred, since the phrase **עם בינות כבודו** is almost certainly to be taken as a positive counterpart to the phrase **לא עם בינות הוא** (1QH ii 19) and **לא עם בינות הוא** (CD v 16), both modelled on Isa 26:11, **כי לא עם בינות הוא**. The plural **בינות** is not otherwise used in BH. In the context of lines 5-8 the phrase **עם בינות כבודו** would refer to the angels. Cf. 1QM xii 8 where **עם קדושים** probably refers to the angelic hosts.

The small *vacat* after **אלוהים** probably does not indicate the end of a sentence, since it would be grammatically difficult to construe **אלוהים** with the preceding **עם בינות כבודו**. Thus a new phrase or sentence should begin with **אלוהים**. Unfortunately, the lacuna at the beginning of line 6 obscures the syntax. One might construe **אלוהים** as the subject of a new

sentence, with לקרובי דעת as the direct or indirect object, and with the verb now lost in the following lacuna. Such syntax seems cumbersome, however, and ignores the strong stylistic preference in the Shirot for compound epithets. It seems better to construe the *lamed* as periphrasis for the genitive (as with דעת]אלי לכול in lines 4-5 above) and to take עם בינות כבודו as an angelic title parallel to אלוהים לקרובי דעת.

לקרובי דעת would mean something like "those who draw near to (divine) knowledge" or "those closest to (divine) knowledge." For an adj. used as *nomen regens* see GKC §132c; 133g. Although קרובי does not otherwise occur in the Sabbath Shirot, the epithet may be influenced by the recurrent כוהני קורב.

The construction of the whole line remains problematic. If the phrases at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 are angelic epithets, then one could construe these two phrases as further appositives or as a separate nominal sentence. If the phrases in lines 5-6 refer to the content of the statutes, then it would be necessary to take the remainder of line 6 as a new nominal sentence about the angels.

Line 7.

It is difficult to suggest even a schematic supplement for line 7. If the reconstruction above is correct, perhaps the beginning of line 7 contained simply a further angelic epithet, parallel to אלוהים לקרובי דעת or perhaps some further reference to the statutes themselves.

Ibid.]וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש

In lQS x 12 God is referred to as מקור דעת ומעין קודש (cf. lQS xi 3, 5, 6; lQH x 31; xii 29). There are certain further similarities of vocabulary with lQS x 10-13 where the author recites God's statutes (חוקיו) and judgments (ומשפטו), while his sin is present like an engraved rule (כחוק חרות). For heavenly fountains of wisdom see 1 Enoch 48:1.

Although one could take מקדשי as a piel ptcl. ("sanctifiers"), the language of the Shirot makes "sanctuaries" more likely (cf. 403 l ii 21; 404 5 5; 405 23 ii 11-12; etc.). Read either קודש למקדשי as "holy sanctuaries" or supplement קודש למקדשי קודש for the frequently used superlative genitive, "most holy sanctuaries." After וממקור הקודש the phrase למקדשי קודש is best taken as a pleonastic genitive. Compare the use of *lamed* in MH to express the genitive when a modifier intervenes between the *regens* and *rectum*. (See Segal §386 iv).

Line 8.

Very schematically, one might plausibly assume that the text at the beginning of line 8 identifies that which derives from "the source of holiness," e.g., "the purity of all the most holy ones," or some such thing.

Ibid.] כוה[ני] קורב משרתי פני מלך קודש]

For משרתי פני מלך and כוהני קורב see notes to lines 2-3 and 4 above. The anarthrous קודש suggests that the phrase מלך קודש may be incomplete, since elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot analogous construct phrases with מלך almost always take the article (מלך ההוד, מלך הכבוד, מלך הקודש, etc.). Perhaps supplement מלך קודש קודשים.

Line 9.

The lacuna at the beginning of line 9 is too extensive to be restored with certainty. One could assume a pair of locative phrases (e.g., מלך קודש [קודשים בדביר קודשו ובמקדש] כבודו) on analogy with the phrases משרתי פנים in line 4 above. Alternatively, one could reconstruct a verbal sentence concerning the establishment by God of laws for the heavenly servants (e.g., מלך קודש[קודשים ונתן לכול קדושים משפטי] כבודו). Such a sentence would coordinate with the following phrase, וחוק בחוק יגברו.

Ibid.] וחוק בחוק יגברו לשבעה]

The repetition of a noun may express entirety, distribution, emphasis, etc. (See Jouān §135e). The use of *bet* before the second member occurs most frequently in temporal expressions (שנה בשנה, יום ביום) but occasionally in other contexts as well (בד בבד, lQS iv 16).

It seems unlikely that חוק בחוק could function as the subject of יגברו (though the phrase might be the direct object or an adverbial modifier). More probably the angelic priests of line 8 are the subject. The verb יגברו might be *gal* ("grow strong") or *piel* ("strengthen, confirm"). Similarly, לשבעה might introduce a direct object or a clause more loosely subordinated to the verb. Nor is it certain how to supplement לשבעה, though some reference to the seven angelic councils or priesthoods would fit well. (Cf. 403 1 ii 22, שבע [נוה] קודש כוה[נות] שבע; cf. also 405 8-9 4-6). Despite the uncertainties, two plausible renderings can be suggested: "By every statute they (the angelic priests) strengthen the seven [eternal councils..."; or, "And every statute they confirm to the seven [eternal councils...."

Line 10.

For ו[ל] סדם see notes on the readings.]לקד is probably to be restored קודשים]ודש. Since at the end of the line קודשים is preserved, perhaps supplement ודש]קודשים. Cf. line 4 above. Although the restoration must remain hypothetical, one might model the line on lines 3-4 and 19. Thus, schematically, ו[ל] סדם ו[ל] סדם כיא ו[ל] סדם...eternal councils. For He es]tab-lished them [for Him]self as the hol[iest of the holy ones who serve in the h]oly of holies."

Line 11. ו[רבו בם

The prepositional phrase בם makes it preferable to see in ו[רבו a verb ending in *waw* rather than a construct plural ending in *yod*. Of possible restorations only ו[רבו בם, "they became great among them" and ו[רבו בם, "they approached them" (cf. Judg 19:13; Ps 91:10 for the construction) seem plausible. The referent of the pronoun in בם is obscure. Perhaps it refers to the angels in general (if one reads ו[רבו) or to the holy places in the sanctuaries (if one restores ו[קרבו).

Ibid. לפי סוד]

The context is so broken that any proposed restoration would be too arbitrary. Elsewhere in the Shirot סוד is used to describe the organization of the angels: 400 1 ii 9 (בסוד אל[ים); 403 1 i 34 (לכול סודי עולמים); 403 1 ii 19 (סוד שני); 403 1 ii 22 (לשבעת סודי קודש). Similar phrases occur in the unpublished 4QBerakot. Cf. also 4Q511 10 11, the Cantiques du Sage (בסוד אילים ואנשים ישפוט).

Line 12. ה[מה שרי

If the reading is correct, perhaps restore something like ה[מה שרי, "they are princes of...." Cf. the similar phrase ה[מה נכבדים in 400 2 2. The word שר, while common in Rabbinic angelology and attested several times in QL, is quite rare in the Sabbath Shirot.

Line 13. במיץ]בים בהיכלי מלך [בגבולם ובנחלתם

The expressions במיץ]בים and בגבולם ובנחלתם appear to be parallel locative phrases. There is room for an epithet completing שרי (e.g., בהיכלי מלך) and a participle (e.g., במיץ]בים or בהיכלי מלך) before בהיכלי מלך. Schematically, one might expect a coordinating construction to follow (i.e., a further epithet and/or participle) before the phrase "in their

territory and in their inheritance" and perhaps also a brief purpose clause at the beginning of line 14.

Although **היכלי** may be taken simply as a plural of majesty, see the discussion in the introduction concerning a plurality of sanctuaries. In Sir. 50:2 and 8 the phrases **היכל מלך** and **היכל המלך** refer to the Jerusalem temple at the time of the high priest Simon. The expression **בגבולם ובנחלתם** implies a spatial organization of the angelic host about the precincts of the heavenly temple. Cf. 403 l ii 21 (**שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו**). Both the idea and the language itself recall Ezekiel's temple vision in which the temple district (chap. 45) and the land itself (chaps. 47-48) are divided among the priests and the people. For the terms **גבול** and **נחלה** in Ezekiel see 44:28 and 45:1; 46:18.

Line 14. **לוא יכלכלו כול נ[עוי] דרך**

The pilpel verb **כלכל** is transitive. Though one cannot be certain, it seems unlikely that the object of the verb was contained in the lacuna before **לוא יכלכלו**. It is more probable that **כול** [] is the object and that the priestly angels who are the antecedents of the pronominal suffixes in lines 13 and 14 are the implicit subjects of the verb. The precise sense is somewhat elusive, but given the prevailing parallelism of the text, one may be guided by the following clause, **וא[י]ן טמא בקודשיהם**. Perhaps restore **כול נ[עוי] דרך**, as in line 16 below, and take **כלכל** in the sense of "support, sustain," hence "tolerate."

Although the individual sentences are quite different, there is a similarity of vocabulary between lines 13-15 and Mal 3:1-3 (**כלכל, היכל, טהר**). It is difficult to tell, however, whether such similarities are fortuitous or are intentional echoes.

Ibid. **וא[י]ן טמא בקודשיהם**

Although the traces of the first word are highly fragmentary, they are compatible with the proposed reconstruction. The concern for purity in the heavenly temple serves as a paradigm for purity in the earthly temple. Cf. the accusations levelled by the Qumran community at the Jerusalem priests for having polluted the earthly temple: CD iv 18 (**השלישית**); 1QpHab xii 8-9 (**ויטמא את המקדש אל**). And cf. the Qumran community's concern with their own ritual purity, necessitated by their communion with the angels in worship and in the eschatological war (1QSa i 19; ii 3; 1QM vii 1).

Line 15. שים חרת למו במ

Only ca. 8-9 ls. are missing at the beginning of line 15. Since some form of חוק is to be expected with the verb חרת (cf. line 5 above), read e.g., וחוקי קוד[שים. Although conceivably one could read למי במ, "for whomever is among them," it seems better to read למו as the indirect object after חרת, as in lQM xii 3. The prepositional phrase במ would then begin a new sentence, referring back to the שים קוד[חוקי.

Ibid.] ויטהר טהורי

After the plural verb יתקדשו and before the plural ויכפרו, one might think that the text should be emended from ויטהר to a plural hithpael, ויטהרו. The text, however, is perfectly intelligible as written, if one takes the verb as piel with God as the implicit subject (parallel to חרת). The object of ויטהר, partially lost in the lacuna, is perhaps to be restored עולמים [טהורי] (cf. 403 1 i 13) or אור [טהורי], etc. Thus, the import of lines 14-15 is that God has commanded certain laws, obedience to which sanctifies the angels, who are then purified for service in the holy temple.

Line 16. לכול נעוי דרך ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע

The text does not make good sense if one assumes that the lacuna at the beginning of line 16 contained only the angelic epithet, i.e., "And He purified all the [eternally] pure ones for all those whose way is perverted." Rather, since כול נעוי דרך is the negative parallel to כול שבי פשע, one expects the lacuna to contain a negative counterpart of ויכפרו, e.g., a form of דין or גמל, etc. The lamed just visible at the edge of the lacuna could be construed either with the following כול or as the last letter of the preceding word. Thus, one might supplement schematically לגמו[ל כול or the like. One should note that it is necessary to assume the shortest supplements in order to remain within the column width as reconstructed in line 1 above (i.e., the reconstruction which assumes that למשכיל begins flush with the right margin). Despite the caution raised by the tight reconstruction of line 16, the reconstructed column width of ca. 55 ls. still seems warranted by the evidence.

For the phrase ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע cf. T. Levi 3:5 where the angels of the Presence make atonement for the sins of the righteous. רצונו is difficult to construe. One would expect that "His good favor" would be the result of propitiation, but that would be better expressed

by לרצונו (cf. 1QS viii 10; 1QM ii 5; 4Q513 2 ii 4). Instead, perhaps take רצונו as that which is propitiated, similar to פניו in Gen 32:21 (אכפרה). (פניו במנחה). שבי פשע, a phrase deriving from Isa 59:20, becomes, as Ringgren notes (*The Faith of Qumran*, 123), almost a title for the sect. See 1QH ii 19; vi 6; 1QS x 20; CD ii 5). The closest parallel to 4Q400 1 i 16 is CD ii 3-5, which deserves to be cited in full: אל אהב דעת חכמה ותושייה הציב לפניו ערמה ודעת הם ישרתוהו ארך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות לכפר בעד שבי פשע. These six or seven abstract qualities (דעת is named twice) are personified with priestly terminology. God has "set them before Him," so that they "minister to Him," and "make atonement for the repentant." CD ii 5-6 continues by stating that the punishment of the wicked is entrusted to the angels of destruction (מלאכי חבל). Similarly, 400 1 i 16 envisions some action taken against כול נעוי דרך, though it seems to be the responsibility of the same angels who make atonement for the repentant. The figurative language in CD ii 3-6 appears to be based on the same conception which finds explicit expression in 4Q400, that there are priestly angels in heaven who make atonement for the repentant and judge or punish the wicked.

Ibid. (vacat)

The blank space remaining at the end of line 16 coincides with the end of a sentence and probably indicates a change in topic.

Line 17. [דעת בכוהני קורב]

One can only speculate as to the beginning of the sentence, but perhaps supplement something like דעת בכוהני קורב [וישם לשוני], "And He put tongues] of knowledge in the priests of the inner sanctum." For the expression דעת לשוני see 4Q405 23 ii 12 and 4Q503 iv 4. More generally, cf. 4Q511 63 iii 1-2 (the Cantiques du Sage): ובשפתי שמתה מקור תהלה. Cf. also Mal 2:7 (כי-שפתי כהן ישמרו-דעת ותורה יבקשו מפיהו כי מלאך יהוה-צבאות) (הוא) where the ambiguous word מלאך may have provided grounds for speculation about the angelic priesthood.

Ibid. הורות כול קדושים

Jastrow attests הורה, "teaching," although only in the singular. For קדושים either "holy matters" or "holy ones" is plausible.

Line 18. [ח סדיו]]oo[]

See notes on the readings. The lacuna is difficult to restore. משפטי at the end of line 17 must be complemented by a qualifying noun

(e.g., כבודו, הטוהר) and/or by a parallel to כול קדושים, and perhaps by an inf. cs. (e.g., להקריב), governing an accusative object and the following *lamed* clause. Similarly, סדיו might be part of an epithet parallel to וּבִנְקַמַּת קִנְאוֹתוֹ at the end of the line. Schematically, one could suggest אַנְשֵׁי חֶסֶד סְדִיו, "in order to bring near the people to whom He shows mercy," but many other supplements would be equally plausible.

Ibid. לסליחות רחמי עולמים

For the association of סליחות and רחמים see Dan 9:9 and 1QH vi 9. The phrase רחמי עולמים, though not BH, occurs in 4QBerakot. The *lamed* clause may express the result of the clause חסדיו...מפיהם. Cf. the clauses which express the result of the blessings of the seven chief princes in 403 l i 13-26, especially לרחמי [כ]ב[ודו] (18), ל[מ]שוב רחמי (23), and ל[ל]שלום עולמים (26).

Lines 18-19. וּבִנְקַמַּת קִנְאוֹתוֹ]

Though the phrase cannot be precisely paralleled, cf. 1QM iii 6, לִקְנֵאת אָפוֹ. Here the fate of the wicked is dealt with, although details are lost in the lacuna. Very schematically, one could suggest something like לְהַשְׁמִיד כּוֹל בְּנֵי זָ]נוֹת, but even the grammatical structure of the supplement is speculative. Since the verb יסד in line 19 is introduced without a conjunctive *waw*, it may be that part of the lacuna at the beginning of the line should be restored with an introductory phrase, e.g., זֶהוּ [ועל (phonetic orthography)].

Line 19. יסד לוֹ כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים

The referent of לוֹ could be heaven or, more probably, God himself. For the verb יסד used to describe the act of establishment of a cultic office see 1 Chr 9:22. The phrases כוּכְנֵי קוֹרֵב and קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים appear to be in apposition to each other.

Line 20. א[ל]והי[א]לים כוהני מרומי רום

Cf. 403 l i 26. This phrase may be read either "God of the angels," or more probably, as "godlike angels" in apposition to כוהני מרומי רום. This latter expression is probably to be rendered "priests of the lofty heavens." Cf. בשערי מרומי רום in 400 l ii 4. Although the expression מרומי רום is not biblical, the plural מרומים is parallel to שמים in Ps 148:1 and in Job 16:19. Cf. also Job 25:2; 31:2. Materially a hiphil ptcpl. (מרמי, cf. 403 l i 24-25) is also possible.

Ibid. ה[קר]בים

Cf. Ezek 45:4.

Lines i 21-ii 1. תש[בוחות רום מלכות]כה

Cf. 400 2 1 (ותשבוחות מלכותכה). Cf. also 403 1 i 3, 14. In view of the 2d masc. sg. suffix on מלכותכה in line 3 below, perhaps restore the suffix here too. The noun תשבוחה is not biblical but is attested in QL and becomes common in MH. For the form תשבוחות see notes on the orthography.

Column ii

Line 2. מרומים והנ]

One may read מרומים as a noun ("heavens") or possibly as a syncopated po'el ptcpl. of רום. The hiphil ptcpl. מרימים would be transitive, an unlikely reading, since no object follows here, assuming the reading ונה] to be correct.

Line 3. תפארת מלכותכה]

Direct address to God is exceedingly rare in the Sabbath Shiroṭ, occurring only here and in 400 2 (and its parallel text, 401 14). The second person forms are to be understood as addressed by the human community to God, not by the angels. The call to worship addressed to the angels at the beginning of the song establishes the human community as the speaker. The angels are referred to in the third person throughout the song, and there is no indication of transition to a passage in which the angels may be presumed to speak. See also 4Q400 2.

Line 4. בשערי מרומי רום]

It is unlikely that בשערי מרומי רום should be translated as "gates which exalt loftiness," although in 405 23 i 7-10 gates are said to praise and bless various groups of angelic beings. Though מרומים and מרוממים may in some contexts be ambiguous, the phrase מרומי רום always appears to mean "the lofty heavens." (Cf. 400 2 4 where it is parallel to שמי מלכותו. Cf. also 400 1 i 20; 403 1 i 33-34). The expression "gates of the lofty heavens" is equivalent to the biblical phrase שער השמים (Gen 28:17).

Line 5. בם[... רוח כול רם]

The singular רוח is comparatively rare in the Shiroṭ, occurring only in the following phrases: כול מעשי רוח (400 1 i 4); רוח קודש קודשים (403 1 ii 1; 404 5 1; 405 23 ii 8); במנת רוח רוש (403 1 i 40); ודמות רוח כבוד (405 23 ii 9); ברוח דממת אלוהי] (405 18 3); רוח מרוח] (405 43 1). It is

often difficult to determine whether a single angel is being referred to or whether *רוח* is used abstractly (as in 400 1 i 5). The interpretation of *רוח* as a *nomen qualitatis* seems to fit the passages where adequate context is preserved.

Line 6. קדושי קודש קודש]ים

Translate קדושי קודש קודש either as a single construct chain, "the holy ones of the holy of holies," or as a superlative genitive, "the holy ones of holiest holiness."

Line 7. מלך אלוהים

Since there is no instance in which מלך appears to be used verbally in the Shirot, translate מלך אלוהים as "King of the godlike ones." See 400 1 5; 405 23 i 13.

Ibid.]לשבעת מ

The context is too broken to restore the text with confidence. לשבעת, however, is associated with two types of statement in the Shirot: (1) references to seven words, songs, etc. (e.g., (שעבה דברי פלא, and (2) references to seven concrete entities (e.g., שבעת גבולי פלא, 403 1 ii 21; לשבעת סודי קודש, 403 1 ii 22). In view of לשבע נתיבות in line 10 below, a reference to some concrete entity here seems plausible, perhaps לשבעת מ]קדשי קודש.

Line 9. כבוד בסוד אל]

Supplement either בסוד אלים or בסוד אלוהים. Cf. בסוד קדושים in lQH iv 25 and f 63 2. The expressions סוד שני (403 1 ii 19) and לשבעת סודי קודש (403 1 ii 22) also apparently refer to angelic councils.

Line 10. לשבע נתיבות]

The "seven paths" must refer to some feature of the heavenly sanctuary. Cf. לשבעת קודשי רום (403 1 ii 11); לשבעת גבולי פלא (403 1 ii 21); לשבעת (403 1 ii 27). While paths are not otherwise mentioned in the Sabbath Shirot, cf. Hek. Rab. 10:3 (Wertheimer; Schäfer §161) in which six rivers of joy, rejoicing, etc., are said to come from the Ḥayyot, Ophanim, and Cherubim and to go into the gates of the paths of the firmament Araboth (נתיבות ערבות) (רקיע).

Line 11. למשפטי שקט

This phrase is unparalleled in BH or QL. In BH and MH the verb שקט

means "to be at rest, undisturbed." Similarly, at Qumran cf. 1QH xii 2. In the other two occurrences of the root in the Sabbath Shirot (קול דממת) שקט, 405 19 6, and קול גילות רנה השקיט, 405 22 8), the meaning seems closer to that of verbal quietness or silence. Thus, whether the phrase למשפטי שקט refers to "judgments quietly pronounced" or "judgments which produce quietness" is not clear.

Line 12.] עולמים (vac)

The *vacat* probably marks the end of a sentence or larger unit. Cf. 400 1 i 16.

Line 13.] ורוממו כבודו ׀

Read either ורוממו or ירוממו (either impf. or conv. perf.). In the Sabbath Shirot the verb רומם usually takes God or a divine epithet for its object; cf. 400 1 i 8; 403 1 ii 20.

Line 14.] מלך נשיאי

In the Shirot נשיאי רוש almost always appears in the phrase נשיאי רוש or נשיאי משנה (otherwise only in נשיאים, 403 1 ii 20; ראשי נשיאי כוהן, 403 1 ii 21; and נשיא קון, 401 23 1). Since the phrase מלך נשיאי cannot be paralleled elsewhere, it is not clear whether it should be construed as a construct phrase or not.

Line 16.

Several restorations are possible: קודש] קודשי, הם, קודשו]

Line 21.] להתקדש בא

The *bet* following the inf. cs. could refer to the means of sanctification (e.g., בא] מתו or בא] ור. Cf. בם יתקדשו in 400 1 i 15), or to the larger group among whom certain ones are specifically sanctified (e.g., בא] לי דעת). Locative *bet* is also possible (e.g., מלך, בא] ולמי מבואי מלך; cf. 405 14-15 i 4-5).

4Q400 2: Transcription

1. להלל כבודכה פלא באֲלִי דַעַת וְתִשְׁבּוּחוֹת מַלְכוּתְךָ בְּקִדּוּשֵׁי קָ[דוּשִׁים]
2. הֵמָּה נִכְבְּדִים בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים וְנוֹרָאִים לְמוֹסְדֵי אֲנָשִׁים פָּ[לֵא]
3. מֵאֱלֹהִים יְיָ וְאֲנָשִׁים וְסִפְרוּ הוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ כְּדַעַתְם וְרֹמְמוֹ[כְּבוֹדוֹ בְּכוֹל]
4. שְׁמֵי מַלְכוּתוֹ וּבְכוֹל מְרוֹמֵי רוֹם תְּהִלִּי פֶלֶא לְפִי כוֹל[בִּינְתֶּם יִזְמְרוּ וְהִדְרִי]
5. כְּבוֹד מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים יִסְפְּרוּ בְּמַעֲוֹנֵי עוֹמְדָם (vacat) וְ[]
6. מֵהָ נִתְחַשֵּׁב [בִּ]ס וְכוֹהֲנֵתָנוּ מֵהָ בְּמַעֲוֹנֵיהֶם וְקָ[וֹדֶשְׁנוּ מֵהָ יִדְמָה לְקוֹדֶשׁ]
7. קוֹדֶשׁ[י] הֵם[מֵהָ] תְּרוֹמַת לִשׁוֹן עִפְרָנוּ בְּדַעַת אֱלִים[]
8. [] לְ[י]נִתְנוּ נְרוֹמְמָה לְאֱלֹהֵי דַעַת[]
9. [] קוֹדֶשׁ וּבִינְתוּ מְכוֹל יִדְעֵי[]
10. [] הֵן קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשׁ רֵאִישׁ וְ[]
11. [] לְ[י]נִתְנוּ דַעַת[] חוֹקֵי[]
12. [] תְּכַבְּדוּ[]
13. [] תְּסַלְּ[]
14. [] תְּסַלְּ[]

4Q400 2: Notes on the Readings

Lines 1-6. Although the leather is broken away just to the right of the initial letters in lines 1-4, uninscribed leather is clearly preserved to the right of lines 5-6, indicating a column margin.

Line 1. קָ[דוּשִׁים]. The trace fits *qop* well. The reading is confirmed by the parallel text of 401 14 i 7.

Line 2. פָּ[לֵא] is restored on the basis of the reading in the parallel text, 401 14 i 8.

Line 3. מֵאֱלֹהִים יְיָ. The scribe originally wrote מֵאֱלֹהֵיהֶם, apparently repeating the sequence *waw, he, waw, he*. The text was corrected by allowing the second *waw* to remain for *yod*, remodelling the second *he* into a final *mem*, and deleting the following *yod, mem*.

Ibid. Either the imperfect יספרו or the converted perfect וספרו is materially possible.

Line 6. מה. *He* seems to have been written over another letter, but it is impossible to recover what the scribe originally wrote.

Line 7. קודש[י]הם. The double-flagged head of *he* is clearly visible at the edge of the leather. For final *mem* compare ואנשים in line 3 above.

Line 9. ידע[ו]. The angle of the trace after *dalet* is too steep for *shin* but fits *ayin* well. See PAM 41.916.

Line 11. לש[ונו]י דעת[ו] חוקי. The trace after *lamed* is good for the right arm of *shin*. Either לשון or לשוני is possible. After the lacuna, although only the tops of the letters are preserved, דעת seems good. Traces of two letters following דעת cannot be identified with any probability. After חוקי the leather is abraded.

Line 13. The trace visible beneath *bet* in line 12 may be the head of *lamed*.

Line 14. חם[.]. *Qop* has been remodelled into *taw* by the scribe.

4Q400 2: Translation

1. [...] to praise Your glory wondrously with the elim of knowledge and the praiseworthiness of Your royal power together with the holiest of the h[oly ones.]
2. They are honored among all the camps of godlike beings and revered by mortal councils, a w[onder]
3. beyond godlike beings and mortals (alike). And they declare His royal splendor according to their knowledge and exalt [*His glory in all*]
4. the heavens of His realm. And in all the lofty heights wondrous psalms according to all [*their insight do they sing, and all*]
5. the glory of the King of godlike beings do they declare in the habitations where they have their station. But [...]
6. how shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their habitations? And our ho[liness--how can it compare with] their [surpassing]
7. holiness? [What] is the offering of our mortal tongue (compared) with the knowledge of the el[im?...]

8. [...] our [s]ong, let us exalt the God of knowledge [...]
9. [...] h]oliness. And His understanding (*is*) beyond that of all who have [eternal] knowledge ...
10. [...]° holiness; the holiness of the fir[st...]
11. [...]°° ton[gue of] knowledge °° statutes[...]
12. [...]° glor[y...]
13. [...]°°°°[...]
14. [...]°°[...]

4Q400 2: Comments

Frg. 2 probably contains material from the second Sabbath song. (See the notes on the proposed reconstruction.) Lines 1-2 overlap with 401 14 i, which also preserves parts of three preceding lines. These parallel texts contain several second person forms (כִּיָּא נִכְבֹּדָת, 401 14 i 5; כִּיָּא דִּכְה, 401 14 i 6; כְּבוֹדִיכָה, מַלְכוּתִיכָה, 401 14 i 7 = 400 2 1), indicating direct address to God. Such direct address is very rare in the Shirot. Insofar as one can judge from the broken context, the speaker refers to a communion in praise with the elite angels (401 14 i 5-7; 400 2 1). Several lines are then devoted to describing these superior angels and their praise (401 14 i 8; 400 2 1-5), culminating in a passage in which the speaker self-deprecatingly compares the human and angelic worshippers (400 2 5-7). Despite the humility of their status, the speaker calls on the human community also to praise God (נְרוּמָה, 400 2 8). It should be noted that 400 2 contains the only first person grammatical forms in all the extant fragments of the Sabbath Shirot.

Line 1. להלל כבודכה פלא באלי דעת והשבוחות מלכותכה בקדושי ק[דושים]

The overlap of lines 1-2 with 401 i 7-8 confirms the supplement of [דושים]ק and allows one to calculate the line length of 400 2 1 at 55 ls.

The parallelism between דעת באלי and [דושים]ק suggests that כְּבוֹדִיכָה פלא and תְּשֻׁבֹחוֹת מַלְכוּתִיכָה are also syntactically parallel as objects of the infinitive להלל. For אלי דעת see 403 1 i 30, 38; 405 12 i 8. The phrase does not appear in other published Qumran texts, but cf. רוחי דעת in 1QH iii 23 and ומליצי דעת in 1QH f 2 6.

The phrase כְּבוֹדִיכָה פלא does not mean "Your wonderful glory," which would be expressed כְּבוֹד פלאכה. Cf. בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי גְבוּרָה פלאו in 403 1 i 21-22. The word פלא in להלל כְּבוֹדִיכָה פלא is to be rendered adverbially, "to praise

Your glory wondrously." Cf. 403 1 ii 15 (וּבְרָכוּ פֶּלֶא כְּרֹבִיָּהֶם) and 405 22 7 (בְּהִרְוֵם יִרְוֵמוּ פֶּלֶא).

For a discussion of the form תְּשֻׁבוֹחוֹת see notes on the orthography. As noted above, the phrase וְתִשְׁבְּחוּ מַלְכוּתָךְ is apparently a second object after לְהַלֵּל, parallel to כְּבוֹדָךְ. In Jewish Aramaic תּוֹשִׁבְחָא can mean "praiseworthy thing" or "glory" (cf. Tg. Neb. Isa 44:13; 63:14, 15, translating תְּפָאֵרֶת). Conceivably, one might also take תְּשֻׁבוֹחוֹת as an adverbial accusative after לְהַלֵּל. See GKC §118m-q. In that case one would translate "to celebrate...(with) praise Your kingdom."

Line 2. הֵמָּה נִכְבָּדִים בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים

The reference to praise with the angels apparently prompts a long digression on the angels themselves. The phrase בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים should be translated "camps of the angels" rather than "camps of God." Cf. 405 22 8 where the identical phrase clearly refers to angels. In QL reference to "camps" of angels is limited to the Sabbath Shirot, although the equivalent expression is commonplace in the Targumim and other Rabbinic documents. In 400 2 2 the subjects of the sentence, who are said to be glorious even among the camps of the angels, must be the elite angels, the מַמְשְׁלוֹת of the overlapping text of 401 14 i 6. These angels are probably to be identified with the angelic princes (נְשִׂאִים of 400 1 and 3). While נִכְבָּדִים is a predicate adjective here, elsewhere in QL it appears as a title for angels (see lQH x 8; cf. also 2 Enoch 22:10 and Asc. Isa. 9:33). The word also appears as an angelic epithet in the beginning of the second Sabbath song (400 3 ii 9).

Ibid. וְנוֹרָאִים לְמוֹסְדֵי אֲנָשִׁים

לְמוֹסְדֵי and לְמִיסְדֵי are both materially possible. In the latter case, taking מִיסְדֵי as a piel participle, מִיסְדֵי אֲנָשִׁים would be an angelic title. While the piel participle may be the correct reading in the angelic title מִיסְדֵי דְעָת (403 1 i 24), here the phrase מִיסְדֵי אֲנָשִׁים would not appear to make good sense. Reading לְמוֹסְדֵי אֲנָשִׁים does not initially seem much of an improvement, however. The common meaning of מוֹסְדִים in both BH and QL, "structural foundations," does not offer good sense here. But as Muszyński (*Fundament*, 70-71) points out, the piel of the verb יָסַד is already used with a personal object in LBH ("to establish" in the sense of "to appoint" or "to install;" 1 Chr 9:22; cf. Est 1:8) and becomes the common meaning in QL (CD ii 7; lQH v 9; ix 12; lQpHab v 1;

4QpIsa^d 1 2; see now 4Q400 1 i 19). Here, since מוסדי is parallel to מחני, one should probably understand מוסדי as referring to groups thus established by God. The word would be close in meaning to סוד and one might also understand מוסד here simply as a bi-form of סוד. For corresponding human and angelic councils see 4Q511 10 11 (בסוד אילים ואנשים יספוט). The *lamed* in למוסדי אנשים would be a *lamed* of agent, "reverenced by" (GKC §121f).

Lines 2-3. פלא [לא] מאלוהים ואנשים

The similarity of the spacing of the words in 400 2 1-2 and in 401 14 i 7-8 suggests that, as in 401 i 8, פלא was the last word in 400 2 2. There are several ways in which the line might be construed. (1) It is not impossible that פלא could be construed adverbially at the end of the preceding sentence. ("And they are reverenced by the councils of men in a w[ondrous fashion].") (2) Less awkwardly, פלא might be taken adverbially with what follows. ("More w[ondrously] than angels or men they declare His royal splendor according to their knowledge.") While this interpretation yields good sense, I can find no clear parallel for the construction. (3) If פלא is taken nominally, one could construe it with what follows as a third nominal sentence. ("They are honored in all the camps of the angels, and reverenced by the councils of men, a w[onder] beyond angels or men.") This third option enhances the parallelism of אנשים and אלוהים and is the translation adopted here.

Line 3. וספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם

For הוד מלכותו see 1 Chr 29:25. Cf. הדר מלכות in Dan 11:20 and כבוד מלכותה in 1QM xii 7.

Lines 3-5.

The lacunae at the ends of lines 3-5 somewhat obscure the structure of these lines. According to the usage of BH and QH, the verb ורוממו requires an object denoting the thing or person praised. Restore, e.g., כבוד in the lacuna at the end of line 3 (cf. 400 1 i 13, ורוממו כבוד). One should probably also supplement שמי מלכותו [בכול] as a parallel to ובכול מרומי רום. This latter phrase probably begins a new sentence, though it would also be possible to construe ורוממו as governing both phrases.

At the end of line 4 restore, e.g., לפי כול [בינתם] (cf. כדעתם in line 3). Also restore a verb, such as יזמרו, and perhaps a brief transition

to the following line, *וכול* or *והדר* or the like. Thus one would have four generally parallel sentences:

וספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם
ורוממו [כבודו בכול] שמי מלכותו
ובכול מרומי רום תהלי פלא לפי כול [בינתם יזמרו
והדר] כבוד מלך אלוהים יספרו במעוני עומדם

For *שמי מלכותו* compare *כה[וד] כב* in 401 14 i 6. Since 401 14 i 7-8 overlaps 400 2 1-2, the phrase *שמי מלכות כבודכה* would also have occurred in the line preceding 400 2 1. The phrase *מרומי רום* as a term for heaven is discussed in the notes to 400 1 i 20. The plural *מעוני* is not attested in BH or previously published QL but may underly such expressions as "dwelling places of the holy," etc., in 1 Enoch 39:4-5. The plural occurs several times in the Sabbath Shirot. The word *עומדם* is to be understood in a liturgical sense. Cf. Neh 8:7; 9:3; 2 Chr 34:31; 1QM xii 1.

Although I have translated *תהלי פלא* as "wondrous psalms," no technical or form-critical meaning is intended. In the Sabbath Shirot *תהלי* appears to be a general word for praise.

Line 5.]ו(*vacat*)

A *vacat* followed by what appears to be *waw* or *yod* follows *עומדם*. If the reading is correct, it is quite unlikely that the word following the *vacat* is the object of *יספרו*. It is more likely to be the beginning of a new sentence. The *vacat* itself creates something of a presumption that the word following is the beginning of a new sentence (cf. 400 1 i 16), though it is always possible that the scribe was simply avoiding bad leather. The abrupt change in subject between lines 5 and 6 further favors taking the *vacat* as a break between sentences, however. Some words of transition are necessary from the preceding lines which praise the angelic elite to the following lines which deprecate the human priesthood as compared with the angelic one. Schematically, one might suggest a phrase analogous to *המה נכבדים* in line 2 above, e.g., *ו[אנחנו יצרי חמר]*, "but we are creatures of clay" (cf. 1QH xviii 31).

Line 6. מה נתחשב [ב]ם

After *מה נתחשב*, *ם[]* may be restored either *שם* or, more probably, *בם*.

Lines 6-7. [קודש[י] הם] וק]

Although most of the sentence is lost in the lacuna, one may surmise that it compared the sanctuaries or the holiness of humans and angels. Schematically, reconstruct something like *מה ידמה לקודש קודשיהם*,

"and our holiness--how can it compare with their surpassing holiness?"

A stylistically similar sequence of rhetorical questions with *מה* occurs in 1QH i 25-26. Cf. also 1QH iii 24.

Line 7. *מה* [תרומת לשון עפרנו]

Restore *מה* in the lacuna between *קודש* [י] *הם* and *תרומת*. The surface of the leather before *תרומת* is abraded. Although the phrase *לשון תרומת* cannot be paralleled outside the Sabbath songs, compare *שפתים תרומת* in 1QS ix 4; x 6; and cf. x 14. In the Shirot *תרומת* appears to take on the meaning of "offering of praise" or simply "praise." For *לשון עפרנו* compare the various epithets compounded with *עפר* in the Hodayot (*לב עפר*, *אוזן עפר*, and *יצר עפר*), See especially 1QH xviii 24-31.

Ibid. *בדעת אל* [ים]

Read either *אל* [ו] *הים* or *אל* [ים]. In view of the local sense of *bet* in lines 4 and 5 above, one is tempted to emend *בדעת אל* [ים] to *בדעת אל* [ים]. Perhaps, though, *בדעת* continues the sense of comparison, either independently or by being governed by the verb of the previous clause, now lost in the lacuna. Cf. GKC §119h. Note as well the role that knowledge plays in the praise of God in this passage (*כדעתם...יספרו* in line 3 above; *אלוהי דעת* in line 8 below). Cf. also 405 23 ii 12.

Line 8. *ל* [ר] נתנו

While *ל* [ו] *נתנו* could be restored *ל* [ו] *נתנו* in a context such as "our praise] to [Him] we give," the word order seems quite awkward. More plausibly, restore *ל* [ר] *נתנו*. (The space available is insufficient for *ל* [ר] *נתנו*.) It seems unlikely that *ל* [ר] *נתנו* was part of another human/angelic comparison like those in lines 6-7 above, since that would provide no transition from the self-deprecating comparison above to the call to praise which follows ("Let us exalt the God of knowledge"). The text is too fragmentary, however, to allow one to see how the transition was effected or what syntactical role to assign to *ל* [ר] *נתנו*.

Ibid. *נרוממה לאלוהי דעת*

Note the *lamed* introducing the object. It is most unlikely that *אלוהי דעת* refers to the angels as "divine beings of knowledge" whom the humans exalt. While *אלי דעת* is a common designation for the angels, the only other occurrence of *אלוהי דעת* preserved in context clearly refers to God (405 23 ii 12). A reference to God is expected somewhere in 400 2 8-9 to prepare for the suffix in line 9 (*ובינתו*) which can only refer to God.

Line 9. ובינתו מכול ידע[י

The Qumran community praises God's understanding, which is said to be greater "than all who know...", undoubtedly a comparison with the angelic powers who are elsewhere called יודעי עולמים (403 1 i 11 = 405 3 ii 1) and ידעי רזי...טוהר (403 1 i 19 = 405 3 ii 9). The theme of God's surpassing knowledge is also prominent in the end of the fifth Sabbath song (402 4 11-15).

Line 10. ה קודש קודש ראיש[ון

Although the word for chief does not occur elsewhere in 4Q400, the virtually unanimous spelling in other manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot is רוש, not ראוש. Here, it is probably better to read ראיש[ון (cf. 400 1 i 1). Unfortunately, the badly broken context obscures the syntax of the unusual קודש קודש and the meaning and referent of ראיש[ון.

Line 11. לש[וני] דעת ֹו חוקי]

The phrase לשוני דעת occurs in the Sabbath songs in 4Q405 23 ii 12 (בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת [וי]ברכו לאלוהי דעת). Cf. also 4Q503 iv 4 (the Daily Prayers published by Baillet in DJD VII). Until a convincing reading can be given for the traces following דעת, it is not possible to clarify the sense of חוקי. Cf. generally 1QS x 6 where the times ordained for blessing God are called a "statute engraved forever" (חוק חרות לעד).

4Q400 3 i: Transcription

- c בעד לרום הפלא] .1
- o לשון הטוהר^{°°}] .2
- l ל[°] אלוהים שבעה] .3
- u י] לת] .4
- m ג[°] דולות] .5
- n [] .6
- []°] .7
- ח[°]] .8
- בשבעה] .9
- [] .10
- דב[°] רי] .11
- ש] בע] .12

4Q400 3 ii-5: Transcription

- [] זמרות קודשו .1
- [] לנשיאי משנה ° .2
- [] אמתו צורי °° .3
- [] °] ושבעה דברי .4
- [° שב] עה] לברך לידעי [עולמים .5
- [] דברי פלא .6
- [] (vacat) .7
- למשכיל ש] יר עולת השבת השנית באחד עשר לחודש הראישון הללו [אלוהי .8
- [] הנכבד] ים .9
- [] ה .10

4Q400 3: Notes on the Readings

4Q400 3 consists of two smaller fragments joined together. Although portions of only two letters are involved (*bet*, *resh* in 400 3 ii 6), the join is certain.

Column i

Line 2. Either ^{oo}לשון הטוהר or ^{oo}לשון הטהור is materially possible.

Line 3. The *lamed* appears too far to the right for one to read לאלוהים. Restore perhaps ל[כו] אלוהים.

Line 5. ג[דו]לות. The head of *dalet* is certain. Cf. קודשו in col. ii 1.

Column ii

Line 3. צירי is materially better than צורי.

4Q400 3-5: Translation

Column i

1. [...] *throughout the wondrous height*
2. [...] *tongue of purity*
3. [...] *godlike beings, seven*
4. [...] oo[...] o
5. [...m]agnifications
6. [...]
7. [...] o[...]
8. [...] o
9. [...] *with seven*
10. [...]
11. [...wo]rds of
12. [...s]even

Column ii

1. His holy melodies[...]
2. of the deputy princes o[...]
3. His truth, forms of ooo[...]
4. and seven words of[...]
5. to bless those who know [*eternal things...*] o se[ven]
6. wondrous words[...]
7. (*vacat*)

8. By the instructor. S[ong of the sacrifice of the second Sabbath on the eleventh of the first month. Praise] the God of the
9. glorious[ones...]
10. °[...]

4Q400 3-5: Comments

According to the proposed reconstruction, 4Q400 3 preserves material from the end of the first Sabbath song and the beginning of the second (cols. III-IV of the original scroll). Although the remains of frg. 3 are highly fragmentary, there are strong similarities between the content of this fragment and the formulaic account of praise and blessing of the seven chief princes (נשיאי רוש) in the sixth Sabbath song (MasShirShabb i 8-ii 26 = 4Q403 l i 1-29 = 4Q405 3). (A parallel account in the eighth Sabbath song, describing the psalms and praises of the seven deputy princes, is unfortunately very fragmentary. See notes to 403 l ii 31-41 and parallels).

In the sixth Sabbath song the "tongues" of each of the seven chief princes are said to utter psalms of praise. Each psalm is characterized by a theme word: (1) blessing (ברכות), (2) magnification (גדל), (3) loftiness (רום), (4) praise (שבח), (5) thanksgiving (הודות), (6) jubilation (רנות), (7) melody (זמרות). After the praise of each prince is described there is a brief section in which the praises of each of the seven princes are summarized (MasShirShabb ii 19-22 = 4Q403 l i 7-9). Following this summary in the sixth Sabbath song a second long formulaic section begins in which the blessings pronounced by each of the seven princes are recounted (4Q403 l i 10-29 = 4Q405 3 ii). In both of these formulaic sections there is repeated use of the number seven (e.g., seven psalms, seven wondrous words, etc.).

In 4Q400 3 one finds four occurrences of שבעה/שבע (i 3, 9, 12; ii 4), two or three occurrences of שבעי דברי פלא or דברי (i 11; ii 4, 5-6), and a reference to נשיאי משנה (deputy princes). A reference to "the tongue of purity" (i 2) cannot be precisely paralleled in the remains of the sixth Sabbath song, where the tongues are identified with the seven princes (e.g., השביעי לנש[יאי רוש]). Finally, two of the theme words of the psalms of the seven princes are preserved in 4Q400 3 i 5 (גדולות, for the second prince) and in ii 1 (זמרות קודשו, for the seventh). The phrase

זמרות קודשו is, in fact, the precise phrase which occurs in the summary of the praises of the seventh chief prince in MasShirShabb ii 22 = 4Q403 1 i 9. Moreover, the phrase לברך ליועיל in ii 5 appears to parallel part of the blessing of the first chief prince in MasShirShabb ii 26 = 4Q403 1 i 11 = 4Q405 3 ii 1. But where that blessing in the sixth Sabbath song introduces a long formulaic section in which the blessings of each of the seven chief princes are recounted in turn, in 400 3 ii there is only a short blessing formula which brings the Sabbath song to a close.

Despite the close similarity between 4Q400 3 and the fragments from the sixth Sabbath song, there are enough differences to make it clear that the two passages are not verbatim repetitions of the same formulaic account but rather are different texts which use component materials similar in content and structure. At this point a question bearing on the reconstruction of the fragments of 4Q400 requires further comment. Is all of the formulaic material in frg. 3, both the formulaic praises of 3 i 1-ii 1 and the short blessing section of 3 ii 2-6, to be attributed to the deputy princes mentioned in 3 ii 2? If so, then it may be difficult, as suggested above in the proposed reconstruction, to assign frg. 3 to the first Sabbath song. One would not expect the very first song to contain such extensive praise from the lower ranking angels while not including an equally extensive account of the praise of the chief princes. It is worth noting, however, that the reference to the deputy princes comes just after the lengthy account of the psalms of praise (3 i 1-ii 1) and just before the abbreviated account of the blessings (3 ii 2-6). It is quite possible, then, that the first Sabbath song may have anticipated the praises and blessings of the angelic princes, which are recounted in full in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs, by giving a version of the psalms of praise in the name of the seven chief princes and an abbreviated version of the blessings in the name of the deputy princes. Unfortunately, given the highly fragmentary condition of the text, it is impossible to determine the issue with certainty.

Line 1. בעד לרום הפלא

The word עד ("eternity") does not occur in BH or QH with the preposition *bet*. Read, rather, the preposition בעד. In BH בעד occurs with *lamed* only in the phrase מבעד לצמתך (Cant 4:1, 3; 6:7), where it is uniquely pointed in the absolute state rather than in the construct. There, as here, the *lamed* is best explained as periphrases for the genitive. It is not

possible to say whether הפלא should be construed as a hiphil infinitive absolute, a niphil infinitive, or a noun governed by רום.

Line 2. לשון הטוהר

Cf. לש[וני] דעת in 400 2 1.

Column ii

Line 1. זמרות קודשו

In the summary listing of the psalms of the seven chief princes in MasShirShabb ii 22 (= 4Q403 1 i 9) those of the seventh prince are given as שבע תהלי זמרות קודשו.

Line 2. לנשיאי משנה

For the discussion of the נשיאי רוש and the נשיאי משנה see the discussion of angelology in the introduction.

Line 3. אמתו צורי

There is no parallel extant in MasShirShabb or 4Q403 1 i for this phrase. The form צורי otherwise occurs only in 405 19 4 (צ[ורות]) (אלוהים חיים צורי רוחות) and appears to be a masc. bi-form of צורות. The traces following צורי here are not compatible with either אלוהים or רוחות. Elsewhere in the Shirot צורות is followed by כבוד and בדניהם, either of which might fit the traces here.

Line 5. לברך לידעי]

The phrase ידעי עולמים [וברך] concludes the blessing of the first chief prince in MasShirShabb ii 26 = 4Q403 1 i 11 - 4Q405 3 ii 1. See notes *ad loc.*

Lines 5-6. שב[עה] דברי פלא

This phrase or slight variations on it (e.g., בשבעה דברי צדק) is used to conclude each of the three parts of the tripartite blessing formula of the angelic princes in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs. Here, however, there appears to be no *bet* before the *shin*.

Lines 8-9.

In the formula for a new Sabbath song the number of the month (הראישון) is optional. Cf. 400 1 i 1 and 403 1 i 30. In the phrase הנוכבדים is an epithet for the angels. Cf. 400 2 2 הנה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים, a passage which probably comes from the middle of the second Sabbath song.

4Q400 4: Transcription

c	ם[	.1
o	ה[	.2
]o	l הים[ל[א	.3
]ל ^o	u [	.4
]ל	m [	.5
n		

4Q400 4: Comments

As noted in the proposed reconstruction, frg. 4 probably preserves the lower portion of the columns represented in 400 3 i-ii.

4Q400 6: Transcription

]אש ^o ם[	.1
]את ש[	.2
Bottom of Column	

4Q400 7: Transcription

]נועד[י	.1
]י נק[	.2
]לכול [	.3
]י קו[	.4
]עת ק[	.5
]יר מ[	.6
]ה[	.7

4Q400 7: Comments

Line 1. Cf. 403 1 i 27 (וברך לנועדי צדק).

Line 4. Either דש[קו or ושים[קד is materially possible.

Line 5. Supplement either עת[ד or עת[שב.

4Q401: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q401: Material Description

The fragments of 4Q401 were initially grouped with those of 4Q400, but it is possible to distinguish the two manuscripts by physical and paleographical criteria. In contrast to the leather of 4Q400, the fragments of 4Q401 are often slightly thinner. In color they are nearer to grey and, when stained, become a dark red. The surface is similarly smooth but has less often lost its topmost layer. The back is dark in color. Horizontal lines can be seen, though they are often faint, and the writing is suspended from them. Top margin: 13 mm. (frgs. 1 and 2); bottom margin: 16 mm. (frg. 14). Space between cols.: ca. 12 mm. (frg. 14). Space between lines: 4-5 mm. Height of average letter (e.g., *resh*, *dalet*): 2 mm. Photos: PAM 41.849; 42.809; 42.970; 43.003; 43.510.

4Q401: Orthography

The pronouns and pronominal suffixes are the forms standard in the MT (ו-, הו-, יהו-, לו, ה-, ם-, יהם-), except for כה- and המה, which are common at Qumran. The form משניהו in 4Q401 3 4 (= BH משנהו) occurs as מנשיו in 4Q405 11 3. If נכבדת (frg. 14 i 5) is correctly identified as a 2d masc. sg. perf. verb, then the spelling of the pronominal affirmative is like that of the MT, not the full orthography often found at Qumran.

Yod is *mater lectionis* for long *i*, both accented and unaccented (e.g., משכיל, אלוהי), and for *ê* from *ay*, both internal and final (משניהו, נשיאי), but not for short *i*. With only one possible exception (בקדשי, 14 i 7; but see notes on the readings) every vowel originating from *u*, whether long or short, accented or unaccented, is represented by *waw*, as is *ô* from *aw* and *ô* from *ā*.

Note the phonetic spelling of רוש (for MT ראש), standard in all manuscripts of the Sabbath Shiroth. Note also מלו (22 2), phonetic spelling for מלאו. The combined historical and phonetic spelling of לוא and the compound spelling כיא are common at Qumran.

4Q401: Paleography

The hand of 4Q401 closely resembles the formal hand of 4Q400, though 4Q401 exhibits more semiformal traits and is to be dated somewhat later than 4Q400, at the beginning of the Herodian sequence (ca. 25 B.C.). The axis of *alep* is markedly "s"-shaped, like that of the early Herodian semiformal hand, 4QNum^b. In most cases the left leg is still being penned as a separate stroke, however, not with the single stroke inverted "v" shape characteristic of Herodian hands. Other semiformal traits of the hand include the often "s"-shaped downstroke of *dalet* (12 3: קודשים; 18 4: יסדם), the broad, squat final *mem*, and the head of *pe* which sometimes curls in toward the right downstroke (4 1: פלא; 29 2: לנפלאות).

The transitional late Hasmonean-early Herodian date of the hand is indicated by the tendency for the tick on the upper right corner of *bet* to be lost (2 2: ברו; 3 2: ברוש). Although in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction in which the base stroke is being penned, in a few instances the base line breaks through the downstroke, indicating the left-to-right direction characteristic of transitional hands (13 3: ברו; 14 i 7: כבודכה). Similarly, the ticks of the head and right shoulder of medial *kap* are shallow where they appear at all. Final *kap*, however, has a relatively narrow, ticked head without evidence of the broadening which develops in the Herodian period. In the clearest examples medial *mem* is still made in the late Hasmonean fashion with the left oblique penned last (5 5: ממלכו; 14 i 4: רומה), a feature which persists in some early Herodian hands (see lQM). *Samek* is regularly closed at the bottom, as in other early Herodian hands. Although there is some variation in its stance, *ayin* tends to exhibit the straight tail and more horizontal stance which develops in early Herodian hands (5 6: בתעודו; 11 2: דעה; but cf. 5 3: שבע).

4Q401: General Comments

Only a few of the fragments of 4Q401 can be situated with certainty in the sequence of Sabbath songs. Frg. 15 overlaps 4Q400 1 i 6-9 (first Sabbath song). Frg. 14 i 7-8 overlaps 4Q400 2 1-2 (probably second Sabbath song). Frg. 16 overlaps 4Q402 9, but it is not possible to locate either fragment with certainty, though 4Q402 9 probably comes from one of the Sabbaths from the third to the sixth. Frg. 1 contains the beginning of a Sabbath song. If there is a distant join between frgs. 1 and 2, then

one can probably identify the fragments as the beginning of the fourth Sabbath song. The reconstruction is not without its problems, however. See comments below. Frg. 3 may overlap 4Q403 1 ii 27-29 and 4Q405 11 (from the eighth Sabbath song), though it may rather preserve parallel material from the sixth Sabbath song. Since the one fragment which can be placed with certainty comes from the first Sabbath song, it seems probable that most if not all of the thirty-eight small fragments of 4Q401 come from the first half of the cycle of songs.

4Q401 1-2: Transcription

Top of column

- | | |
|----|---|
| .1 | למשכיל שׁ[יר עולת השבת הרביעית בחמש [ועשרים בַח[ודש הראישון [|
| .2 | הללו לאֵל[והי [י בר[ו] |
| .3 | וישׁ[עמדו לפני [|
| .4 | מלכוֹ[ת [בכול ראֵ[שי |
| .5 | מלך אל[והים [|
| .6 |]א[]ו[] |

4Q401 1-2: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. ^{וֹ}וּעֲשִׂים בַח[. The first trace is better for *waw* than for *he*. In the second word the first traces favor *bet*. They do not permit *lamed* (for *לחודש*) and are not good for *waw* (for *ועשרים וחמש*). The traces identified as *het* are clearer in PAM 42.809.

Line 2.]י בר[. The initial traces on frg. 2 cannot be the head and downstroke of final *mem* but must be יו or יו.

Line 3. [עמדו . There is sufficient leather preserved before the *ayin* to exclude עמדו[מ as a possible reading.

4Q401 1-2: Translation

1. By the instructor. S[ong of the sacrifice of the fourth Sabbath on the] twenty-[fifth] of the [first month.]
2. Praise the Go[d of...]וּוּו[...]
3. And וּו[...] they stand before [...]

4. kingdo[m...] with all the ch[iefs...]
5. King of the heavenly [beings...]
6. []o[...].oo[...]

4Q401 1-2: Comments

Line 1. למשכיל ש[יר עולת השבת הרביאית בחמש] ועשרים בח[ודש הראישון]

The top column margins, the similar appearance of the leather of frgs. 1 and 2, and the occurrence of the number עשרים in frg. 2 all raise the possibility of a distant join between frgs. 1-2. Although it is not impossible that עשרים could refer to something other than a date (e.g., to twenty-six priestly courses analogous to those of lQM ii 2), no numbers are preserved in the extant fragments of the Sabbath Shirot except in dates in the headings of the various Shirot and in the formulaic passages which use שבועה/שבע and the ordinals for the seven angelic princes. In a composition of thirteen songs, the number twenty could only figure in designating the day of the month on which a Sabbath falls (fourth Sabbath, twenty-fifth day of the first month; eighth Sabbath, twenty-third day of the second month; twelfth Sabbath, twenty-eighth day of the third month). Enough of the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song is preserved in 4Q403 1 ii 18-19 = 4Q405 8-9 to make it unlikely, if not impossible, that 4Q401 1-2 contains the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song. Similarly, the beginning of the twelfth Sabbath song preserved in 4Q405 20-21-22 ii = 11QShirShabb 3-4 is not compatible with the text of 4Q401 1-2. Since it seems likely that the fragments of 4Q401 come mainly from the first half of the scroll, the identification of frgs. 1-2 with the beginning of the fourth Sabbath song seems fully plausible.

One difficulty remains, however. In the other date headings in the Shirot the reference to the month is introduced by *lamed*.

400 1 i 1 השב[ת הראישונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון]

MasShirShabb i 8] השבת הששית בתשעה לחודש

403 1 i 30 השבת השביעית בשש עשר לחודש

In 4Q401 1-2, however, *bet*, not *lamed*, is to be read after ועשרים. Such syntax is not impossible. In BH, although the month is normally introduced by *lamed* in similar constructions, *bet* is used in Ezra 10:9 (חדש התשיעי) (בעשרים בחדש). The line length of 4Q401 1-2 1, as restored above, would be approximately the same as that of 4Q401 14 i.

Line 2. לאל[והי

הללו לאלוהי is the standard call to praise following the date heading in the Sabbath Shirot. See 4Q400 1 i 1; 403 1 i 30-31; 405 8-9 2.

Line 3. ויש]

Although many verbs are possible, a form of ישב would contrast well with the following עמדו.

Ibid.] עמדו לפני [

It is more likely that one should take עמדו as a 3d pl. perf. verb or even as an impv. rather than as a suffixed noun. The full orthography of 4Q401 would make one expect עומדו for "His standing place." Supplement מלך לפני [or the like. Cf. 4Q405 23 ii 8-9.

Line 4. מלכו] ת

Restore מלכו] ת. Though מלכי]ם is materially possible, the word is not otherwise clearly attested in the Shirot in the plural.

4Q401 3: Transcription

- | | |
|-----------------------|----|
| נשמות ^{°°}] | .1 |
|]תם ברוש ה° | .2 |
| תג[בר°°][שבע לנשיא°°י | .3 |
|]מ שניהו תגבר | .4 |
| ה[חמיש°°י | .5 |

4Q401 3: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. נשמות^{°°}. Either *mem* or *pe* is materially possible for the third letter.

Line 3. תג[בר°°][שבע. The traces visible at the right are better for the group *bet, resh* than for final *mem*.

4Q401 3: Translation

1. [...] *breaths* [...] 2. [...] *their* [...] *with the chief* °°[...] 3. [...] *will grow* strong sevenfold *for the prince* [s...] 4. [...] *se*] *cond* to him will grow strong [...] 5. [...] *the*] *fift* [h...]

4Q401 3: Comments

The vocabulary of the fragment strongly recalls the formulaic passage which describes the litany of the tongues of the seven angelic princes in the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 26-29 = 4Q405 11). It is even possible that 4Q401 3 overlaps with those texts. Although the first three lines of 4Q401 3 would have fallen in the lacunae of 4Q403 and 4Q405, lines 4-5 of 4Q401 3 correspond to 4Q405 11 3-4. Since the other fragments of 4Q401 which can be placed with any degree of probability come from the early Sabbath songs of the collection, one might doubt whether 4Q401 3 could be from the eighth Sabbath. It is quite possible, though, that 4Q401 3 may have come from the early part of the sixth Sabbath song. The sixth song corresponds in many respects to the form and content of the eighth Sabbath song. In the eighth song three formulaic accounts of praise follow one another: the litany of the tongues, the psalms of praise, and the blessings of the deputy princes. The latter two formulaic passages have extant parallels in the sixth Sabbath song, where the psalms and blessings of the seven chief princes are recounted (4Q403 1 i 1-29 = MasShirShabb). Unfortunately, neither 4Q403 nor the Masada fragment preserves the material from the sixth Sabbath song which immediately precedes the account of the psalms of the seven chief princes. It seems plausible, however, that there may have been some counterpart in the early portion of the sixth song to the litany of the tongues found in the eighth Sabbath song. If so, 4Q401 3 may preserve part of that account.

Line 1. נשמות

If the reading is correct, this is the only occurrence of the word נשמות in the Sabbath Shirot. In Isa 57:16 the plural is used parallel to רוח with the meaning "breath of life." Jastrow records the meaning "souls" for the plural.

Line 2. ברוש הו

It is unlikely that one should construe ברוש as the noun "juniper." In view of the reference in the following lines to the princely angels read the preposition *bet* plus the noun רוש ("chief, head"). There is no clear parallel for the phrase in the Shirot. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 5 (לרוש אל) and 4Q403 1 ii 24 (רוש מכוהן קורב).

Line 3. תג[בר[שבע לנשיא]י

Restore probably לנשיאי רוש. The force of the *lamed* is not clear. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 27-28 = 4Q405 11 2-3 (ולשו[ן משניו תגבר שבע משלישי לו] combined text. See notes to 4Q403 1 ii 27-29 for full reconstruction and discussion).

Lines 4-5. מ[שניהו תגבר [ה...חמיש]י

Compare 4Q405 11 2-4 where משניו תגבר and החמישי occur in succeeding lines.

4Q401 4: Transcription

c	י פלא	.1
o	לכוהני	.2
l	ו	.3
u	ל	.4
m	תיו	.5
n		

4Q401 4: Translation

1. [...] of wonder 2. [...] for the priests of 3. [...] of
4. [...] 5. [...] His [...]

4Q401 4: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Line 1. Perhaps supplement רי פלא [בשבעי דב], a phrase found often in the formulaic accounts of praise and blessing in the first, sixth, and eighth Sabbath songs.

Line 3. Supplement probably לכוהני [קורב]. See 4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19; 4Q403 1 ii 19; etc. Cf. also כוהני מרומי רום (4Q400 1 i 20) and בכוהני רוש (4Q401 13 3).

4Q401 5: Transcription

	ל	.1
	ס	.2
	שבע בש[בעה	.3
	בסוד א[לוהים	.4

כול ממלכו ^ו ת	.5
בתעודו ^ו ת	.6
מל ^ו ך	.7

4Q401 5: Translation

1. [...] 2. oo[...] 3. seven times with se[ven...] 4. in the council of the hea[venly beings...] 5. all the dominion[s...] 6. in that which is preordain[ed...] 7. kin[g...]

4Q401 5: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Line 2. Samek is certain. Perhaps restore סוד. See line 4.

Line 3. The phrase שבע בשבעה is attested elsewhere only in the formulaic accounts of the psalms of praise of the angelic princes. Frg. 5 does not overlap the well preserved account in the sixth Sabbath song. (See MasShirShabb ii and parallels). It might preserve part of the similar formulaic passage found in 4Q400 3 (first Sabbath song) or perhaps that contained in the eighth song (see notes to 4Q403 1 ii 31-40).

Line 4. Read either בסוד אלוהים or בסוד אלים. Cf. 4Q400 1 ii 19.

Line 5. The reading מלכות is materially also possible.

Line 6. בתעודו^ות. In MasShirShabb i 3 כול תעודות עולמים is parallel to כל הוי עד and refers to matters or events which are divinely preordained. See also MasShirShabb i 4 where one should probably supplement תיהם לתעודו^ות parallel to למועדיהם.

Line 7. Restore, e.g., מל^וך, מל^וכות, etc.

4Q401 6: Transcription

c	ע ^ו [	.1
o	שבעה ^ו][oo[	.2
l	י כבוד	.3
u	שרי קודש ^ו	.4
m	קודש ^ו קודשים	.5
n	כבוד ^ו	.6

4Q401 6: Comments

Line 4. שרי קדוש[

If the first word is complete, read "princes of holiness," an angelic title. Although rare in the Shirot, שרי may also occur in 4Q400 1 i 12.

4Q401 7: Transcription

Top of Column

] ם עולמי[

4Q401 8: Transcription

.1] עולמי[

.2] ם שב[עה

4Q401 9: Transcription

.1] לנפלאותי[

.2] יו שובועיה[ם

.3] רו מועד[

.4] שי״ם[

4Q401 10: Transcription

c

o צדק[

1

Bottom of Column

4Q401 9: Comments

Line 2. שובועיה[ם

For discussion of this difficult word see comments to 4Q403 1 i 27.

4Q401 11: Transcription

.1] ן כוהנ[י

.2] לוהי דעת וכ[א

.3] צדק כוהן בעד[ת אל מלכי

Bottom of Column

4Q401 11: Translation

1. [...] priest[s...]
2. [...] God of knowledge and [...]]
3. [...] Melchi]zedek, priest in the assemb[ly of God...]

4Q401 11: Comments

Line 2. אלוהי דעת[א

Cf. 4Q400 2 8; 4Q405 23 ii 12, where the phrase appears to refer to God, not to the angels. The phrase does not occur in BH, but cf. 1 Sam 2:3 (אל דעות).

Line 3. מכלי [צדק כוהן בעד] ת אל

The singular כוהן is most unusual in the Shirot (cf. only 4Q403 1 ii 24: רוש מכוהן קורב), and raises the question whether a single high priest is intended. The line is strongly reminiscent of 11QMelch ii 10 (נצב אלוהים) where Ps 82:1 is interpreted as referring to Melchizedek. One should probably supplement 4Q401 11 i צדק [מכלי] and translate "Melchizedek, priest in the assembly of God." If this restoration is correct, Melchizedek would be the only individual angel named in the Sabbath songs. See 4Q401 22 where another reference to Melchizedek is perhaps to be restored.

4Q401 12: Transcription

- .1 ש בקודש] קודשים
 .2 שב]עה בחוקי עולם]ים
 .3 קוד]ש קודשים לפ]ני

4Q401 12: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. שב]עה. *Ayin* is certain. Line 3. לפ] . *Kap* is also possible.

4Q401 12: Translation

1. [...] in the holy [of holies...] 2. [...]se]ven [...] with etern[al] statutes [...] 3. [...]hol]y of holies be[fore...]

4Q401 13: Transcription

- .1]...[ת מלך כ
 .2 ש]בוע שני יהלל שבעה ל
 .3 השלי]שי בכוהני רוש בר]

Bottom of Column

4Q401 13: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. ש]בוע. The first trace cannot be *qop*, ruling out the reading רקיע שני, "the second firmament." *Bet*, *nun*, or *taw* is possible.

Ibid. יהלל. The tails of *lamed* are longer than average, but cf. *lamed* in עולמי in frg. 7 and in קול in frg. 14 ii 3.

Ibid. ל. Qop is also possible.

4Q401 13: Translation

1. [...] king of a[11...] 2. [...] the second [he]ptad will praise seven times [...] 3. [...] [...The thi]rd among the chief priests bles[ses...]

4Q401 13: Comments

Line 1. מלך כ]

Restore, e.g., מלך כול אלוהים, as in 4Q405 24 3 and 11QShirShabb i 1.

Line 2. ש]בוע שני יהלל שבועה ל]

Where the ordinals are used in formulaic passages to identify the seven angelic princes they are always the articulated forms, השלישי, השני, etc. Here the anarthrous form suggests that שני modifies the preceding word. For ש]בוע [perhaps supplement שני שבוע or שובוע שני and translate "the second heptad will praise...." Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 19 (שניים בכוהני קורבן). There are various references in the texts to seven groups of priestly angels. Cf. 4Q405 8-9 4-5 (שבע [כ]ה[ו]נת קורבן) and 4Q403 1 ii 22 (שבע [כוה]נות) [שבע במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש]. The form שבועה can be used as a multiplicative in the Shirot (instead of BH שבע; see 4Q405 11 2-5). Alternatively here it might be a cardinal number introducing the object of יהלל.

Line 3. השלישי בכוהני רוש מבר]

In view of שני in line 2 above, one should probably restore השלישי here, or perhaps סוד שלישי or the like. Despite the similarities between this fragment and the language of 4Q403 1 ii 18-22, it does not appear that the two texts overlap. Nor does frg. 13 seem to contain the same formulaic passage found in 4Q400 3. While it is not impossible that frg. 13 overlaps 4Q400 1 ii, both fragments are too damaged to allow the issue to be decided.

4Q401 14 i: Transcription

- [] .1
- ם[] .2
- [] .3
- [] רומה רם על[] .4
- [] כִּיֹּא נִכְבַּדְתָּ בְּ[] אֱלִי אֱלִים לִרְ[] .5
- לְרֹאשֵׁי מַמְשָׁלוֹת .[] שְׁמִי מַלְכוּת כֹּב[וֹד] כֹּה .6
- לְהַלֵּל כְּבוֹדְכָּהּ פֶּלֶא [בְּאֵלֵי דַעַת וְתִשְׁבּוּחוֹת] מַלְכוּתְכָּהּ בְּקִדְשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים .7
- הֵמָּה נִכְבְּדִים בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים וְנוֹ[רָאִים לְמוֹ] סְדֵי אֲנָשִׁים פֶּלֶא .8

4Q401 14 i: Notes on the Readings

The overlap of lines 7-8 with 4Q400 2 1-2 makes the reconstruction of these lines certain and thus allows one to establish the approximate size of the lacunae in lines 5-6. The lacuna at the beginning of line 5 is approximately 7 letter spaces; that in the center is approximately 13-15 ls. The lacuna in line 6 is approximately 20-23 ls.

Line 5.]בְּ. *Bet*, *qop*, or even *lamed* is materially possible.

Line 6. Read לְרֹאשֵׁי, not לוֹ אֲשִׁי.

Ibid. שְׁמִי מַלְכוּת. The initial traces are compatible with *shin* but are not certain. It is not impossible to read the third letter as *waw* instead of *yod* for a 3d pl. verb. The traces would not permit מְמוֹ[ר], however.

Line 7. בְּקִדְשֵׁי. The leather is cracked before *shin*. בְּקִדְ[וֹ]שִׁי is not impossible.

Line 8. פֶּלֶא. The reading, though broken, is certain. The downstroke and baseline of *pe*, the head of *lamed*, and the left leg of *alep* are all clear.

4Q401 i: Translation

4. [...] *Its loftiness (is) lofty above* [...]
5. [...] For You are honored *among* [...] godlike *elim* to [...]
6. the chiefs of the realm [...] *the heavens* of Your gl[or]ious kingdom
7. to praise Your glory wondrously [with the *elim* of knowledge and the praiseworthiness of] Your royal power together with the holiest of the holy ones.

8. They are honored among all the camps of angels and rev[erenced by the cou]ncils of men, a wonder [...]

4Q401 14 i: Comments

Line 4.] רומה רם על [

רומה is difficult. BH רומה, "haughtily," (Mic 2:3) is unlikely. The word could be an otherwise unattested synonym for רוֹם or רוֹמם, but the tendency in the Sabbath Shirot is to substitute a masculine for a feminine noun (e.g., בָּרַךְ for בִּרְכָה, זָמַר for זִמְרָה), not vice versa. More likely the form רומה is רוֹם plus the feminine 3d singular suffix. The antecedent, however, cannot be determined.

Line 5.] כִּיָּא נִכְבֹּדַת ב [

In view of the direct address to God in lines 6-7 below, נִכְבֹּדַת is best taken as a 2d masc. sg. perf. verb rather than a fem. sg. niph'al ptcpl. (though see the discussion of רומה above). One would have expected the orthography נִכְבֹּדַתָּה, however, for the perfect. See Qimron §100.7.

Ibid. אלי אלים

Although אל אלים (4Q403 1 ii 26; 4Q405 14 3) and אלוהי אלים (4Q403 1 i 26) are both attested in the Sabbath Shirot, אלי אלים does not otherwise appear.

Ibid.] לר

There is room for only a single word in the lacuna at the end of line 5. In view of the phrase לראשי ממשלות following in line 6, one should restore an infinitive rather than a prepositional phrase in line 5, e.g., לרומם (pointed either as polel or polal).

Line 6. לראשי ממשלות

For a discussion of angelic titles compounded with ראשי in the Sabbath Shirot see the introductory section on angelology.

Ibid.] שמי מלכות כב[וד] כה

The reading is uncertain, but cf. 4Q400 2 4, שמי מלכותו, a phrase which, according to the overlap between 4Q400 2 and 4Q401 14, would also have occurred at the beginning of 4Q401 14 ii 2. Direct address to God (כבודכה) is very rare in the Shirot, occurring only in this fragment (and its parallel in 4Q400 2) and in 4Q400 1 ii. Cf., however, the deleted suffix in 4Q405 23 i 3.

For discussion of these lines see comments to 4Q400 2 1-2. The pronoun **המה** seems to refer to the **ראשי ממשלות**, a class of exalted angels probably to be identified with the **נשיאים**.

1. [שׁוֹׁ]
2. רִזׁׁ [י] נפלאותיה
3. קול רנות
4. לוא יכול
5. יגבר אׁ [לוהים
6. בשיאי מׁ]
7. השמיעו נסתרות]
8. למוצא שפתי מלך בׁ]

Line 2. ^{oo}
[י]י. The first traces appear to be part of a damaged *resh* (the head is not good for *dalet*, *waw*, or *yod*). The following letter appears to have a vertical stroke compatible with *zayin*.

Line 6. ׀^o . נשיאי מ . The lower corner of the last letter is preserved to a degree sufficient to exclude *resh* (for נשיאי רוש), though the trace is compatible with *mem* (for נשיאי משנה). *Pe* (נשיאי פלא, 4Q405 13 5) or *kap* (נשיאי כהונות, 4Q405 8-9 5-6) is also possible.

2. His wonderful myster[ies...] 3. sound of jubilation [...]
4. [They] are not able [...] 5. *G[od] makes strong* [...]
6. princes o[...] 7. They make known hidden things [...]
8. at the utterance of the lips of the King *with*[...]

Line 2. רז [י] נפלאותיה]

77, a common word in QL, occurs only rarely in the Sabbath Shirot.

Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 27 (שבֹּעַ רִזִּי דַעַת בְּרִזַּת הַפֶּלֶא) which occurs at the beginning of the litany of the tongues in the eighth Sabbath song.

Lines 4-5. לֹא יִכּוֹל[וּ...ו] יִגְבֵּר א[לוֹהִים]

Because the lines are so fragmentary one can only speculate as to the content, but the singular יִגְבֵּר might be taken as a piel with God as the subject. Thus arguably, a statement of the inability of the angels to perform a particular task (line 4) would be followed by a reference to God's strengthening them (line 5), so that they might make known the hidden things, those things which proceed from the mouth of God (lines 7-8). Cf. 4Q400 1 i 9 (וְחֹק בְּחֹק יִגְבְּרוּ לִשְׁבָּעָה[]) and more generally 4Q400 1 i 15-18.

Line 7.] הַשְּׁמִיעוּ נִסְתָּרוֹת

Though it seems more likely that הַשְּׁמִיעוּ is a perfect rather than an imperative, the tense value of the perfect is not clear. Presumably the subjects are the נְשִׂאִים mentioned in line 6, a class of elite priestly angels. For similar activities by such angels cf. 4Q400 1 i 17 (וּמִפִּיהֶם) (הוֹרוֹת כּוֹל קְדוּשִׁים עִם מִשְׁפָּטִי [כְּבוֹדוֹ]). It is impossible to be certain from the text of the Shirot whether the ones instructed are the lesser angels, the Qumran community itself, or both. The "hidden things" might be eschatological or cultic/legal matters. The reference to לְמוֹצָא שְׁפָתַי מֶלֶךְ in line 8 below perhaps favors the latter possibility. In Deut 29:28 the hidden things (הַנִּסְתָּרוֹת) are said to belong to "Yahweh our God" and are contrasted with the words of the law which have been revealed to Israel. For נִסְתָּרוֹת as the secrets of divine law specifically revealed to the Qumran community see CD iii 14, "revealing the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray--His holy Sabbaths and His glorious feasts, His righteous testimonies, and His true ways."

Line 8. לְמוֹצָא שְׁפָתַי מֶלֶךְ

Cf. Deut 8:3 (כִּי עַל-כָּל-מוֹצָא פִי-יִהְיֶה יְחִיָּה הָאָדָם). In the Shirot see 4Q403 1 i 35 (לְמוֹצָא שְׁפָתַי). More generally see 4Q400 1 i 5 where God is said to inscribe statutes for the angels.

4Q401 15: Transcription

[כְּבוֹדוֹ] .1

וּמִ[מֶּקוֹר הַקְּדוּשָׁה] .2

[קורב מִשְׁ]רתי .3

כנו]דו וחוו]ק .4

4Q401 15: Notes on the Readings

The text of frg. 15 overlaps with 4Q400 1 i 6-9 (first Sabbath song).

Line 2. Traces of the left oblique and of the tail of *mem* are faint but visible.

4Q401 16: Transcription

c אלוהי אלי]ם יִרְוֹמְ[מו] .1

o שמיִעו בדממת .2

l קדושי קורב] .3

u כנו]דו מי יבין באלה .4

m ב הללוהו קודש .5

n]ל[]ל[.6

Overlap with 4Q402 9 is underlined in the transcription.

4Q401 16: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. יִרְוֹמְ[מו]. The head of the first letter is better for *yod* than for *waw*.

Line 2. שמיִעו בדממת. The surface of the leather preceding *shin* appears somewhat abraded. The two letters following *dalet* are virtually obliterated. Materially, either בדמות or בדממת would be possible.

4Q401 16: Translation

1. [...God of the angel]s. They ex[alt] 2. [...they] announce in the stillness of 3. [...] holy ones of the inner sanctum 4. [...] His [glory.] Who can understand these things? 5. [...] praise him (with) holiness 6. [...]o[...]o[...]

4Q401 16: Comments

Neither frg. 16 nor 4Q402 9 can be assigned to a particular Sabbath song, though it is likely that 4Q402 9 comes from one of the Sabbath songs between the third and the sixth. See the proposed reconstruction of 4Q402.

Line 2. י[שמיעו בדממת

After ישמיעו, בדממת is clearly to be preferred to בדמות. The noun דממה occurs in the construct form several times in the Sabbath songs in the following phrases: תהלי פלא בדממת ק] (4Q405 18 3); ברוח דממת אלוהי]ם (4Q405 18 5); ובר[כו בהרומם קול דממת אלוהים (4Q405 22 7); וקול דממת ברך (4Q405 22 8); והמון רנה ברום כנפיהם קול [דממ]ת אלוהים (4Q405 22 12); ודממ[ת] ברך אלוהים בכול מחני אלוהים (4Q405 22 13). The word is borrowed from the description of the theophany in 1 Kgs 19:12 (קול דממה דקה). In the Sabbath songs the word is associated particularly with the sound of the praise of the cherubim and of the angels closest to the chariot throne of God.

Line 3. קדושי קורב

In the Sabbath Shirot קורב is most often the *nomen rectum* in the phrase כוהני קורב. See, however, 4Q405 14 4 (רוחי קורב קודש קודשים). All three expressions probably refer to the same group of angels.

Line 4. מי יבין באלה

The verb בין takes its object with bet in LBH; cf. Ezra 8:15; Neh 13:7; and Dan 9:2. The construction is frequent in QL. See especially 1QH xiii 13 (להבין בכול אלה).

Line 5. הללוהו קודש

Without additional context it is difficult to say how the phrase is to be construed. Perhaps קודש is to be taken as an accusative of manner. A similar phrase, also syntactically ambiguous, occurs in 4Q405 22 12 (הללו קודש).

4Q401 17: Transcription

- | | |
|--------------------------|----|
|]•[| .1 |
| עו[למים א°] | .2 |
| קו[דשים כ°] | .3 |
| ת[יו[ד]עי בבינת נס°[מרות | .4 |
| ם[ת יסדם לו° לקרוֹב | .5 |
|]•[]•[ורזי •] | .6 |

4Q401 17: Notes on the Readings

Line 3.] קוֹדְשִׁים כֹּל . The sharp angle of the left side of the head of *dalet* is clear. The head of the damaged letter on the left edge is better for *kap* than for *pe*.

Line 4. יוֹדְ[וֹ] עִי or יוֹדְ[וֹ] עִי is materially possible. Both forms are attested in the Sabbath Shirot.

Ibid. בְּבִינַת נֹס[תְרוֹת]. The traces of the next to the last letter are better for *nun* than for *pe* or *kap*.

4Q401 17: Translation

1. [...] 2. [...et]ernity o[...] 3. [...most h]oly o[...] 4. [...]o
those who have kn[ow]ledge in the understanding of *hidden[things...]*
5. [...]o He established them for Himself *in order to draw nea[r...]*
6. [...]o and mysteries of [...]

4Q401 17: Comments

Line 5.

The language of line 5 is so similar to that of 4Q400 1 i that one suspects that 4Q401 17 also comes from the first Sabbath song. Restore probably some form of קרב at the end of the line, perhaps either a *gal* infinitive (לקרוב) or a *hiphil* (לקריב for BH להקריב). The root קרב is used by the Priestly writer and by Ezekiel as a technical term for approaching the presence of God in the cult.

4Q401 18: Transcription

c מדעת[.1
o
l ל[.2

4Q401 19: Transcription

]הללו[

4Q401 20: Transcription

]תולדות אֹ.
[נְבוֹן בְּמַעַן שִׁי

4Q401 20: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Line 1. תולדות

The only other occurrence of תולדות in the Sabbath songs occurs in the

sixth Sabbath song (MasShirShabb ii 22) at the point of transition between the account of the psalms of the chief princes and the account of their blessings. Unfortunately, the context is not well preserved, so that the nuance of תולדות (nature, generation, origin?) cannot be determined.

Line 2. נִבּוֹן בְּמַעַשֵׁי

The first trace is better for *nun* than for *taw*. The singular form is noteworthy, since נִבּוֹן might refer to an individual angel. The last trace could be *ayin* (for מַעֲשֵׂי or מַעֲמַד) or *shin* (for מַשְׁפָּט, etc.).

4Q401 21: Transcription

-].ו[.1
 מִמְּלָכֻוֹת [.2
] ל [.3

4Q401 22: Transcription

-]קְדוּשֵׁי.ו[.1
 ש מְלוּ יְדִיהֶם [.2
]כִּי צִדְקָ [.3

4Q401 22: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. יְדִיהֶם. The traces are good for the legs of *he*.

Line 3.]כִּי צִדְקָ [. The first trace is ambiguous and could be *kap*, *nun*, or *dalet*.

4Q401 22: Translation

1. [...] holy ones of .ו[...]
 2. [...]ו they fill their hands [...]
 3. [...]ו righteousness [...]

4Q401 22: Comments

Line 2. מְלוּ יְדִיהֶם

מְלוּ is phonetic orthography for the piel verb מָלֵא. "To fill the hands" is the biblical idiom for the consecration of priests. See Exod 29:9, 33, 35. Here, of course, the priests would be the angelic priests of the heavenly temple. It might plausibly be suggested that this passage should come from the first Sabbath song where the establishment of the priesthood is referred to several times. See 4Q400 1.

Line 3.]כִּי צִדְקָ [

In view of the reference to consecration of priests in the preceding line, it is tempting to restore the name of Melchizedek here. In 11QMelch ii 5, as it would be in this line, the name is written as two words. See

also 4Q401 11 where צדק [מלכי] is probably to be restored. Here, however, other restorations, such as צדק [נוע] or צדק [כוח], are also possible.

4Q401 23: Transcription

- .1 .[נשיא קו]דש
 .2 .[ל מרומים]
 .3 .[עולמים]

4Q401 23: Translation

1. [...] prince of ho[liness...] 2. [...] heights [...] 3. [...] eternal [...]

4Q401 23: Comments

Line 1. נשיא קו]דש

Supplement either some form of קדש (קודשו, קודש קודשים or קדושי קדושים) or קורב. The singular נשיא is otherwise unattested in the Shirot, but cf. the singular כהון in frg. 11 and the possible references to Melchizedek there and in frg. 22.

4Q401 24: Transcription

- .1 .[מש]
 .2 .[שלום]
 .3 .[בכול מ]

4Q401 25: Transcription

[לזמרו]

4Q401 26: Transcription

- .1 .[מדעת]
 .2 .[רום]

4Q401 27: Transcription

[ורוממו]

Note: frg. 26 is now lost.

4Q401 28: Transcription

- .1 .[רת אלוה]
 .2 .[ה]

4Q401 29: Transcription

- .1 .[בלשון ה]
 .2 .[לנפלאות]

One might think that frg. 29 preserves part of the account of the psalms of the seventh chief prince (= 4Q403 1 i 6-7), but the final *mem* in line 2 and the *lamed* before פנלאות cannot be reconciled with that text. It is possible, however, that the fragment is related to the somewhat different version in 4Q403 1 or to the litany of the tongues, partly preserved in 4Q401 3.

2. [תם ש]

3. [י' קו] דש

3. [קודש]

2. [בדני]

Line 2. בדני

3. כ"ל 1

2. ק] וּדֹשׁ קוּדְשִׁים יֵרוֹם]

Line 1.

The word דעה is not otherwise attested in the Shirot, but cf. the pairing of דעה and שכל in 4Q405 11 5 and 4Q405 23 ii 13. For the last word before the break יודעי is better than וידעו.

4Q401 36: Transcription

- .1] סודי [
- .2] בֹהֶדֶר יֹס [
- .3] ׀ ׀ ׀ [

4Q401 37: Transcription

- .1] הֹוֹדוּ דָּ [
- .2 מוֹ [סְדִי פֿ] לֹא
- .3] בַּהוֹד [
- .4] אֱלֹ [

4Q401 37: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. Probably read הוֹדוּ, though the second letter looks somewhat better for *yod* than for *waw*.

Line 2. The surface of the leather is abraded before סְדִי [. Either *yod* or *waw* is possible for the last letter of the word (e.g., for מוֹ [סְדִי or (י) [סְדוּ).

4Q401 38: Transcription

- .1] בֹרְכוּ [
- .2] כֹּל [

4Q402: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q402: Material Description

The leather is well prepared, between medium and thin in thickness. In color it is a light brown when not stained. The surface is sub-matt, becoming matt when stained. At certain points it has become wrinkled, and at others the topmost layer has peeled off. The back is neither very smooth nor excessively coarse. Its color is in some places dark grey, in others a light brown. Vertical and horizontal dry lines can be clearly seen on most fragments. The writing is at points suspended from the horizontal lines, while at others it is completely independent of them.

4Q402: Orthography

The pronominal suffixes are the forms standard in the MT (ו-, הם-, ם-), except for המה. *Yod* is *mater lectionis* for long *i* but not for short *i*. Paleographically and morphologically, רוק[מה, not ריק[מה is to be read in 4Q402 2 3. *Yod* is also *mater* for *ê* from *ay* and apparently for *şere* in the construct of the third-*he* noun. See the discussion of מעשי in 4Q402 2 3. *Waw* is used more extensively. Every vowel originating from *u*, whether long or short, accented or unaccented, is represented by *waw*, as is *ô* from *aw* and *ô* from *ā*. The compound spellings לוּא and כִּיא which occur in 4Q402 are common at Qumran.

4Q402: Paleography

The hand of 4Q402 is a formal hand with a number of semiformal traits. It is a transitional hand from the late Hasmonean-early Herodian period, contemporary with the hand of 4Q401 (ca. 25 B.C.). Semiformal influence is evident in the free "s"-shaped oblique axis of *alep*, which sometimes overlaps into the downstroke of the left leg. The broad squat final *mem* and the curving left downstroke of *shin*, which breaks through at the bottom of the letter, are also semiformal traits. It is difficult to tell whether *bet* is penned with a single stroke or whether the baseline is made with a separate left-to-right stroke (see 4 1: בַּדְּנִיר; 8 4: יִבְּנֹאוּ). The hook of

lamed varies in size, but the enlargement characteristic of transitional hands is evident (3 i 1 and 3 ii 12: אלוהי; 4 2: ויפלג). *Ayin* is generally upright in stance, though the lower part of the right arm bends to the left. The size of the letter varies considerably, several examples having a small, archaic appearance (2 2: עם; 10 2: ועם). *Waw* and *yod* are usually distinguishable, *yod* having a more triangular, shaded head and a shorter right leg than *waw* (3 i 1, 3: אלוהי; 4 8: לאלוהי).

4Q402: Proposed Reconstruction

The overlap of frg. 4 with MasShirShabb shows that frg. 4 contains the end of the fifth Sabbath song. The similarity of physical shape and vocabulary between frgs. 3 and 4 make it likely that both fragments come from neighboring locations in the original scroll. It does not appear possible, however, that frg. 3 ii contained the beginnings of the lines found in frg. 4. If such a distant join were established, the text of frg. 3 ii 12-13 would contain material overlapping the first part of MasShirShabb i 2-3. Although these lines in the Masada fragment are broken, it would be difficult to harmonize the readings of 3 ii 12-13 with the space and remaining traces of text in MasShirShabb i 2-3. Consequently, the distant join of frgs. 3 and 4 should be rejected.

To find the proper place for 4Q402 3 in the scroll one should observe the similarity between the shape of frg. 3 and the right part of frg. 4, a congruity which suggests that the two fragments came from successive layers in the rolled scroll. The congruity of shape can best be seen by superimposing clear xerox copies of the photographs over a strong light. Since the content of the text following 4Q402 4 is well preserved in MasShirShabb, 4Q403, 4Q404, and 4Q405 but does not overlap with 4Q402 3, it can be concluded that frg. 3 did not follow frg. 4 but came from the column preceding it. Frg. 3 thus preserves material from approximately the middle of the fifth Sabbath song.

It is also likely that frgs. 1 and 2 preserve material from the layer beneath frg. 3 (assuming the scroll to have been rolled with the beginning outside). The shape of frg. 1 resembles the lower right part of frg. 3 and especially that of frg. 4 (see PAM 42.485). The shape of frg. 2 resembles that of the upper left part of frg. 4 (lines 4-8). According to the suggested reconstruction, frg. 2 and frg. 3 i belong to the same column of the original manuscript. The continuous text produced by the join of 3 i 4 + 2 1 ([א] לוהי / פלא ור); 3 i 5 + 2 2 ([ב] פלא / בנני), and

3 i 6 + 2 3 (מה) מעשי רוק] [כ] [אלוהים] is in each case plausible. Even though one cannot calculate the exact distances between successive layers of fragments in the manuscript, the preservation of column margins in frgs. 1-2 and 3 i-ii and the certain reconstruction of a column margin just to the right of frg. 4 demonstrates a regularity of spacing between the fragments that supports the proposed reconstruction. Frg. 2 would thus have belonged to the early part of the fifth Sabbath song. Probably, frg. 1 would have come from the latter part of the fourth song.

The remaining fragments cannot be located with any degree of certainty. They may come from the same columns as frgs. 1-4 or from earlier columns (the third or fourth Sabbath songs). None of them appears to overlap material from the sixth or seventh Sabbath songs, as preserved in the Masada fragment, 4Q403, 4Q404, and 4Q405.

4Q402 1: Transcription

c	[	ם במב] וא	.1
o		בבואם עם אלוה[י]	.2
l		יחד לכול תעודותפ[לא]	.3
u		גבו[רתם לגבורי עוז	.4
m		לכול יסודי פשע	.5
n		להם[.]	.6
		ח[	.7

4Q402 1: Notes on the Readings

The right-hand vertical dry line is visible on the leather.

Line 2. י אלוה is probably the last word in line 2.

Line 3. תעודותפ[לא]. The lack of space between words is unusual in 4Q402. The second *taw* appears to have been corrected or written over. Perhaps this correction is related to the lack of word division. The baseline of the last letter favors *pe* over *kap*.

Line 4. גבו[רתם. The first trace is good for the head of *resh*, though *dalet* is not impossible.

Line 5. The trace before לכול could be *dalet*, *resh*, or final *mem*.

4Q402 1: Translation

1. [...] with the com[ing...] 2. [...] when they come with the God [of]
 3. [...] together for all things w[ondrously]appointed 4. [...the po]wer
 of strong warriors 5. [...] to all the councils of rebellion 6. [...]
 ... their [...] 7. [...]o [...]

4Q402 1: Comments

Line 1. במב[וא]

In view of the use of בוא in the line below, perhaps supplement במבוא here.

Line 2. בבואם עם אלוה[י]

Since the plural suffix on בבואם plausibly refers to the angelic hosts, I have translated אלוהי as "God" rather than as "heavenly beings," though the latter is not impossible if more than one group of angels is referred to.

Line 3. לכול תעודות[לא]

Cf. 4Q402 4 13 (= MasShirShabb i 3) for a discussion of the nuance of תעודות. There, as here, תעודות is used in connection with the eschatological battle of angelic forces.

Line 4. גבו[רתם לגבורי עוז]

The line would, of course, admit of other syntactical constructions than that reflected in the translation. For the angels as גבורים see lQH xv 14 (גבורי אלים); lQH iii 35-36 (גבורי שמים); v 21 (גבורי פלא); viii 11-12 (גבורי כוח ורוחות קודש); x 34-35 (גבורי כוח).

Line 5. לכול יסודי פשע

יסודי here could be taken as a synonym for סוד or עדה, as in the expression יסוד היחד (lQS vii 17, 18; viii 10). Cf. סוד שוא in lQH ii 22; סוד נעלמים in lQH vii 34; and סוד בשר in lQS xi 7, 9. See the discussion of סוד and יסוד in Muszyński, *Fundament*, 63-65. The passive participle of יסד is not attested in BH or in QH, but a *qātûl* form functionally equivalent to the active participle is probably to be seen in יסודי הוד (4Q405 3 ii 7), a phrase rendered in the parallel text 4Q403 1 i 17 as יוסדי הוד. Thus one might also translate יסודי פשע here as "all who establish rebellion."

4Q402 2: Transcription

פ[ל]א ור[]	.1
פ[] לא פ[]	.2
כ[] מעשי רוק[מה]	.3
בדביר מלך .	.4
ח[] סא .	.5

4Q402 2: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. פ[ל]א ור[]. The baseline of the first letter is better for *pe* than for *kap*. The descender of the last letter of the line could be that of *resh*, *dalet*, *yod*, or *taw*.

Line 5. The first trace is difficult, perhaps the right downstroke of *het*.

4Q402 2: Translation

1. wo[nd]er and .[...] 2. [wo]nder .[...] 3. [like] broca[de...] 4. in the debir of the King of .[...] 5. .ooo . [...]

4Q402 2: Comments

If the reconstruction proposed for the fragments of 4Q402 is correct, frg. 2 should contain the right-hand part of a column, the left-hand part of which is partly preserved in frg. 3 i. The combined text of the fragments is as follows: 3 i 4 + 2 1 (א[לוהי/פלא ור[]; "wondrous heavenly beings"); 3 i 5 + 2 2 (בדני/פלא פ[]; "wondrous forms"); 3 i 6 + 2 3 (כ[]מעשי רוק[מה]; "heavenly beings like brocade").

Line 2. פלא ור[]

The phrase פלא ור[], produced by the proposed join, is also attested in 4Q403 1 i 36.

Line 2. פלא פ[]

The phrase פלא פ[], produced by the proposed join, may be attested also in 11QShirShabb m 3 (בדני פ[לא]). The word בדני (which always occurs in construct or suffixed forms in the Shirot) appears to be a synonym of צורות ("forms, patterns"). It occurs in passages describing the appearance of the heavenly temple and particularly of its angelic attendants. See notes to 4Q405 14-15 i 5 for further discussion of the word and its meaning.

Line 3. כ[מעשי רוק]מה

The form מעשי may be phonetic spelling for BH מעֶשֶׂה. Such orthography occurs in other manuscripts of the Shirot (see orthographic notes to 4Q403 and 4Q405) and is frequently attested in other QL (see Qimron §100.34). The form רוקמה (BH רִקְמָה) is an example in the feminine of the preference in QH for *qutl* forms over *gitl*. See Qimron §100.31 and §331.324.

The proposed join produces the phrase כ[מעשי רוק]מה אלוהים, which one might further supplement "*the appearance of the heavenly beings....*" Cf. 4Q405 14-15 i 6 (ב[תוך מעשי רוקמות פלא בדני אלוהים חיים]), where מעשי רוקמות and בדני also occur together in the same passage. The appearance of angelic beings is described several times in the Shirot in language which borrows from the Priestly writer's description of the garments of the priesthood and of the tabernacle hangings. Cf., e.g., 4Q405 23 ii 7 (רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג). Although the noun רמקה is not used by the Priestly writer, the phrase מעשה רִקְמָה occurs frequently in descriptions of the workmanship of the screens of the tent of meeting and of the high priest's sash (Exod 26:36; 27:16; 28:39; etc.). In lQM vii 19 מעשה רקם is rendered by the phrase צורות רוקמה מעשה חשב. It is difficult to find a suitable English equivalent for the phrase מעשי רוקמה. It designates a multicolored weave in fabrics or garments but can also be applied to the multicolored appearance of other substances or products (see lQM v 6, 9, 14).

4Q402 3: Transcription

c	[]◦	.1
o	אלוהי	.2
l	כבוד	.3
י◦]	א[לוהי	.4
ישפט]	m בְּדָנִי	.5
ללוא ה◦]	n אלוהים	.6
אור ובינ◦]	ה	.7
מסיר שנ◦]	ם	.8
מרום ופל◦]	ג	.9
גבורו צ◦]	נִי	.10

אלוהים ב ^ו	c	[	.11
למלך אלוהי]	o	[	.12
מזמת כבוד ^ו]	1	[	.13

40402 3: Notes on the Readings

Column i

Line 5. ם ם ם
 Line 5. ןַדְּנִי. The second trace preserves the head of *dalet*. Cf. ןַדְּנִי
 in 4Q402 l 3. The other traces are ambiguous but fully compatible with
 the readings suggested. The word itself is well attested in the Shirot.

Line 10. ^{oo} ^{oo}
 ⁷ or ⁷ is materially possible.

Column ii

Line 8. **מסיר**. *Yod* is materially better than *waw*.

Line 9. מָרוֹם וּפֶלֶא. In both instances *waw*, not *yod*, is to be read.

Line 10.]צ . Sade is certain. Cf. ירוצו in 4Q402 4 9.

40402 3: Translation

Column i

1. [...] 2. [...] heavenly beings of 3. [...] glory 4. [...he]avenly
beings of 5. [...] *forms of* 6. [...] heavenly beings 7-13. [...]ooo[...]

Column ii

1-4. [...] 5. He will judge [...] 6. without oo[...] 7. light and
underst[anding...] 8. who takes away oo[...] 9. loftiness; and He
allo[ts...] 10. His power o[...] 11. heavenly beings o[...] 12. to
the King of the heavenly beings [...] 13. [His] glorious plan [...]

40402 3: Comments

Column i

See notes to 4Q402 2 for the possible distant join between frgs. 2 and 3 i.

Column ii

Line 6. ללוא. See Qimron, Appendix I.4.

Line 7. אור ובינ]ה

For the association of light and understanding cf. the occurrences of אור and דעת in the Sabbath Shirot (4Q403 1 ii 35, למאירי דעת בכול אלי אור,

ויתן לו יהוה רוח נבונה. (דעת ואור, 4Q405 6 3, 3-4). Also cf. 11QPs^aDavComp 3-4, (ואורה).

Line 9. מרום ופלג

Since פלא most often occurs in the Shirot as the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain, it is better to restore פלג here, either as a verb (cf. ויפלג in 4Q402 4 2) or as a noun (perhaps as the equivalent of מפלג/מפלגה).

Line 13. מזמת כבודו

Cf. מה יזום ("what He purposes") at the end of the fifth Sabbath song in 4Q402 4 15 (= MasShirShabb i 6), a reference to the eschatological mysteries of God.

4Q402 4: Transcription

1. []ם[]
2. []ים ויפלג דעת[]
3. []כ[בינתו חרת ח[וקי
4. []ב[היותו טמא[]ת לוא . . .]
5. []יה ולוא יהי[]ים ליחד כ[] .
6. []מכ[לכלי מחשב[תו] ודעת קדו[שי קדושים
7. []יהם מלחמת אלוהים בק[]
8. []כיא לאלוהי אלים [כל[י מ[לחמו[ת
9. []אלוהים ירוצו לפקוד[תו] וקול המון[]
10. []אלוהים במלחמת שחקים והיתה[]
11. []מעשי חדשות פל[א]כ[ו]ל אלה עשה פל[א] בנסתרות עד ובל[]
12. []כול דברי דעת [כיא מאלוהי דעת בהיו כול [הוי עד ומדעתו]
13. []ומזמותיו היו כול תעודות עולם[ים עושה ראי[שונ]ות [לתעודותיהם ואחרונות]
14. []למועדיהם ואין בידעים נגלי פלא [להבין לפני ע[שותו ובעשותו לא ישכילו כול]
15. []עושי צדק מה יזום כיא ממעשי כבודו ה[מה לפני[היותם ממחשבתו]

Overlap with MasShirShabb is underlined in the transcription.

4Q402 4: Notes on the Readings

The readings are often clearer in PAM 42.631 than in 43.485, though in the earlier photograph a small fragment containing the right-hand portion of lines 9-11 had not yet been joined to the rest of the fragment.

Line 3. ^ויִנְתָּו[or ^ויִנְתָּו[. *Yod* seems somewhat better than *waw* for the first clearly preserved letter, though either is possible. *Yod* frequently has a larger and often shaded head, but the two letters may be virtually indistinguishable (cf. 4Q402 1 5, יִסְדִּי).

Line 4. הִיִּתָּו. The last letter appears better for *waw*, though *yod* cannot be definitely excluded (cf. כִּיָּא in line 12 below). The second and third letters are ambiguous and materially might be either *waw* or *yod*.

Ibid. תִּלֹּא . The reading, though broken, is certain.

Line 5. לִיחַד. The top of the head of *yod* is lost. The legs of *het* most clearly resemble those of *het* in מַרְחֶמֶת in 4Q402 7 3.

Ibid. כִּיָּא . Given the broken condition of the text, either *kap* or *pe* is possible. The trace after the lacuna is very difficult, possibly *samek*.

Line 6. מִכֹּל לִכְלִי . The last letter is probably *yod*, not *waw*, which does not have such a shaded head.

Line 8. אֱלִים [כֹּל] יִמְלִי מִלְחָמָה . The surface of the leather to the left of אֱלִים is badly damaged, but the first visible trace is good for *yod* or *waw*. After the lacuna which follows medial *mem*, the first trace is good for the leg of *het* (cf. מִלְחָמָה in line 10 below). The last trace might be either *waw* or the right leg of *taw*. For the similarity of these shapes cf. חֲדָשִׁית in line 11 below.

Line 9. פִּקּוּדֵי תוֹ . Although materially the traces following *qop* could be the legs of *he* or *het* as well as the downstrokes of *waw* and *dalet*, context favors the latter readings.

Ibid. הַמּוֹנִי or הַמּוֹן is possible.

Line 10. וְהִיתָה . The right leg of *he* is completely visible. The thickening of the stroke near the top is the point at which the crossbar of *he* meets the downstroke. Only a small portion of the left leg of *he* is visible.

Line 12. דעת. The fragments of 4Q402 4 are not quite properly aligned in the photograph, but the upper lefthand portion of *taw* where the cross-stroke and the downstroke meet is clearly preserved.

Ibid. נהיו. The reading is clear in PAM 42.631.

Line 13. ראי[שונ]וח. In PAM 42.631 the downstroke of *yod* is visible, meeting the left leg of *alep*.

Line 15. מה לפני. The leather is twisted, but the first two letters belong to line 15, not to line 16. In the preliminary edition of the Masada fragment (*IEJ* 34 [1984]) I suggested that the letters in question might overlap the *ayin*, *he* of בתשעה (MasShirShabb i 8), but the first letter of 4Q402 4 15 is clearly *mem*, not *ayin*. The overlap is rather with MasShirShabb i 6 (הם) where the short form of the independent pronoun corresponds to the long form found in 4Q402 4 15 (המה).

4Q402 4: Translation

1. [...]o[...]
2. [...]oo and He apportioned knowledge [...]
3. [...according to] *His understanding* He ordained st[atutes...]
4. [...while] *he is* unclean [...]o not ooo[...]
5. [...]oo and will not beco[me...]oo altogether oo[...]
6. ...who] *sustain* [His] plan. And the knowledge of the [most] holy ones [...]
7. [...] their [...], the war of God in [...]
8. [...] for to the God of the elim (belong) the [weapo]ns of wa[r...]
9. [...] the heavenly beings run to [His] muster, and there is the sound of tumult [...]
10. [...] the heavenly beings in the war of heaven; and it will be [...]
11. [...] wondr[ous] new works. A[1]l these things He has done wondrous[ly together with those things which are eternally hidden. And not...]
12. [...all the words of knowledge;] for from the God of knowledge came into being everything [which exists forever. And from His knowledge]
13. [and His purposes have come into existence all the things which were eternally appointed.] He makes the fo[r]mer things [in their seasons and the latter things]
14. [in their due time. And there are none among those who have knowledge

who] can discern [His wondrous revelations] before [He makes them.
 And when he acts, those who *do righteousness* cannot comprehend]
 15. [that which He purposes. For they are part of His glorious works;]
 before [even they existed, *they were part of His plan.*]

4Q402 4: Comments

4Q402 4 contains material from the very end of the fifth Sabbath song, as the overlap with the Masada fragment demonstrates.

Line 2. ויפלג דעת

The verb פלג is rare in BH (niph'al: Gen 10:25; 1 Chr 1:19; piel: Job 38:25; Ps 55:10). In QL it occurs in lQH i 16, 18; xiii 13; 4Q509 5-6 ii 5; 4Q511 42 3. Where sufficient context is preserved to make the meaning clear, the verb appears to have the sense of "to allot, apportion, distribute." See the discussion of Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 213-14. Here the form is probably piel with God as the implicit subject.

Line 3. כ[בינתו חרת ח]וקי

The restoration of חוקי is suggested by 4Q400 1 i 5 (חרת חוקיו לכול) (מעשי רוח; cf. also 4Q400 1 i 15). If one were to read סונתו[instead of סינתו[, then one might supplement הונתו[כ, "His priesthood." Cf. 4Q400 1.

Line 4. היותו טמא] ת לוא

In another context היותו טמא would be an attractive reading, but if read here, it would provide the only example of the first person singular in the extant text of the Sabbath songs. While one could materially read הוותר, "His destruction," the syntax would be difficult to explain. It seems best to read the infinitive with suffix, היותו, perhaps governed by a temporal preposition. The apparent reference to divine legislation in line 3 above provides a suitable context for the phrase "while he is unclean." It seems likely that the laws and the concern about uncleanness refer not to the heavenly temple but to the angelic warriors mustered for the eschatological holy war (lines 7-10 below). For similar laws regulating the purity of the camp of the human army see lQM vii 3-7.

Since לוא begins a new clause, the adjective טמא would seem to be in construct with the following word, now mostly lost in the lacuna. For such a construction see Isa 6:5 (טמא שפתים), Lev 22:4 and Hag 2:13 (טמא נפש). What one should supplement here, however, is not clear.

Line 5. יהי^ו [ים ליחד כ^ו]

There are ca. 3-4 letter spaces between *yod*, *he* and *yod*, *mem*. The space seems too wide to restore only a single verb form (even, reading ום [ים] , a suffixed form). Although the space would be tight, it seems better to read יהי^ו and to supplement a short noun or adjective (e.g., רבים, תמים). The broken condition of the text obscures the syntactical function of ליחד.

Line 6. מכ[לכלי מחשב]תו[ודעת קדו]שי קדושים

The context does not favor reading the noun כלי plus the preposition *lamed*. Rather, one probably has a participial form of כלכל. The nuance is elusive. כלכל may mean "to contain, to sustain, to endure," or even "to keep, observe" (Sir 43:3). The word does not seem to be attested elsewhere with the sense of mental comprehension ("to contain" > "to comprehend"), though that would be a most fitting sense here. If such a meaning for כלכל could be established, one might supplement ואין and translate "and there is none who comprehends His intentions." For a similar statement see lines 14-15 below.

Line 7. [יהם מלחמת אלוהים בק]

Given the ambiguity of אלוהים in this text, the phrase can mean either "the war of God" or "the war of the heavenly beings." General parallels can be found in QL for either interpretation. Cf. lQM iv 12; ix 5; and xv 12 (מלחמת אל) and lQH iii 35 (ומלחמת גבורי שמים). The only explicit reference to angelic war in the Sabbath Shirot occurs in this fragment. Elsewhere, however, a military or quasi-military organization of the angels is assumed (see e.g., 4Q400 2 2; 4Q405 22 13-14).

Line 8. כיא לאלוהי אלים [כל]י מ[ל]חמו[ת]

Since there are ca. 3-4 letter spaces between the final *mem* of אלים and the medial *mem* of מלחמות, supplement probably ת[חמו]מ[ל]חמו[ת] (or [כל]י מ[ל]חמו[ת]; see notes on the readings). Cf. lQH vi 31. Various suffixed forms of this phrase (כלי מלחמתם, כלי מלחמתו, etc.) are common in lQM and lQH. Here, אלוהי probably refers to God, although אלים could conceivably be an angelic title.

Line 9. אלו[הים ירוצו לפקוד]תו[וקול המון]

Supplement either [תו] לפקוד or [תם] לפקוד, though the latter reading would be tight. While the meaning "visitation, punishment" is not impossible, a reference to a military muster seems more likely (cf. 2 Chr 26:11).

Similar military imagery occurs in 4Q405 22 13-14. There, however, the angels in their camps and units (מחני אלוהים, דגליהם) shout with praise at the appearance of the chariot throne, while here the tumult is associated with battle.

Line 10.]אלוהים במלחמת שחקים והיתה[

Though I can find no precise parallel in QL to the phrase מלחמת שחקים, the allusion is certainly to the eschatological battle of angelic forces mentioned in lQM xi 17-xii 1 and xvii 6-8. In the Sabbath songs, however, nothing is said explicitly about the human role in eschatological conflict. The subject of והיתה is presumably מלחמת שחקים. This sentence apparently concludes the explicit discussion of heavenly battle, perhaps with a reference to divine victory. It is followed by a quasi-hymnic passage which brings the fifth Sabbath song to a close.

Line 11. [מעשי חדשות פל]א[

The "wonderful new things" would refer to God's victory in the eschatological heavenly battle (lines 8-10 above). The word חדשות, along with the pair ראישונות and אחרונות in line 13 below, are all drawn from Deutero-Isaiah. For חדשות cf. Isa 42:9 (הראשונות הנה-באו וחדשות אני מגיד) and 48:6 (השמעתיך חדשות מעתה ונצרות ולא ידעתם). In QL see, in a less explicitly eschatological context, lQH xiii 11-12 (ולברוא חדשות להפר קימי) (ול] [ים נהיות עולם). In lQH the immediate context has to do with heavenly beings and their knowledge of divine mysteries.

Ibid. ...כל אל אלה עשה פל]א בנסתרות עד ובל.

Overlap with the fragment of the Sabbath Shiroṭ from Masada begins here (underlined). A preliminary edition of these lines was published by C. Newsom and Y. Yadin in *IEJ* 34(1984), 77-88. In view of the clear Isaianic language which appears elsewhere in this passage, the phrase (אני יהוה עשה לכ-אלה) probably derives from Isa 45:7. See also Isa 66:2. Unfortunately, in the Masada text the end of the first line is damaged, and the reading is very difficult. See notes *ad loc.* If the reading is correct, the line recalls Sir 48:24-25 (ברוח גבורה חזה אחרית) (וינחם אבלי ציון עד עולם הגיד נהיות ונסתרות לפני בואן). The negative particle כל is also found in 4Q405 23 i 4, 11.

Line 12. [כול דברי דעת]

The reading דברי is not certain in the Masada fragment. One might also read חכמי or חברי. None of the phrases is attested in BH or QL.

Lines 12-15.

The translation of lines 12-15 is aided by the fairly regular parallelism of the text, as the following chart indicates.

d	c	b	a
כול הוי עד	נהיו	מאלוהי דעת	כיא
d'	c'	b'	
כול תעודות עולמים	היו	ומדעתו [ומזמו] תיו	
	c	b	a
	[לתעודו] תיהם	ראישונות	עושה
	c'	b'	
	למועדיהם	ואחרונות	
d	c	b	a
לפני עשותו	להבין	נגלי [פלא]	ואין בידעים
a'	a'	c'	d'
מה יזום	כול [עושי צד] ק	לא ישכילו	ובעשותו
b'	c'	c	b
ממחשב] תו	לפני היותם	המה	ממעשי כבודו
			כיא

The strong predestinarian element in these lines finds its closest parallels in the following passages:

CD ii 9-10 (ופרוש קציהם לכל הוי עולמים ונהיות עד מה יבוא בקציהם לכל שני עולם);
 1QS iii 15 (מאל הדעות כול הווה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם);
 1QH i 19-20 (יה [] ועל פי [] דתם בטרם היותם ועל פי [] יתה). Cf. also 1QH xiii 11-12.

Line 12. כיא מאלוהי דעת

For the apparent haplographic omission of this phrase in the Masada text see notes on the transcription of MasShirShabb. The phrase אלוהי דעת occurs in 4Q400 2 8 and 4Q405 23 ii 12 as a divine epithet (cf. the angelic epithet אלהי דעת frequently used in the Shirot) and is probably dependent on the expression אל דעות in 1 Sam 2:3 (see also 1QS iii 15; 1QH xii 10; and cf. אלוהי דעות in the Cantiques du Sage, 4Q510 1 2 and 4Q511 1 7-8).

Lines 12-13. כול] הוי עד ומדעתו ומזמותיו כול תעודות עולמ]ים

The parallelism with כול תעודות עולמים suggests that הוי עד refers here not to persons or angelic beings but to events. Cf. CD ii 9-10, cited above. It also appears that the phrase תיו[]ומדעתו in Masada i 2-3 should contain two parallel terms for God's knowledge. The reading תיו[] is tentative but plausible in the Masada fragment, and only about 4 ls. are lost in the lacuna there. If the reading is correct, one might supplement, e.g., תיו[]ומזמו or תיו[]ומזמו, with the *mem* of ומדעתו governing both nouns. The similar phrase מזמת כבוד] occurs in 4Q402 3 ii 13 (probably also from the fifth Sabbath song). The verbal root occurs in the phrase מה יזום in line 15 below (= MasShirShabb i 6).

The traditional derivation of תעודה from the root עוד and its translation as "witness, attestation" has proven untenable for many of the occurrences of תעודה in QL (cf. lQS i 9; iii 10; lQM ii 8; xiv 13; etc.), and it has been recognized that in some instances תעודה and מועד are virtual synonyms. Cf. line 14 below, and see Yadin, *War Scroll*, 330, notes to lQM xv 1. M. Baillet (DJD VII, 26) has commented on the occurrence of תעודות as a parallel to עתים (lQM xiv 13) and to קץ (4Q510 1 6-7).

Line 13. עושה ראי[שונ]ות [לתעודותיהם

The use of the plural suffix -יהם to refer to a feminine antecedent is not unusual in QH. לתעודותיהם is supplied here as a parallel to מועדיהם.

Ibid. ראישומות...אחרונות

This pair of words distinctly recalls the language of Deutero-Isaiah. Cf. Isa 44:6 where God says אני ראשון ואני אחרון (and cf. also Isa 48:12). Note too the contrast between ראשון and אחרונים in 41:4. In Deutero-Isaiah the context in which these terms occur is often that of God's predetermination of events and God's revelation of future events through the prophets (e.g., 46:10, מגיד מראשית אחרית). The idea of a divine predetermination of events is frequent in QL (see, e.g., lQpHab vii 14, 18; lQS iii 15-16), though the pair of terms ראישומות...אחרונות is otherwise unattested.

Line 14. ואין בידעים נגלי פלא] להבין לפני ע[שותו

The use of אין with a following infinitive introduced by *lamed* in LBH and QH is discussed by J. Carmignac, *L'emploi de la négation*, 409-10. Cf. 2 Chr 20:6 (ואין לבית אחזיהו לעצר כח) and 2 Chr 22:9 (אין עמך להתיצב). It is not clear whether to vocalize ידעים as $yōdē\hat{c}īm$, $yēdu\hat{c}īm$ (cf. Deut 1:13,

15; Isa 53:3; 4Q405 3 ii 1) or *yaddā^{im}* (see Qimron §100.221). For references to the angels as "those who have knowledge" see lQH xi 14 (להתחדש עם כול נהיה ועם ידעים ביחד רנה).

Lines 14-15. [...ובעשותו לא ישכילו כול עושי צדק מה יזום...]

All the material here is restored from the Masada fragment or supplemented according to context. Note the sequence עושה...לפני עשותו...בעשותו in lines 13-14. The text not only affirms that God is the author of all events but also that even those who are wise cannot find out divine secrets through their own wisdom. Moreover, even with the aid of divine revelation the full dimensions of God's intentions remain hidden from the wise. The "agnosticism" of this passage should not be contrasted with such passages as lQS xi 3; lQH i 21; vii 26-27; xii 11-13, where the Qumran community alludes to divine mysteries which have been revealed to them. The present passage is merely a highly rhetorical expression of the vast gulf between divine knowledge and creaturely knowledge, however exalted. Cf. lQH f 1 2-3. As the subject of לוא ישכילו perhaps restore schematically עושי צדק. Cf. Isa 64:4 (עשה צדק).

Line 15. כיא ממעשי כבודו ה]מה לפני היותם ממחשבתו

Judging from the reconstruction of the Masada fragment, only about 5-6 ls. are missing before תו[. One expects some reference to the pre-determination of events by God, so perhaps restore ממחשבתו as a parallel to מאל דעות כול הווה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין) Cf. lQS iii 15 (ממעשי כבודו). The pronoun המה and the suffix on היותם probably refer to the predetermined events of lines 12-14 rather than to the ידעים.

4Q402 5: Transcription

- | | |
|----------|----|
| [לוא] | .1 |
| [בקדו]שי | .2 |
| [לוא] | .3 |

4Q402 5: Translation

1. [...] not [...] 2. [...] with the holy [ones...] 3. [...] not [...]

1.]◦ ׁ[

2.] צורות[

3.] ככל[כלו אלי]

1. [ם^ו]
2. [ואור בדב^ו] יר
3. [מ^ו רחפות במם]
4. [פלא ם]

4Q402 7: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. *Pe* or *kap* is possible instead of final *mem*.

Line 2. מרחפוט^ו[מ. The first letter might materially be *resh* or *dalet*, *waw* or *yod*.

4Q402 7: Translation

1. [...]◦[...] 2. [...] and light in the deb[ir...] 3. [...mo]ving
◦[...] 4. [...wo]nder ◦[...]

4Q402 7: Comments

Line 3. מרחפוט[מ

If the reading is correct, the text may have adapted the phrase *רוחות מרחפוט* (Gen 1:2) to a reference to angelic spirits, *רווח מרחפוט*. Alternatively, it would be possible to read *ורחפוט*, the fem. pl. of the adj. רחף, "morally pure" (cf. Job 33:9). It is not clear in either case how one should restore the following word.

4Q402 8: Transcription

]◦[	.1
מרי[מים תרוע]ה	.2
]◦[ם הגבורה	.3
]◦[ל יבואו	.4
]◦[הנבֹודֹ	.5

4Q402 8: Notes on the Readings

Line 5. הנבֹודֹ. The first trace seems rather narrow for *he*, but see *he* in עשה in frg. 4 ll. The last letter is not good for final *kap*. Perhaps the word is an error for הכהוד.

4Q402 8: Translation

1. [...]◦[...] 2. [...who ra]ise a shou[t...] 3. [...]◦ the power
◦[...] 4. [...]◦◦ they come ◦[...] 5. [...] ◦the glory [...]

4Q402 8: Comments

Line 2. מרי]מים תרועה

ותרועת אלים ואנשים occurs frequently in lQM. Cf. especially (להרים קול) Ezek 21:27. Perhaps supplement מרי]מים תרועה (lQM i 11). This fragment may come from the description of eschatological war partly preserved in 4Q402 4.

4Q402 9: Transcription

].oo[	.1
א]לוהי אלי]ם ירוממו	.2
ה]שמיעו בדמ]מת	.3
קדו]שי קו]רב	.4
כבוד]ו מ]י יביק באלה	.5

4Q402 9: Notes on the Readings and Comments

4Q402 9 overlaps with 4Q401 16 (underlined in transcription). Unfortunately, neither fragment can be located in the sequence of the Shirot with certainty, though a place in the fourth Sabbath song seems plausible. See notes to 4Q401 16 for further comments.

Line 3. ה]שמיעו בדמ]מת

Only a trace of *shin* remains. The following traces preserve the left upstroke and the right downstroke of *mem*. The reading בדממת is not certain in 4Q401 16, both *mems* being damaged.

Line 5. The second trace is good for the head of *mem*.

4Q402 9: Translation

1. [...]oo[...]
2. [...]G]od of the [eli]m. They exalt...
3. [...]They] announce in the sti[lness of...] 4. [...]the hol]y ones of the inner [sanctum...]
5. [...] His [glory.] Wh[o can understand these things?...]]

4Q402 10: Transcription

]◦[	.1
]ועם [	.2
]תו ימ[	.3
]עד מ' [	.4

4Q402 11: Transcription

]ו'◦[	.1
]בש'◦ [	.2
]פלא ◦ [	.3
]ומעונ'י [	.4
]ק'◦ [	.5

4Q402 11: Translation

1. [...]◦[...] 2. [...]◦◦ *with* ◦[...] 3. [...] wonder ◦[...]
 4. [...] and the dwelling plac[es of...] 5. [...]◦◦◦[...]

4Q402 12: Transcription

]אור ל'◦ [	.1
]מאורי'◦ [	.2

4Q402 12: Translation

1. [...] light ◦◦[...] 2. [...] luminaries [...]

MASADA SHIRSHABB: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

Masada ShirShabb: Material Description

The fragment was discovered during the first season of excavation at Masada in the southeast corner of one of the rooms in the casemate wall (room 1039), the same room which also yielded fragments from the books of Psalms and Leviticus, as well as silver and bronze coins struck during the first revolt against Rome. Portions of two columns of text are preserved in MasShirShabb. The left-hand edge of the fragment seems to have been cut or torn away. The height of the fragment as preserved is 21 cm., with a top margin of ca. 3 cm. and a bottom margin preserved to 1.6 cm. Each column originally contained 26 lines of text. The space between visible dry lines is 7 mm., with the height of an average letter 3 mm. Vertical dry lines are not visible, but the space between columns averages 1.5 cm. The width of letters in the Masada fragment varies more than in the scripts of the Shirot from Cave 4. For purposes of approximating space available for restorations, it is better to calculate corrected letter spaces (counting *waw*, *yod*, *zayin*, final *nun*, and the space between words as half letters). According to this system, the column width of each of the two columns of the Masada fragment can be calculated at ca. 32 corrected letter spaces (cls.). The width of col. i is based on the reconstruction of the formulaic heading of the sixth Sabbath song in i 8. The extensive overlap with 4Q403 1 i 1-11 makes possible the reconstruction of the width of col. ii.

Masada ShirShabb: Orthography

The forms of the pronouns and pronominal suffixes are those typical of the MT (ו-, תו-, יו-, תיו-, ם-, תם-, יהם-, תיהם-, הם). *Yod* is *mater lectionis* for long *i* and for *ê* from *ay*, but not for short *i*. Although full orthography for *o* and *u* vowels predominates, defective forms are found alongside full spellings. Compare כל (i 2) with כול (i 2, 3, 5; ii 5, 25). In i 13 כל was originally written but corrected to כול. Compare אלהים (ii 12) with אלוהי (i 17, 24). קודש (i 13; ii 17, 18) and קודשו (ii 22)

are both spelled *plene*, but the reduced vowel of קדשים (i 10) is spelled without *waw*. The first vowel of the *qal* participle is represented by *waw* in יושבי (i 9) but spelled defectively in לידעי (ii 26), unless ידעי is to be vocalized *yaddēʿê*. Similarly, cf. ידעים (i 4). See Qimron §100.221.

As is typical of the other manuscripts of the ShirShabb רוש is spelled phonetically and ראישונות with combined historical/phonetic orthography. The one occurrence of לא (i 5) preserves the old historical spelling. כיא, however, is written with the compound spelling typical of Qumran orthography.

Masada ShirShabb: Paleography

The manuscript is written in a late Herodian formal hand (ca. 50 A.D.). The destruction of Masada in 73 A.D. forms the *terminus ad quem*. Well developed *keraiai* are evident in *alep*, *gimel*, *zayin*, *tet*, *lamed*, *nun* (medial and final), and the left arm of *ayin*. Triangular projections where an upstroke loops into a crossbar or a crossbar into a downstroke characterize *he*, *het*, final *kap*, final *mem*, *samek*, and *qop*. The left-to-right stroke of *bet* often breaks through the downstroke at the right. While the hook of *lamed* is generally large (ii 15: למלך), the tail of the hook is in several instances small (i 4: למועדיהם; i 11: עולמים). *Waw* and *yod* are usually distinct (ii 13: יודו; ii 23: אלוהים). Both heads are shaded, but the head of *yod* is usually larger and its tail shorter.

Masada ShirShabb i: Transcription

1. [מעשי חדשות פלא כול אלה] עשה פלא בנסתרות עד ובל
2. [] כול דברי דעת נהיו כל הוי עד ומדעתו
3. [ומזמו] תיו היו כול תעודות עולמים עושה ראישונות
4. [לתעודו] תיהם ואחרונות למועדיהם ואין בידעים נגלי
5. [פלא] להבין לפני עשותו ובעשותו לא ישכילו כול
6. [עושי צד] ק מה יזום כיא ממעשי כבודו הם לפני היותם
7. [ממחשב] תו (vacat)
8. [למשכיל שי] עולה השבת הששית בתשעה לחודש
9. [השני הללו א] ל[נה] י אלים יושבי מרומי רומים
10. [ק] ודש קדשים ורוממו כבודו

11.] דעת אלי עולמים
12.] קרואי רום רומים
13.] בכל קודש
14.]
15.]
16.]
17.] לי [יו
18.] ל
19.]
20.] ת
21.]

Masada ShirShabb i: Notes on the Transcription

Overlap with 4Q402 4 is underlined in the transcription. In line 2 MasShirShabb i reads כול דברי דעת נהיו כל הוי עד. The corresponding line in 4Q402 4 reads כיא מאלוהי דעת נהיו כול. One might assume that these are simple textual variants, but the discrepancy is better accounted for by assuming that the Masada text is haplographic, with כול דברי דעת כיא becoming simply כול דברי דעת מאלוהי דעת when the scribe's eye slipped from one occurrence of דעת to the next. The syntax and parallelism of the text favor נהיו כול הוי עד כיא מאלוהי דעת as the phrase expected before

c	b	a
כול הוי עד	נהיו	-----
כול תעודות עולמים	היו	ומדעתו [ומזמו]תיו

The phrase כיא מאלוהי דעת, preserved in 4Q402, completes the parallel structure. The phrase כול דברי דעת from MasShirShabb i 2 does not.

Masada ShirShabb i: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. בנסחרות עד ובל. The traces following פלא are very difficult. The first trace seems plausible for the lower corner of *bet*. *Nun* or *gimel* is possible for the following letter (cf. נגלי in line 4 below). The third letter may be *samek*, although *samek* in ii 25 is more rounded. The last

letter of the first group may be *taw*. The traces immediately following *taw* are ambiguous, but after them, *dalet* is clear. Very tentatively, then, one might read *בְּנִסְתָּרוֹת עַד*. Although the scribe often leaves very little space between words, *dalet* virtually touches the first letter of the following word, *וְבָל*.

Line 2. After *כֹּל* and before *דַּעַת* there are traces of three or four letters. The downstroke of the first letter could be *zayin* or the right leg of *dalet*, *he*, or *het*. Traces of the head and base of the following letter suggest *bet* or perhaps *kap*. The following two traces are too indistinct to identify with any certainty, though the first contains a vertical descender. While the reading is quite tentative, *דְּכָרִי* or *חֲרָבִי* would fit the traces. *חֲכָמִי*, though less likely, is not impossible.

Line 6. For the first trace *qop* is materially better than final *mem*.

Line 8. *שִׁיר* or *שִׁיר*[°]. The traces are very fragmentary and are restored according to parallels from 4Q403 1 i 30, etc.

Masada ShirShabb i: Translation

1. [...wondrous new works. All these things] He has done wondrously together with those things which are eternally hidden. And not
2. [...] all the words of < knowledge. For from the God of > knowledge came into being everything which exists forever. And from His knowledge
3. [and] His [purposes] have come into existence all things which were eternally appointed. He makes the former things
4. [in] their [seasons] and the latter things in their due time. And there are none among those who have knowledge
5. who can discern [His wondrous] revelations before He makes them. And when He acts all [those who do righteousn]ess cannot comprehend
6. that which He purposes. For they are part of His glorious works; before even they existed,
7. [they were part of] His [pla]n.
8. [By the instructor. Son]g of the sacrifice of the sixth Sabbath on the ninth of the [second] month
9. [Praise the G]o[d] of elim, O you inhabitants of the height of heights.
10. [...] most holy. And exalt His glory

11. [...k]nowledge of the eternal elim
12. [...] the dignitaries of the height of heights
13. [...] with all holiness
- 14-16. [...] 17. [...]oo[...] His 18. [...]o 19-20. [...]o 21. [...]o

Masada ShirShabb i: Comments

For comments to lines 1-7 see notes to 4Q402 4.

Lines 8-9.

The reconstruction of lines 8 and 9 is based on the standard introductory headings preserved in 4Q400 1 i 1 and 4Q403 1 i 30-31. See also 4Q400 3 ii 8; 4Q401 1-2; 4Q403 ii 18.

Line 10. ורוממו כבודו

In the introductory portions of the Sabbath songs the initial call to praise (הללו) is usually followed by at least one more imperative sentence of praise and sometimes by a series of such calls to praise. Compare Pss 29:1-2; 66:1-4; 81:2-4; 96:1-3; 105:1-3; 148:1-5; etc.

Line 11. אלי עולמים

Angelic epithets of this pattern are common in the Sabbath Shirot (e.g., אלי דעת, אלי אור, אלי הוד, אלי רום, אלי רום). The use of אלים for the angels in other QL is well attested. For discussion of the terms and a list of occurrences see Y. Yadin, *War Scroll*, 230.

Line 12. קרואי רום רומים

The term קרואי undoubtedly derives from Num 1:16 (אלה קרואי [Ketib, (העדה נשיאי מטות אבותם ראשי אלפי ישראל הם [קריאי]. See also Num 16:2; 26:9. The words parallel to קרואי in Numbers, נשיאי and ראשי, are the pair of terms frequently used in the Sabbath Shirot to designate the highest angels. שמים לרום is, of course, an epithet for heaven (cf. Prov 25:3, וארץ לעמק).

Masada ShirShabb ii: Transcription

1. ל[א]לוה^{oo}]י עולמים בשבעה ברכות פלאיה וברך]
2. למל^{oo}]ך כול קדושי עולמים שבעה בשבעה]
3. דברי^{oo}] ברכות פלא תהלת גדל בלשון השני למלך]
4. אמת^{oo}] צדק בשבעה גדולות פלאיה וגדל לאל]

5. כּוֹל אֱלֹ[והי נועדי צדק שבעה בשבעה דברי]
6. גדול[ות פלא תהלת רומם בלשון השלישי לנשיאי]
7. רוֹשׁ[רומם אמתו למלך מלאכים בשבעה רומי פלאה]
8. רוֹמָם[ם לאלוהי מלאכי רום שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי]
9. פלא[תהלת שבח בלשון הרביעי לגבור על כול]
10. אלהים[בשבע גבורות פלאה ושבח לאלוהי גבורות]
11. שבעה בֹ[שבעה דברי תשבחות פלא תהלת הודות]
12. בלשון החמישי לְ[מלך הכבוד בשבעת הודות פלאיה]
13. יודו לאל הכבוד שבעֹ[ה בשבעה דברי הדות פלא]
14. [תה] לת רנן בלשון הששי לְ[אל הטוב בשבעה רנות]
15. [פלאיה ורנן] למלך הטוב שבעֹ[ה בשבעה דברי רנות]
16. פֹ[לא תה] לת זמר בלשון השבֹ[יעי לנשיאי רוש]
17. זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבעֹ[ה זמרי נפלאותיה]
18. וזמר למלך הקודש שבעה בֹשֹ[מנה דברי זמרי]
19. פלא שבע תהלי ברכותיו שבעֹ[ת הלי גדל צדקו]
20. שבע תהלי רום מלכותו שבע תֹהלי[ת שבחות כבודו]
21. שבע תהלי הודות נפלאותיו שבע תהֹ[לי רנות עוזו]
22. [שבֹעֹ תהלי זמיר]ו[ת קודשו תולדות ֹֹ]
23. [ש]בֹעֹה בשעה דברי פלא דבֹ[רי]
24. [לנשיאי רוש יבר]ך בשם כבוד אלוהים לְכֹ[ול]
25. [בשבעה ד]בֹרי פלא לברך כול סודיֹ[הם במקדש]
26. [קודשו בשבעה דברי פלא וב]ֹ לידעי עולמיםֹ[]

Overlap with 4Q402 1 i 1-11 is underlined in the transcription.

Masada ShirShabb ii: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. לֹוֹהֹיֹ[א]י. Only the first *lamed* is certain, though the traces are compatible with the reconstruction proposed. According to the highly formulaic text one expects in this position either לֹוֹהֹי or לֹוֹהֹי רוֹשׁ. The requirements of space between this word and the next element beginning

with a *lamed* (line 2) favor לֹא־לוֹהִי over לֹנְשִׂיאִי. See charts below, especially element E.

Line 2. לֹמֶלֶךְ. As in line one, only the first *lamed* is certain. The interpretation again is guided by the formulaic pattern of the text, and the traces are interpreted as part of element H.

Line 3. דְּבָרִי. The downstroke of *dalet* could materially be that of *resh*. The base of *bet* is certain.

Line 4. אִמְחָוֹן. The traces after *mem* are quite ambiguous but seem to belong to two different letters.

Line 7. רוֹשׁ. Only a small trace of the right edge of *waw* is visible, but 4Q403 confirms the reading.

Line 8. רוֹמָם. Medial *mem* is probable, although *samek* is materially possible.

Line 16. פִּלָּא. For the base of *pe* see פִּלָּא in line 19 below.

Line 19. שְׁבַע תָּן. The two final traces belong to *taw* and not to two separate letters, e.g., *dalet*, *bet*. In any event, reading שְׁבַע דְּבָרִי would be difficult, since the base line of *bet* is regularly slanted and would break through the downstroke. Moreover, such a reading is excluded by the context.

Line 21. תְּהִלָּה and תְּהִלָּה. In both cases the head of *he* is broken but clear.

Line 23. פִּלָּא. The left and right arms of *alep* are visible, as well as the right leg. The left leg has been obscured by abraded leather. The outline of the damage is clear in the photograph. A spot of ink in the interlinear space further obscures the reading.

Line 26. מִן. The trace favors final *mem* over the final *kap* one would expect from context (for מִן), as the regular pattern of the blessings of the seven chief princes in 4Q403 l i 10-29 indicates. The same reading (מִן) is attested, however, in 4Q405 3 ii 1, which also overlaps the text of the Masada fragment at this point. It is possible that both MasShirShabb and 4Q405 derive from a corrupt archetype in which the ligatured *resh*, *kap* of מִן was misread as final *mem*.

Masada ShirShabb ii: Translation

[Psalm of blessing by the tongue of the first chief prince]

1. to the [eternal G]od [with its seven wondrous blessings; and he will bless]
2. the Kin[g *of all the eternal holy ones* seven times with seven]
3. words of [wondrous blessing. Psalm of magnification by the tongue of the second to the *king of*]
4. truth and [*righteousness* with its seven wondrous (songs of) magnification; and he will magnify the God of]
5. all the hea[venly beings who are *appointed for righteousness* seven times with seven words of]
6. [wondrous] magnificatio[n. Psalm of exaltation by the tongue of the third of the] chief
7. [princes, an exaltation *of His faithfulness, to the King of angels* with its seven wondrous exaltations;]
8. he will exal[t the God of lofty *angels* seven times with seven words of]
9. wondrous [exaltations. Psalm of praise by the tongue of the fourth to the Warrior who is above all]
10. heavenly beings [with its seven wondrous powers; and he will praise the God of power]
11. seven times with [seven words of wondrous praise. Psalm of thanksgiving]
12. by the tongue of the fifth to [the King of glory with its seven wondrous thanksgivings;]
13. *they* will give thanks to the God of glory seve[n times with seven words of wondrous thanksgivings.]
14. [Ps]alm of rejoicing by the tongue of the sixth to [the God of goodness with its seven wondrous songs of joy;]
15. [and he will cry joyously] to the King of goodness seven [times with seven words of wondrous rejoicing.]
16. [Ps]alm of praisesong by the tongue of the sev[enth of the chief princes,]
17. a mighty praisesong to the God of holiness with [its] seve[n] wondrous [praisesongs.]
18. and he will sing praise to the King of holiness seven times with s[even words of] wondrous [praisesong.]
19. Seven psalms of His blessings; seven p[salms of the magnification of

- His *righteousness*;
20. seven psalms of the exaltation of His kingdom; seven psalms of the p[raise of *His glory*];
 21. seven psalms of thanksgiving for His wonders; seven psa[lms of rejoicing in His strength];
 22. [sev]en psalms of praise for His holiness, *the nature* oo[...]
 23. [...s]even times with seven wondrous words, wor[ds of...*The first*]
 24. [of the chief princes will bles]s in the name of the glory of God a[ll the...]
 25. [...with seven] wondrous [wor]ds, *he will* bless all [their] councils [in the sanctuary of]
 26. [*His holiness* with seven wondrous words and *with*] *them* (*he will bless*) those who have knowledge of eternal things [...]

Masada ShirShabb ii: Comments

The text of MasShirShabb ii 6-26 overlaps with 4Q403 l i 1-11. This overlap allows the line length of col. ii of the Masada fragment to be calculated at ca. 32 cls. Since the length of the beginning of the Sabbath song of the sixth Sabbath can be estimated from the Masada fragment up to the point where overlap with 4Q403 l i begins (24 lines of ca. 32 cls. plus the haplographic omission of ca. 30 cls. preserved in MasShirShabb ii 7), and since the remainder of the song of the sixth Sabbath is preserved in 4Q403 l i 1-19, the length of the entire Sabbath song can be calculated at ca. 42 lines in 4Q403 or almost 80 lines in the Masada manuscript.

The content of the beginning of the sixth Sabbath song after the introductory call to praise cannot be reconstructed with certainty. It is possible that there was a formulaic account of the praise-offering of the tongues of the seven chief princes (analogous to the litany of the tongues of the seven angelic princes in the eighth Sabbath song, 4Q403 l ii 26-29 = 4Q405 11). Fragments of such an account may be preserved in 4Q401 3, but the placement of that fragment in the sixth Sabbath song cannot be definitively established. Beginning with MasShirShabb i 26 and continuing for the rest of the Sabbath song, the text originally contained two highly formulaic passages. Col. i 26-ii 23 contained a description of psalms spoken by each of the seven chief princes together with a summary listing of the seven types of psalms. In ii 24-26 there began a formulaic account

of the blessings uttered by each of the seven chief princes. Although only a small part of the text of this section is preserved in MasShirShabb, most of the relevant material is extant in 4Q403 1 i 10-29 (= 4Q405 3 ii).

Concerning the account of the psalms of the seven chief princes, substantial overlap with the parallel text of 4Q403 1 i 1-11 plus the highly formulaic nature of the language makes it possible to reconstruct many of the lines of the Masada text with near certainty (especially ii 8-22) and to supply good schematic supplements for several lines (especially ii 3-7). Each psalm is characterized by a theme word (or alternate words from a single root) which recurs at least three times (e.g., exaltation, רום/רום; praise, שבח/תשבחות) and which also occurs in the summary listing of the psalms in lines 19-23. The pattern of the description of the psalms can be seen schematically in the accompanying chart (p.178). For clarity material preserved in the Masada fragment is underlined with a solid line, that preserved in 4Q403 with a dotted line, and that preserved in 4Q405 with a double dotted line. Material not underlined is restored according to context.

Virtually nothing of the description of the first chief prince's psalm remains. Even the distinctive theme word ברכות can only be recovered from the summary listings of the psalms in MasShirShabb ii 19-22. Small portions of the description of the psalms of the second and third chief princes are extant in the various manuscripts. A haplography in 4Q403 1 i in the psalm of the third chief prince (from רום in element D to ורום in element G) is confirmed by the requirements of spacing in the Masada fragment (ii 6-8), even though little of the actual text is extant. Because of the highly formulaic nature of the text and the extensive degree of preservation of the text of the accounts of the fourth through the seventh psalms, those of the second and third chief princes can be reconstructed with virtual certainty, except for the precise wording of elements E and H.

The psalm descriptions occur in two slightly differing forms, with elements C and D occurring in numbers three and seven (and perhaps in one) but not in the other psalm accounts. The theme words which characterize each psalm description always occur in elements A, D, G, and I, usually in element F, and once in element H. In addition a secondary theme word may occur (גבורות for the fourth psalm, כבוד for the fifth, טוב for the sixth, and קודש for the seventh). This secondary theme word occurs primarily in

the divine epithets in elements E and H (though see also element F of the fourth psalm).

The formula *בשבעה דברי פלא* occurs regularly as element I in the accounts of the praise of each of the seven angelic princes. A similar formula occurs in the description of the blessings of these princes which immediately follows (see 4Q403 1 i 10-29). There each part of the threefold blessing is said to be pronounced *בשבעה דברי פלא*, *בשבעה דברי פלא גבורות פלא*, etc. (See the chart on p. 207, elements E, H, and L). In neither case, however, are the actual words of praise or blessing given. Consequently, it is difficult to decide whether the reference to "seven words" is merely a schematic use of the sacred number seven in a passage structurally governed by that number, or whether the author is referring to some tradition of an actual seven word formula of blessing or praise.

The use of the number seven can be attested in a number of places in ancient Jewish liturgical practice, especially in connection with the Sabbath. Already during the second temple period the Amidah, which on weekdays contained eighteen benedictions, contained only seven on Sabbaths. The central twelve petitionary prayers were replaced by a single Qedushat Ha-Yom (J. Heinemann, *Prayer* 21-22, 24). Finkelstein ("Development," 11-12) even attempted to reconstruct several of the Amidah benedictions according to a hypothetical original seven word text, but his investigations remain unconvincing. (See the criticisms of Heinemann, 44-45.) Ps 29, which was integrated into the Sabbath service of the synagogue, is associated in Rabbinic discussion with the blessings of the Amidah on the basis of this common seven-fold pattern. "To what do the seven blessings said on Sabbath correspond? R. Halefta b. Saul said: 'To the seven voices mentioned by David commencing with "on the waters,"' (b. Ber.29a), that is to say, to the seven-fold repetition of *קול יהוה*.

The book of Revelation provides what is possibly the closest analogy to the seven member formula of praise in the Sabbath Shirot. In Revelation the angels offer praise to God and/or to the Lamb with doxologies consisting of three (Rev 4:9), four (Rev 5:13), and seven predicates (Rev 5:12; 7:12). As both Charles (*Revelation I*, 149) and Bousset (*Offenbarung*, 261) have observed, in Rev 5:12 all seven predicates are governed by a single article as if they comprise a single word or formula. Both commentators also refer to 1 Chr 29:11-12 as providing examples of seven-part formulae of praise, though the structure of the formulae in Chronicles is more complex.

There does exist, then, a liturgical background for the use of seven-part formulae of praise, though it cannot be demonstrated that the author of the Shirot had in mind any particular existing seven-part sequence. It would be most interesting if one could establish that the seven primary or secondary theme words of the praise of the angelic princes were used as a specific seven-part formula in the liturgies of the Second Temple period. If they had been so used, then the angelic praise would be related to that of the human community and yet would be exponentially greater, for each of the seven words of human praise would be rendered by the angels through seven synonymous words of praise (e.g., ...תהלת שחב. פלא (שבעה בשבעה תשבוחות פלא). Thus far, I have not been able to establish such a connection, and since we possess very little of the liturgical material from Judaism of this period, it may not be possible to prove or disprove the suggestion.

Formulaic Pattern of the Psalms of the Seven Chief Princes

Second Chief Prince	First Chief Prince
A	A
תהלת גדל	תהלת ברכה
B	B
בלשון השני	בלשון הראישון
C	C
D	D
E	E
למלך <u>אמת</u> וצדק	<u>לאֱלוֹהִי</u> עולמים
F	F
בשבעה גדולות פלאיה	בשבעה ברכות פלאיה
G	G
וגדל	וברך
H	H
לא <u>כול</u> אֱלוֹהִי נועדי צדק	<u>למלך</u> כול קדושי עולמים
I	I
שבעה בשבעה דברי <u>גדולות</u> פלא	שבעה בשבעה דברי <u>ברכות</u> פלא

Material extant in the Masada fragment is here underlined.

Fourth Chief Prince

A

תהלת שבח

B

בלשון הרביעי

C

D

E

לגבור על כול אלהים

F

בשבע גבורות פלאה

G

ושבח

H

לאלוהי גבורות

I

שבעה בשבעה דברי תשובות פלא

Sixth Chief Prince

A

תהלת רנן

B

בלשון הששי

C

D

E

לאל הטוב

F

בשבעה רנות פלאה

G

ורנן

H

למלך הטוב

I

שבעה בשבעה דברי רנות פלא

Third Chief Prince

A

תהלת רומם

B

בלשון השלישי

C

לנשיאי רוש

D

רומם אמתו

E

למלך מלאכים

F

בשבעה רומי פלאיה

G

רומם

H

לאלוהי מלאכי רום

I

שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי פלא

Fifth Chief Prince

A

תהלת הודות

B

בלשון החמישי

C

D

E

למלך הכבוד

F

בשבעת הודות פלאיה

G

יודו

H

לאל הכבוד

I

שבעה בשבעה דברי הודות פלא

Seventh Chief Prince

A

תהלות זמר

B

בלשון השביעי

C

לנשיאי רוש

D

זמר עוז

E

לאלוהי קודש

F

בשבעה זמרי נפלאותיה

G

וזמר

H

למלך הקודש

I

שבעה בשבעה דברי זמרי פלא

Line 1. ל[א]לוה[י] עולמים בשבעה ברכות פלאיה וברך

This schematic reconstruction is based on elements E, F, and G of the formulaic pattern. The presence of two successive lines beginning with *lamed* (lines 1 and 2) points to elements E and H, or, somewhat less likely in view of the rather short line length of this manuscript, to elements C and H.

Line 2. למלך כול קדושי עולמים שבעה בשבעה

The reconstruction, based on elements H and I of the formulaic pattern, is slightly short but not improbably so. The angelic title *קדושי עולמים* is modelled after the similar epithet in 4Q403 1 13, *טהורי עולמים*.

Line 3. דברי] ברכות פלא תהלת גדל בלשון השני למלך

The reconstruction of the form *גדל* is dictated by the appearance of that form in the overlapping text of 4Q405 3 i 10 (cf. also 4Q403 1 i 8; 4Q405 3 i 11). Since *לשון* is elsewhere construed as feminine in the Sabbath songs (see 4Q403 1 ii 27-29 = 4Q405 11), the ordinals following *בלשון* are taken as nominalized forms in the genitive, governed by *לשון*.

As is apparent in the third and seventh psalm accounts, the ordinals refer to the seven chief princes.

Line 4. [אמת ו]צדק בשבעה גדולות פלאיה וגדל לאל]

The phrase אמת וצדק occurs elsewhere in 4Q401 5 6. The fem. sg. suffix on פלאיה must refer either to תהלת or to לשון. The plural noun פלאיה and its singular counterpart פלאה are used interchangeably in the account of the angelic princes' psalms. See 4Q403 1 i 2 (פלאה) and 4Q403 1 i 4 (פלאיה).

Line 5. [כול אל]והי נועדי צדק שבעה בשבעה דברי]

The supplements here are schematic only, intended to harmonize with the reconstruction of element E above (למלך אמת ו]צדק). The epithet נועדי צדק occurs in 4Q403 1 i 27, where it appears to refer to angelic beings.

Lines 6-7. גדולות פלא תהלת רומם בלשון השלישי לנשיאי]רוש

Overlap with 4Q403 1 i begins here, indicated by underlining in the transcription. Since it is unlikely that לנשיאי רוש is to be construed as designating the recipient of the psalm ("psalm of exaltation by the tongue of the third to the chief princes"), the phrase should be understood as a periphrastic genitive after השלישי ("by the tongue of the third of the chief princes"). All the psalms appear to be addressed to God, not to the other angels (see elements D and G). The seven chief princes, who bless the angels in the name of God (see below), are apparently the high priestly archangels of the heavenly sanctuary. Their priestly character is attested in numerous places in the Sabbath songs.

Line 7. [רומם אמתו למלך מלאכים בשבעה רומי פלאה]

The text of 4Q403 1 i 1 is haplographic. MasShirShabb ii 7 must have contained elements D-F, though unfortunately this material is lost in the lacuna. The schematic reconstruction is modelled after the psalm account of the seventh chief prince. אמתו appears to be preserved in 4Q405 3 i 13, though there are problems with the text there. The epithet למלך מלאכים (element E) should reflect the same secondary theme word as element I. In element I (4Q403 1 i 1), however, the reading מלאכי is quite uncertain. It will, however, serve for this schematic reconstruction.

Lines 8-9. רומ]ם לאלוהי מלאכי רום שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי]פלא

Though formally ambiguous, רומם is probably to be taken as a finite verb rather than a noun. Cf. the verbal יודו in line 13 below (= יודה in

4Q403 1 i 4) which occurs in a parallel statement. The expression שבעה רומי פלא is difficult. One might take שבעה בשבעה as a construction similar to יום ביום or כד בכד and translate with a distributive sense, "with each of seven words." Alternatively, one could take the first occurrence of שבעה as a multiplicative ("seven times with seven words"). Although the multiplicative in BH is expressed by the form שבע, apparent errors in the use of masculine and feminine forms of the numerals in 4Q403 (e.g., שבעה רנות) suggest that the form שבעה may be simply a phonetic spelling of שבע, reflecting the weakening of the guttural *ayin*. In the present instance the spelling is doubtless influenced by the proximity of שבעה, the historically correct form of the numeral in the phrase בשבעה רומי פלא.

רומי is also difficult. BH and MH attest רום, "height, loftiness, haughtiness;" but that nuance is not appropriate here. In the descriptions of the psalms of the other chief princes the words corresponding to רומי are תשובחות (line 11), הדות (line 13), רנות (line 15), and זמרי (line 18). Accordingly, one should probably see in רומי a word for a type of praise, e.g., "exaltations."

Lines 9-10. תהלת שבח בלשון הרביעי לגבור על כול [אלהים]

The noun שבח is not found in BH and is rare in QL. It occurs in the Hebrew of Sir 44:1 and is well attested in MH. בלשון הרביעי is elliptical for "by the tongue of the fourth chief prince," See line 16, בלשון השביעי, לנשיאי רוש. For גבור as a divine title see Ps 24:8 (יהוה גבור מלחמה), reflected in lQM xii 8 (וגבור מלחמה, parallel to מלך הכבוד).

Line 10. [בשבע גבורות פלאה]

According to the formulaic pattern of the psalms, one expects here in element F an occurrence of the primary theme word of the fourth psalm (תשובחות/שבח) rather than the secondary theme word. See chart above.

Ibid. [ושבח לאלוהי גבורות]

Translate "God of power" (cf. Job 41:4), not "God of Powers." There is no warrant for taking גבורות as an angelic title, equivalent to Greek *dýnamis* (Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:24; Eph 3:10), although such an interpretation cannot be definitely excluded. It is not the practice in the Sabbath Shirot, however, to use feminine abstract nouns for angelic titles. Instead, masculine nouns are favored (e.g., גבורי שכל, קדושי קדושים, etc.).

Line 13. יודו לאל הכבוד שבע[ה בשבעה דברי הדות פלא]

4Q403 1 i 4 reads יודה לאל הנכבד. One does not expect a plural verb here. Cf. the corresponding forms in element G--רומם (line 8), ושבח (line 10), ורנן (line 15), וזמר (line 18). Consequently, the reading יודה in 4Q403 1 i 4 is to be preferred here. The divine epithets לאל הכבוד and לאל הנכבד are merely free variants. For לאל הנכבד cf. 1QS vi 27 (בשם אתה שר אלים ומלך) 8 x 1QH. The plural נכבדים, refers to angels in 1QH x 8 (הנכבד) and in the Shirot in 4Q400 2 2 (המה נכבדים).

Lines 14-15. [תה]ל רנן בלשון הששי ל[אל הטוב בשבעה רנות פלאיה]

In BH and MH only the feminine רנה is attested, not the masculine רנן. The Sabbath songs show a strong tendency, however, to prefer masculine noun forms over feminine ones. The form רנן does not occur elsewhere in the Shirot. It is not clear how the word should be vocalized, though one should probably not vocalize *rōnān*, which would be spelled רונן in 4Q403 and in MasShirShabb. Although neither אל הטוב nor מלך הטוב (line 15) can be paralleled precisely in QL, טוב is prominent as an attribute of God in the Hodayot. Cf. 1QH x 16 (בגדול טובכה) and also vii 30; xi 6, 9, 31; xii 21; xiii 16; xiv 17; xviii 14. Note the lack of gender agreement between שבעה and רנות, unless שבעה is taken as phonetic spelling for שבע.

Line 17. זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבע[ה זמרי נפלאותיה]

The phrase זמר עוז is perhaps derived from Exod 15:2 (עזי וזמרת יה). The use of נפלאותיה instead of the form פלאה which occurs in the other psalm accounts may be intended to give a slightly climactic effect to the psalm of the seventh chief prince.

Lines 19-22.

These lines recapitulate the psalms of the seven chief princes, employing the characteristic theme word of each one, רום, גדל, ברכות, זמרות, רנות, הודות, תשבוחות. In each case (except that of ברכותיו) the theme word occurs as the *nomen regens* of a construct phrase. The suffix on the *nomen rectum* is better taken as referring to God than to the angelic prince. I have made schematic reconstructions for the *nomen rectum* in the cases of גדל צדקו and תשבוחות כבודו. At the conclusion of the summary of the psalms of the angelic princes the word תולדות appears. Because of the broken condition of the text, neither the nuance of the word ("generation, origin, nature") or its syntactical function can be determined.

Line 22. זמיר[ו]ת קודשו

Note the *plene* spelling of the unaccented long *i* in זמירות. The spelling of the MT (זמרות) is followed in 4Q400 3 ii 1.

Line 24. לנשיאי רוש

The formulaic description of the blessings of the seven chief princes begins here. In 4Q403 1 i 10 the word before לנשיאי is mostly lost in a lacuna. The final *mem* which concludes that word is clearly preserved, however, giving rise to a problem. Judging from the accounts of the blessings of the other chief princes, one would have expected that of the first chief prince to begin הראישון לנשיאי רוש. It is not apparent how one should restore the phrase in 4Q403 1 i 10 and MasShirShabb ii 23-24.

Line 25. לברך

The infinitive should probably be taken as a substitute for the finite form יברך, which is regularly found in this position in the formulaic blessings preserved in 4Q403 1 i 10-29.

Ibid. סודי[הם במקדש קודשו

The angelic councils are similarly referred to in 4Q403 1 ii 22 (במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש), where they appear to be associated with seven angelic priesthoods.

Line 26. ונ[ם]

One expects יברך here. See the notes on the readings.

4Q403: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q403: Material Description

The leather of 4Q403 is thin, a light buff in color, staining to a light red. The surface is smooth, sub-glossy, and has a tendency to be lost in many small and large patches. There are clear vertical and horizontal dry lines. The back is coarser in preparation, between buff and light grey in color. The top margin is preserved to 11 mm. in col. i and to 8 mm. in col. ii. Space between columns: 10 mm. between vertical dry lines. Space between horizontal dry lines: 3-4 mm. Height of average letter (e.g., *dalet*, *resh*): 1.5 mm. Width of column (col. i): 10:3 cm. or approximately 72 ls. Photos: PAM 42.182; 42.807.

4Q403: Orthography

The pronominal suffixes are primarily the forms standard in the MT (ו-, תו-, הו-, לו-, יו-, תיו-, ה-, בה-, יה-, ם-, תם-, יהם-). Note, however, the phonetic spelling קירותו (1 i 43) for MT קירותיו, and probably קדושו (1 i 31) for MT קדושיו. Cf. נפלאותיו (1 i 19). למו (1 i 28), though found occasionally in poetic texts in BH, is more common in QL. The forms פלאה (1 i 2) and פלאיה (1 i 4) occur in parallel expressions. These forms are probably to be interpreted as the standard spellings of the 3d fem. sg. suffix on singular and plural nouns, respectively. Alternatively, if the *alep* of פלא no longer retains its consonantal force, it could be that the scribe is treating פלא according to the pattern of the third-he noun, which sometimes takes *yod* before suffixes on the singular noun. See GKC §93ss.

Yod is *mater lectionis* for long *i* but not for short *i*. Note שניים (1 ii 19: MT שנים) in which both the *yod* of the stem and the *yod* of the plural ending are written. *Yod* is also *mater* for *ê* from *ay*, but generally not for *šere*. Note, however, the sporadic occurrences of אילי (1 i 38; ii 33; and perhaps 1 i 18), which is usually written אלי in 4Q403. Note also the phonetic spelling מראי (1 ii 18) for the construct singular (MT *mar^{eh}*).

Waw is used much more extensively. With occasional exceptions, every vowel originating from *u*, long or short, accented or unaccented, is represented by *waw*, as is *ô* from *aw* and *ô* from *ā*. Note, however, הדות (1 i 4), elsewhere in 4Q403 spelled הודות; כל (1 i 38), elsewhere in 4Q403 always כול; עז (1 i 39) and עוז (1 i 6; cf. also עוזו, 1 i 9). The form שונועי (1 i 27 and ii 30) is perhaps best understood as MT שנוע ("heptad"), with the first *waw* taken either as a retention of an original short *u* in an open unstressed syllable or as a *shewa* pronounced like the vowel in the following syllable.

The quiescence of *he* is reflected in the spellings טוהר טהורים (1 i 42) and מלך הטהור (1 ii 26). MT ראש is consistently spelled phonetically (רוש) except in 1 ii 34 (ראוש). Both the compound spelling כיא (1 i 34, 38) and the traditional MT orthography כי (1 i 32) occur in 4Q403. A weakening of *ayin* may be responsible for the apparent confusion of שבע and שבעה (שבעה רנות, 1 i 4; שבע רזי דעת, 1 ii 27; possible use of שבעה as a multiplicative in 1 i 3).

For אורתם (1 i 45), אורתום (1 ii 1), and רוקמת (1 ii 1) see notes *ad loc.* For תשבוחות (1 i 3), תושבחות (1 i 31), and תשבחות (1 i 33; etc.) see notes to the orthography of 4Q400.

4Q403: Paleography

The minute hand of 4Q403 is an early Herodian formal hand. The script is slightly later than that of 4Q404 (ca. 25-1 B.C.). The axis and left leg of *alep* are made in a continuous movement, overlapping at the top in an inverted "v" shape, as in other early Herodian hands. The right arm is often thickened or bent to the left at the top (1 i 1: לנשיאי; 1 i 2: פלאה; 1 i 4: פלאיה). *Bet* retains the tick on the right shoulder as in late Hasmonean scripts, but the base line is drawn as a separate left-to-right stroke (1 i 3: הכבוד; 1 i 21: יברך בשם; 1 i 38: כיא). Medial *kap* retains some rather archaic features. The head is narrow and deeply ticked. The downstroke is often bent sharply in and then out in a figure-three form (1 i 3: הכבוד; 1 i 31: הכבוד; 1 i 38: כיא). Final *kap* shows the same sharp tick at the right side of the head (1 i 21: יברך; 1 i 22: דרך). Medial *mem* is made in the Herodian fashion with the left oblique drawn upwards, looping down to form the right downstroke and base. A short stroke is added to the top of the left oblique to complete the letter (1 i 18: לרחמי; 1 i 24: ממיסדי, second *mem*; 1 i 34: מרומים, second *mem*).

There are two distinct forms of final *mem* represented in 4Q403. One is the typical late Hasmonean-early Herodian final *mem* in which the left downstroke frequently breaks through the upper crossbar (1 i 1: רומם). The other type resembles the older Hasmonean medial *mem* and may exhibit semi-cursive influence. The crossbar usually begins without a tick but bends down and then up, looping into the downstroke which curves in and then out before turning into the baseline. The letter is completed with a short left downstroke which begins flush with the crossbar (1 i 31: אלוהים; 1 i 33: למרום אלוהים). *Ayin* is drawn in the early Herodian manner. The right arm is sharply bent at the tip and straight. The left arm is curled inward or thickened at the tip, and the stance is more horizontal than in Hasmonean hands (1 i 1: שבעה בשבעה; 1 i 5: שבעה; 1 i 44: רקיע). The right arms of *shin* are frequently bent up or thickened at the tip, in keeping with the late Hasmonean-early Herodian style. The middle stroke sometimes breaks through, but the left downstroke seldom breaks through at the bottom (1 i 1: שבעה בשבעה; 1 i 2: שבח, twice; 1 ii 18: למשכיל).

4Q403 1 i 1-29: Transcription

[תהלת רומם בלשון]

1. השלישי לנשיאי רוש רומם לאלוהי [מ] לאכ"י רום שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי פלא
2. תהלת שבח בלשון הרבי [עי] לגבור על כול [אלוהים] בשבע גבורות פלאה ושבח לאלוהי
3. גבורות שבעה בשבע [ה] דברי תשבח [ות פלא תה] לת [ה] ודו"ת בלשון החמישי [י] ל [מ] ל [ר] הכבוד
4. בשבעת הו [ד] ות פלאיה לודה לאל הנבד ש [בעה בש] ב [עה דב] רי הדות פלוא [תהלת רנן]
5. בלשון הששי לאל [ה] טוב בשבעה רנות [פלאיה ו] רנן למ [לך ה] טוב שבעה בש [בעה דברי] רנות
6. פלא (vac) תהלת [זמר בל] שון השביעי לנש [יאי רוש] זמר עוז [לאלו] הי קו [דש] בש [בעה זמרי]
7. נ [פ] ל [א] ות [ה ו] זמר [ל מלך ה] דוש שבעה ב [שבעה ד] ברי זמ [רי פלא שב] ע תה [לי ברכותיו שב] ע

8. [תהל] י גדל [צדקו שבע תהלי] רום מלכו [תו שבע] תהלי [תשבחות כבודו שב] ע
 ת [הלי הודות נפלאותיו]

9. [שבע תהלי ר] נ [ו] ת עוזו שבע [תהלי זמירו] ת קודשו ת [ולדות] ס
 [שבעה בשבעה]

10. [דברי פלא דברי] ס לנשיאי ר [וש יברך] בשם כ [בו] ד אלוהים ל [כול]
 ס כל [בשבעה דברי]

11. [פלא לברך כול סודיה] ס במקדש [קודשו בשב] עה ד [ב] רי פל [א וברך לידו] עי
 עולמ [י] ס [השני]

12. [בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם] אמתו לכול מע [מדיהם ב] שב [עה] דבר [י פלא וברך]
 ב [שבעה דברי] [פלא]

13. [וברך לכול מרוממי ה] מלך בשבעת ד [ברי] כ [ב] ו [ד] נ [פלאותו לכול]
 טהורי עולמים הש [לישי]

14. [בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם] רום מלכותו [לכול רו] מי [ד] עת בש [בעת ד] ברי
 ר [ו] ס ולכול [אלי]

15. (vacat)

16. דעת [אמתו] יברכ בשב [ע] ה דברי פלא וברך לכול [נועד] י צדק [בשבעה ד] ברי
 פלא [הרביעי]

17. בנש [יאי רו] ש יברך בש [ס] הו [ד המ] לך לך [ול] הול [כי יו] שר ב [שב] עה דברי
 ה [וד] [וברך ליוסד] י הוד [בשב] עה

18. דבר [י פלא ו] ברך לכול אי [לי קרו] בים דעת אמ [תו בשבע] ה דברי צדק לרחמי
 כ [ב] ודו [החמיש] י

19. בנש [יאי רוש] יברך בשם [הוד] נפאותיו ל [כו] ל [יודעי רזי] ס טוהר
 בשבעה ד [ברי] רום

20. אמת [ו וברך] לכול נמהרי רצונו בשבעה [דברי פלא וב] ר [ך] לכול מודי לו
 בשבעה [דב] רי הוד

21. [ל] הודי [פלא] הששי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם [גבורות] אליס לכול גבורי שכל
 בשבעה

22. ד]בְּרִי גְבוּרוֹת פִּלְאוּ וּבִרְךְ לְכוֹל תְּמִימִי דֶרֶךְ בְּ[ש]בַע דְּבָרִי פִלְא ל[ת]מִיד
עִם כּוֹל הוּי
23. [עוֹל]מִ[י]ם וּבִרְךְ לְכוֹל חוֹכִי לוֹ בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרִי [י פִלְא ל[מ]שׁוּב רְ[חֲמִי] חֲסִדִּי
[הֶשֶׁב] יַעֲי בְּנִשְׂאֵי רוֹשׁ
24. יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם קוֹדְשׁוֹ לְכוֹל קְדוּשִׁים מִמִּסְדֵּי ד[עֵת] בְּשִׁבְ[עָה] דְּבָרִי קוֹדֶשׁ פִּלְא[ו]
וּבִרְךְ ל[כּוֹל מְרִימִי
25. מִשְׁפָּטִיו בְּשִׁבְ[עָה דְּבָרִי פִלְא לְמַגְנִי עוֹז וּבִרְךְ לְכוֹל נוֹ[עֲדִי] צִדְ[ק מֵה] לְלִי
מַלְכוּת כְּבוֹדוֹ] [נֶצַח
26. בְּשִׁבְעָה דְ[בְרִי פִלְא ל[שְׁלוֹם עוֹלָמִים וְכוֹל נִשְׂאֵי] רוֹשׁ יִבְרַכּוּ יְה[וָה] ל[א]ל[ו]הִי
אֱלֹהִים ב[שֵׁם קוֹדְשׁוֹ ב[כּוֹל
27. שׁוֹבְעֵי תְ[עוֹדוֹתָם ו] בְּרַכּוּ לְנוֹעֲדֵי צֶק וְכוֹל בְּרוּכִים[. בְּרוּכִי
עוֹל[ל]מִ[י]ם [
28. לְמוֹ בְּרוּךְ [ה]אֲד[וֹנִי וְ]מֶלֶךְ [ה]כּוֹל מַעֲלָה לְכוֹל בְּרַכָּה וְת[שְׁבָחוֹת וּבִרְךְ לְכוֹל
קְדוֹ]שִׁים מְבֻרָכְ[יָו וּמַצְדִּי]קִי[ו]
29. בְּשֵׁם כְּבוֹדוֹ [וּב]רְךְ לְכוֹל בְּרוּכִי עַד (vacat)

Overlap with MasShirShabb is indicated with dotted underlining.

Overlap with 4Q404 is indicated with broken underlining. Overlap with 4Q405 is indicated with solid underlining.

4Q403 l i 1-29: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. ^{ooo}לֹאֲלוֹהִי [מ]לֹאכִי רוֹשׁ. The surface of the leather is damaged. The traces after the third *lamed* are highly ambiguous but are not good for [מ]לְכוֹת. The reading [מ]לֹאכִי is possible but not certain.

Line 4. ^{oo}יֹודָה. The two initial traces are spaced too far apart to be the legs of *he*. Nor does the top of the left trace favor the head of *he*. The traces do fit *yod* and *waw* well (cf. יֹודָה in line 38 below).

Ibid. ^sלֹאל הַנְּכַד. *Kap* was accidentally omitted from הַנְּכַד. A trace of ink appears over *bet* and may be part of an interlinear correction.

Ibid. רִנֵּן. The tail of final *nun* is unusually short here. The formulaic pattern of the text requires a noun here, however, not a verb such as רִנֵּן.

Line 5. לֹאֹל [ה]טוֹב. The traces between the two *lameds* fit *alep* better than *mem*, so restore לֹאֹל [ה]טוֹב rather than לִמְל [ך]טוֹב. For the traces identified as *tet* cf. טוֹהַר in line 19 below.

Line 7. נִפְּלָא [א]וּתִי הֵּ. The slight bend to the left is good for the head of *nun*.

Ibid. וְזָמַר לִמְלָךְ הַקֹּדֶשׁ. The reading לִמְלָךְ is confirmed by MasShirShabb ii 18 which reads וְזָמַר לִמְלָךְ הַקֹּדֶשׁ. The form הַקֹּדֶשׁ in 4Q403 is apparently a scribal error for הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

Line 8. שֶׁבַּח עֲתִי הֵלִי. The leather is badly twisted. The traces fit *ayin* well but are not good for *taw*. The reading, however, is confirmed by MasShirShabb.

Line 9. נִרְנוֹת. Compare רִנּוֹת in line 5.

Ibid. זָמַרְוֹת קוֹדֶשׁוֹ. The trace before קוֹדֶשׁוֹ is not good either for *resh* or *yod* but fits *taw* well.

Line 10. בְּשֵׁם כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהִים. The traces of *bet* and *shin* are very slight, only a bit of the base of *bet* and the top of the left arm of *shin* being preserved. Although the right shoulder of *dalet* is slightly damaged, the acute slant of the initial downstroke of the head distinguishes it from *resh*.

Ibid. כָּלִי. The head of the letter identified as *kap* is too curved for *pe*, ruling out נִפְלָאוֹת. The trace following *kap* looks like the lower part of *lamed*. Perhaps read שָׁכַל. The leather is somewhat distorted at the join.

Line 11. בְּשֵׁם עֲתִי דְּבִרְיָ פִלְא. The traces of *ayin* could materially be *bet*, but such a reading is ruled out by the context. *Dalet* is certain. Only a spot of ink is preserved where *resh* should be.

Line 12. אִמְתָּו. The angle of the first two traces after the lacuna fits the legs of *alep* well. A trace of the tail of *mem* is just visible. The broken letter interpreted as *taw* is not good for *nun*, which usually has a longer tail. Cf. נִמְהָרִי and רִצּוֹנוֹ in line 19.

Ibid. לְכוּל מְעָן. The *mem* is good, though the top is broken. The *ayin* is less certain, but cf. the *ayin* in the second occurrence of שְׁבַחַה in line 5 or עוֹז in line 9. The traces do not fit the crook of *lamed* or the head of *gop*.

Ibid. [ב.שֹׁבָה] דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא. *Shin* is broken, but enough of the left-hand portion is preserved to make the reading certain. Only a spot of ink from *resh* is preserved.

Line 13. בִּשְׁבַעַת דְּ[בְרִי] כָּל[וֹד] נִפְלְאוֹתָו. Only a few isolated traces of ink remain after בִּשְׁבַעַת. The reconstruction is based on 4Q405 3 ii 3.

Ibid. טְהוֹרִי עוֹלָמִים. The first trace after the lacuna is ambiguous but must be the left arm of *tet* (see 4Q405 3 ii 3). A trace of the right leg of *he* is next visible along with most of the left leg and left portion of the top of *he*. *Waw* is clear. *Resh* is distorted by a fold, but both the head and downstroke are preserved. The final *yod* is clear.

Lines 13-14. הֵשִׁי לִישִׁי בְּנִשְׂאֵי רוּשׁ. The head of *he* and a portion of the right leg are preserved at the end of line 13. The following trace belongs to *shin*. The restoration is certain from the highly formulaic language of the text and from the requirements of space in line 14.

Line 14. [לְכוּל רוֹ] מִי [דְּ] עֵת. The ligatured forms of *mem* and *yod* are just visible, as is the foot of *taw*. The reading is confirmed by 4Q405 3 ii 4.

Ibid. בִּשְׁבַעַת דְּ[בְרִי ר]וֹשׁ. The tips of the two right-hand arms of *shin* are visible. The head and base of *bet* in דְּבָרִי are damaged but certain. The left-hand edge of the head of final *mem* is just visible. Cf. line 23 below, בִּשְׁבַעַת דְּ[בְרִי] רוּשׁ.

Line 16. יִבְרַכְּ בְּשֹׁבָה [דְּ] עֵת. At the beginning of line 16 three small traces remain. The first is a vertical or diagonal descender, compatible with *dalet*. The second looks like the leg and left arm of *ayin*. The third is the right leg of *taw*. A fold in the leather obscures the rest of *taw*. In יִבְרַכְּ the *kap* is damaged, only the tail of it visible. The form seems to be that of a medial, not a final *kap*.

Lines 16-17. [הַרְבִּיעִי] בְּנִשְׂאֵי רוֹשׁ יִבְרַכְּ בְּשֹׁבָה [הוֹד] הֵם לֵךְ. The *shin* in רוּשׁ is certain. Cf. the *shin* in לְנִשְׂאֵי in line 1. The thick head of *he* in הוֹד is likewise sure. Only a tiny trace of the next letter is preserved.

Line 17. לֵךְ [וֹל] הוֹל כִּי. The head of *kap* is too pointed and narrow for *pe*.

Ibid. בִּשְׁבַעַת דְּבָרִי הוֹד. The lacuna after דְּבָרִי is very small, only 2-3 ls. A tiny trace of a letter visible after דְּבָרִי cannot be *pe* (for פֶּלֶא), since one would expect to see more of its baseline along the edge of the leather. הוֹד would fit the lacuna and the trace but is not certain.

Line 18. [°]וּ בְּרַךְ לְכוֹל אֵי [לִי קְרוּ] בֵּי־נָּתַן אִמְּנוּ. In the original publication of this fragment Strugnell read אֵל [יָם מְרוּ] מִים, but the reading of the *lamed* and of the medial *mem* is problematic. The trace interpreted as the tail of *lamed* is rather too long and not sufficiently slanted for *lamed*, though in support of *lamed* one might compare לְכוֹל in line 27 below. It is possible, however, to read אֵי [לִי] אֵי, a spelling found elsewhere in this text (4Q403 1 i 38; ii 33). Carmignac ("Règle," 563-64) has also noted that the trace identified as the tail of *mem* is too horizontal. The trace is better for the base of *bet* (*pe* and *kap* are perhaps possible but less likely). Lastly, the final *mem* appears to have been deleted, although it is possible that the mark is accidental.

Line 19. טוֹהַר. Two traces appear after the lacuna. The lower one belongs to the head of *lamed* in line 20.

Lines 19-20. ^{°°}וּ בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּ[בְרִי] רֹם אִמְּנוּ. Either רֹם or תֹּם is materially possible. The closely similar text from the eighth Sabbath song preserved in 4Q405 11 3 reads בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבְרִי רֹם טוֹהַר.

Lines 20-21. [°]וּ בְּשַׁבְּעָה [דְּב] רִי הוֹד [ל] הוֹדִי [פְּלֹא]. There is just room for *lamed* at the beginning of line 21. One expects to see some traces of the letter, but the leather is apparently abraded.

Line 23. [°]וּ לְ[מ] שׁוֹב רְ[חֲמִי] חֲסִדִּי. The top of *lamed* is clearly visible. The left arm of *shin* and a portion of the middle arm are clear.

Line 25. ^{°°}וּ נֹו[עֲדִי] צֹוֹק. The reading is most uncertain, though the proposed reconstruction fits the traces well. The phrase also occurs in line 27.

Line 27. [°]וּ לְנוֹעֲדִי צֹק וְכוֹל בְּרוּכִי. The last letter before the lacuna is difficult. It is too long and slanted for *waw*. Although the slant and straightness of the line are not really good for final *mem*, the *mem* in line 10 above (ם [לְנִשְׂיָאִי]) is rather similar. Although *taw* is materially possible, בְּרוּכִי would be contextually awkward.

Ibid. [°]וּ בְּרוּכִי כִי עוֹלָל מִלִּים. The width of the lacuna after בְּרוּכִי is ca. 20 ls. After the lacuna the first trace could be either *bet* or *kap*. If *kap*, perhaps read כִּי בְּרוּכִי.

Line 28. ^{°°}וּ בְּרוּךְ [ה] אֵל [ו] מֶלֶךְ [ה] כּוֹל. The traces after בְּרוּךְ are very slight. The third trace is either *nun* or *kap*. The reconstruction proposed is compatible with the traces if one takes the first trace as preserving the tip of the left leg of *alep* meeting the downstroke of *dalet*.

4Q403 1 i 1-29: Translation

Psalm of exaltation by the tongue]

1. of the third of the chief princes, an exaltation <of *His faithfulness to the King of angels* with its seven wondrous exaltations; he will exalt> the God of the lofty *angels* seven times with seven words of wondrous exaltations.
2. Psalm of praise by the tongue of the fou[rth] to the Warrior who is above all [heavenly beings] with its seven wondrous powers; and he will praise the God of
3. power seven times with seve[n] words of [wondrous] prais[e. Psalm of [th]anksgiving by the tongue of the fif[th] to the [K]in[g] of glory
4. with its seven wondrous thanks[gi]vings; he will give thanks to the God of glory s[even times with seven wo]rds of wondrous thanksgivings. [Psalm of] rejoicing
5. by the tongue of the sixth to [the] God of goodness with [its] seven [wondrous] songs of joy; [and] he will cry joyously to [the] Ki[ng of] goodness seven times with se[ven words of] wondrous rejoicing.
6. Psalm of [praisesong by the to]ngue of the seventh of the [chief] prin[ces,] a mighty praisesong to [the Go]d of hol[iness] with i[ts] se[ven]
7. w[on]drous [praisesongs. And] he will sing praise [to] the Kin[g of holi]ness seven times with [seven wo]rds of [wondrous] praise[song. Sev]en psa[lms of His blessings; seven]
8. [psalm]s of the magnification [of *His righteousness*, seven psalms of the] exaltation of [His] kingdom; [seven] psalms of the praise of [*His glory*; sev]en ps[alms of thanksgiving for His wonders;]
9. [seven psalms of re]joi[cing] in His strength; seven [psalms of] praise for His holiness, the n[ature...seven times with seven]
10. [wondrous words, words of...*The first*] of the chi[ef] princes [will bless] in the name of the g[lo]ry of God [all the...with seven]
11. [wondrous words; he will bless all their councils] in [His holy] sanctuary [with sev]en won[drous] w[or]ds; [and he will bless those who have know]ledge of eter[nal] things. [The second]
12. [of the chief princes will bless in the name of] His faithfulness all [their] sta[tions with] se[ven wondrous] wor[ds; and he will bless with] seven [wondrous] words;

13. [and he will bless all *who exalt*] the King with seven wo[rds of His
ma]rvelous g[l]o[ry, all those] who are eternally pure. The th[ird]
14. [among the chief princes will bless in the name of] His regal lofti-
ness [all the lof]ty ones of [know]ledge with se[ven wo]rds of
lof[ti]ness; and all [*the elim of*]
15. (*vacat*)
16. [*His faithful kn*ow[ledge] he will bless with sev[e]n wondrous words;
and he will bless all those [*appointed f*]or righteousness [with
seven] wondrous [wo]rds. [The fourth]
17. among the [chie]f pri[nces] will bless in the na[me] of the *maje[sty*
of the Ki]ng a[ll] who wa[lk in up]rightness with [sev]en words of
[majesty;] and he will bless those who establish [majesty] with sev[en]
18. [wondrous] word[s; and] he will bless all the e[lim who draw near
to His fa]ithful knowledge [with seve]n words of righteousness,
to be for [His gl]or[ious] compassion. The fifth
19. among the [chief] pri[nces] will bless in the name of His marvelous
[majesty] a[ll] [who know the mysteries of] the pure[...] with seven
w[ords] of [His] lofty
20. faithfulness; [and he will bless] all who are eager for His good
favor with seven [wondrous words; and he will b]le[ss] all who
confess His majesty with seven [wo]rds of majesty,
21. [to be for wondrous] thanksgiving. The sixth among the chief princes
will bless in the name of [the powers (manifested) in] the elim
all those with powerful insight with seven
22. [wo]rds of His marvelous powers; and he will bless all those whose
way is perfect with [se]ven wondrous words, to be for a [con]tinual
sacrifice for all
23. [ages] to come; and he will bless all who wait for Him with seven
wondrous word[s], to be for a [res]toration of His gracious com[passion].
The sev[enth] among the chief princes
24. will bless in the name of His holiness all the holy ones who establish
know[ledge] with sev[en] words of [His] wondrous holiness; [and he
will bless] all who exalt
25. His statutes with sev[en] wondrous [wor]ds, to be for strong shields;
and he will bless all who are *app[ointed for] righteous[ness, who*
pr]aise His glorious kingdom [...] forever,

26. with seven [wondrous] wo[rds, to be for] eternal peace. "And all the [chief] princes [will bless *togethe*]r the godlike hea[ven]ly [beings] in [*His holy name with*] all
27. [their] sevenfold app[ointed testimonies; and] they will bless those appointed for righteousness; and the bles[*sed...bles*]sed for e[ve]r[...]
28. to them. Blessed be *the Lord, the K[ing of]* all, above all blessing and *pr[aise. And He will bless all the holy]* ones who bless [Him and declare Him right]eous
29. in the name of His glory. [And He will] bless all the everlastingly blessed ones.

4Q403 l i 1-29: Comments

For discussion of lines 1-9 see notes to the fragment of the Sabbath Shirot from Masada. 4Q403 l i 1 is apparently haplographic. A conjectural restoration based on the formulaic structure of the passage is supplied in the translation. See notes to MasShirShabb ii 6-8.

Lines 10-29 contain an account in highly formulaic language of the blessings of the seven chief princes. (See the chart on p. 207). After an initial phrase identifying the particular chief prince who is to speak the words of blessing (e.g., *הששי בנשיאי רוש*, element A), a threefold blessing is described:

1. element B--verb of blessing (יברך)
 element C--invocatory phrase (...בשם)
 element D--indication of those blessed (...לכול)
 element E--words of blessing (...בשבעה דברי)
2. element F--verb of blessing (וברך)
 element G--indication of those blessed (...לכול)
 element H--words of blessing (...בשבעה דברי)
3. element J--verb of blessing (וברך)
 element K--indication of those blessed (...לוכל)
 element L--words of blessing (...בשבעה דברי)

In the case of the fourth and fifth princes the third part of the blessing concludes with a *lamed* clause (element M) indicating the benefit or result derived from the blessing (e.g., *לרחמי כבודו*). In the blessings of the sixth and seventh princes *lamed* clauses conclude both the second and third parts of the blessing (elements I and M). The expanded structure of

these latter blessings produces something of a climactic structure in the passage.

Having identified the highly formulaic character of the blessings of the seven chief princes, one is able to observe certain discrepancies in the pattern. Element G, the identification of the recipients of the blessing, is displaced in the account of the second chief prince and appears at the end of the blessing. The phrase in question, לכול טהורי עולמים, has the structure and meaning appropriate to element G and cannot be taken as a *lamed* clause of result, such as one finds in element M. In the blessing of the third chief prince elements F and G appear to be transposed. The reason for these dislocations is not apparent.

One might ask whether the blessings of the seven chief princes are addressed to angelic or human recipients (elements D, G, K). Most of the phrases are ambiguous, but in view of the overwhelmingly angelological focus of the Sabbath Shirot, I am inclined to see them as referring to the angels who worship in the heavenly temple. Unfortunately, the one explicit reference to angels (לכול אי[לי]) is a damaged reading. (There is a similar problem with the phrase למקדש [קודשו] לכול סודיה. If the third person suffix is correctly read, then the phrase most probably refers to the angels. Cf. the first person references to the human community in 4Q400 2 6-8.) The phrases which allude to the moral qualities of those blessed (e.g., לכול תמימי דרך, לכול הולכי יושר) certainly need not be taken as referring to human worshippers. The Sabbath Shirot refers to statutes promulgated for the angels through which they attain to purity and holiness (4Q400 1 i 5, 15) and describes the angels as obedient (4Q405 23 i 10-11). It is possible, however, that just as the human community joins with the angels in the praise of God (4Q400 2 6-8) they are also considered to be recipients of the blessings of the chief princes, along with the angelic worshippers.

Although the blessings of the angelic princes are not dominated by particular theme words, as is the case with the formulaic praises in lines 1-9, there is still a strong element of paronomasia in certain of the blessings. While there is no evidence of such word play in the blessings of the first and second princes, it is prominent in the others, but usually only in the first part (elements B-E) of the threefold blessing. In this section the use of a common word unites the divine epithet, the designation of the recipients, and the words of blessing.

- .III. יברך בשם רום מלכותו לכול רומי דעת בשבעה דברי רום
 .IV. יברך בשם הוד המלך לכול הולכי יושר בשבעה דברי הוד
 .VI. יברך בשם גבורות אלים לכול גבורי שכל בשבעה דברי גבורות פלאר
 .VII. יברך בשם קודשו לכול קדושים ממיסדי דעת בשבעה דברי קודש פלאר

An irregularity in the pattern occurs in the blessing of the fourth prince where the designation of the recipients does not contain the characteristic word for that blessing. It should be noted, however, that in the second part of the blessing of the fourth prince (element G) the recipients are designated as *ליסודי הוד*, thus continuing the play on *הוד*. Although the blessing of the fifth prince contains some lacunae, it does not appear that elements B-E contained similar paronomasia. Unlike the others, however, the blessing of the fifth prince contains word play in the third part of the tripartite blessing (elements J-M): *וברך לכול מודי לו: בשבעי דברי הוד להודי פלא*.

The three part structure of the blessings has been compared by Theodore Gaster (*Dead Sea Scriptures*, 286) to the priestly benediction in Num 6:24-27 on three grounds. First, the Aaronic formula also has three parts, which in some traditions were considered to be three blessings (m. Tamid 7:2). Second, the pronouncing of the blessing in the name of various divine epithets or qualities Gaster compares to Num 6:27 ("So they shall put My name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them"). Finally, Gaster notes that the conclusion of the Aaronic blessing in Num 6:26 (*וישם לו שלום*) is similar to the final clause of the blessing of the seventh chief prince (*לשלום עולמים*). It must be said, however, that the correspondences are of the most general nature. The detailed structure of the angelic blessings is quite different from that of the Aaronic blessing, and Gaster's claim that "these blessings are evidently conceived as the angelic counterpart of the Priestly Benediction" (*Dead Sea Scriptures*, 285-86), while intriguing, goes beyond the evidence.

Line 19. ׀ם לנשיאי ד/וש

The *mem* before *לנשיאי* is quite clear but difficult to explain. The pattern of the blessings leads one to expect *הראישון* before *לנשיאי רוש*. The use of *lamed* (*לנשיאי*) rather than *bet* (*בנשיאי*), as in the other extant headings, also suggests a divergent formula here, but its precise wording cannot be recovered.

Ibid. יברך] בשם כל] ד אלוהים

Overlap with MasShirShabb is indicated by a dotted line in the transcription. The phrase כבוד אלוהים is to be read "glory of God," not "glory of the heavenly beings." Cf. בשם הו[ד המ] לך, the corresponding element in the blessing of the fourth chief prince. And cf. בשם כבודו in the unison blessing of all the chief princes in line 29 below.

Ibid. ל]כול [כל [בשבעה דברי פלא

The *lamed* clause introduces the recipients of the blessing. The verb ברך rarely takes *lamed* in BH (see, however, Neh 11:2 and 1 Chr 29:20), but consistently takes *lamed* in this section and frequently elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot. In QH in general ברך takes its object in the accusative (cf. 1QS i 19; ii 1; 1QM xiv 3; xviii 6; etc.). The description of the recipients of the blessing is mostly lost in the lacuna, although the traces of letters (perhaps שכל) preserved on the right-hand shred of leather before the margin probably belong to that phrase.

Lines 10-11. [בשבעה דברי פלא

If כל is the last word of element D, then there is room for בשבעה דברי at the end of line 10. Line 11 would begin with פלא.

Line 11. לברך לכול סודיה]ם במקדש] קודשו

Although לברך is expected here as element F, I have restored לברך, following MasShirShabb ii 25, and taking לברך as the substitution of an infinitive for a finite verb. After במקדש the next letters preserved are *ayin, bet*, part of בשב[עה. Thus there is room after במקדש for one word, e.g., קודשו. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 42 (למקדש קודש[ו]) and 4Q400 1 i 7 (למקדשי). The organization of the angelic priests into councils in the heavenly sanctuary is reflected in 4Q403 1 ii 22 (כזה[נות] שבע למקדש פלא). Cf. also 4Q403 1 ii 19. (לשבעת סודי קודש

Ibid. וברך לידו]עי עולמ[י]ם

Overlap with 4Q405 3 ii begins here (underlined with a solid line in the transcription). 4Q405 3 ii 1 reads [ו]בם לידוע]י. MasShirShabb reads [ו]בם לידעי עולמים. The form "and with them" (and with them) does not make sense in this context where וברך is clearly expected. Presumably the archetype of 4Q405 and MasShirShabb misread a ligatured *resh, kap* as a final *mem*.

Lines 11-12. השני בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם]אמתו

Restored according to the pattern of the other blessings.

Line 12. לכול מע[מדיהם]

There are only about 5 ls. between the *ayin* and the next preserved letter, the *shin* in שב[עה ב. Hence a short supplement such as מעמדיהם is likely.

Ibid. ב[שב[עה] דבר[י פלא וברך ב]שבעה דברי [פלא

Here the expected pattern is disrupted. There is too much room simply to assume a dittography of פלא דברי פלא. It appears that element G, the object of וברך, has been omitted or, perhaps better, displaced, since element G appears to be preserved at the end of the blessing (לכול טהורי עולמים, line 13). 4Q405 3 ii reflects the same text as 4Q403. It is not clear whether one should speak of a stylistic variant in the pattern or, as I am inclined to do, of a textual error in the archetype of 4Q403 and 4Q405.

Line 13. [וברך לכול מרוממי ה]מלך

Element J (וברך) should be reconstructed at the beginning of line 13 rather than at the end of line 12. There are approximately 16-18 ls. before מלך in line 13. After וברך the restoration can be only schematic, but perhaps one could supplement something like מלך[ה מרוממי ה]מלך. The leather is broken immediately before מלך, making either מלך or המלך possible.

Ibid. בשבעה

Here in element L of the blessing of the second chief prince and in element E of the third prince's blessing (line 14 below = 4Q405 3 ii 4) the construct form of the numeral is used. Elsewhere the absolute form (בשבעה) is preferred. There is no apparent reason for the alternation.

Ibid. [לכול] טהורי עולמים

As noted above this phrase appears to preserve element G of the formulaic blessing of the second chief prince.

Line 14. יברך בשם] רום מלכותו

Cf. line 8 above (שבע תהלי רום מלכותו).

Ibid. [לכול רו]מי [ד]עת

For רומי as an angelic title neither the meaning in BH and MH ("height, loftiness") nor the meaning suggested above in line 1 for the phrase דברי רומי פלא ("exaltations") seems plausible. The simplest solution is to assume an adjectival form *rôm* ("lofty") alongside the noun *rûm*

analogous to the relationship between $\dot{t}\hat{o}b$ and $\dot{t}\hat{u}b$. The adjective $r\hat{o}m$ is otherwise unattested.

Lines 14-16. ולכול [אלי] דעת [אמתו] יברכ בשב[ע] דברי פלא

Line 15 was left blank by the scribe. Since the gap does not correspond to any break in the structure of the blessing, the line was probably omitted either to avoid damaged leather or through simple error. At the end of line 14 only slight traces of ink remain of the *waw* and *lamed* in לכול. There is room for one additional word at the end of line 14. At the beginning of line 16 the traces of three letters appear, perhaps דעת. After a gap of approximately 5-6 ls. comes יברכ. The restoration given above is schematic but plausible. Cf. line 18 below for the phrase דעת אמתו.

The pattern must have varied at this point. One expects element F (וברך) to follow בשבעה דברי רום in line 14 instead of element G (לכול [אלי] דעת [אמתו]), but it appears that elements F and G are interchanged, for יברכ (here one would have to read the imperfect) appears after לכול [אלי] דעת [אמתו] (element G).

Line 16. וברך לכול [נועד] י צדק

There are only about 3-4 ls. in the lacuna. According to similar expressions in the Sabbath Shirot, one expects a short participle or adjective, perhaps יסודי צדק (cf. 4Q405 3 ii 7, ליסודי ה[ו]ד) or לנועדי צדק (cf. line 27 below).

Ibid. בשבעה ד[ברי פלא]

There is room after פלא for only one more word. The beginning of line 17 (בנש[יאי רו]ש) requires that הרביעי be restored at the end of line 16.

Lines 16-17. בנש[יאי רו]ש יברך בש[ם] הו[ד] המ[לך]

After בשם one expects a divine quality or epithet (e.g., רום מלכותו, line 14; קודשו, line 24; but cf. גבורות אלים, line 21). The length of the lacuna suggests that one restore two short words rather than one long one. Thus perhaps restore הו[ד] המ[לך]. While the repetition of key words in these blessings does not have the regularity of the theme words in the psalms of lines 1-9, there is a degree of paronomasia, as the discussion above indicates. The occurrence of הו[ד] (certainly once and perhaps twice) in later phrases of the fourth blessing makes its occurrence here even more plausible.

Ibid. לכ[ול] הול[כי יו]שר

Cf. Prov 14:2 (הולך בישרו). Alternatively, supplement הול[כי י]שר with the adjective ישר taken adverbially, "those who walk uprightly," Cf. הולך תמים (Prov 28:18; etc.).

Ibid. וברך ליוסד[י הוד]

The parallel passage in 4Q405 3 ii 7 reads יסודי. Cf. also 4Q402 1 5 (לכול יסודי פשע). Although it is possible to appeal to scribal error as the source of the different forms in the parallel texts, note the similar alternation between the phrases ידועי עולמים (4Q405 3 ii 9; 4Q405 8-9 3-4) and לכול יודעי רזי] (4Q405 3 ii 9). GKC §50f and 84^a m posit a *qatûl* stative adjective (not to be identified with the passive participle) associated with both intransitive and transitive verbs (אחוזי, "handling," Cant 3:8; זכור, "mindful," Ps 103:14; ידוע, "knowing," Isa 53:3). Such forms are very close in meaning to active participles. Isa 53:3, וידוע, is in fact rendered by the active participle (ויודע) in 1QIsa^a. The *qatûl* forms with transitive, active meanings are more frequent in MH. See Segal §336.

Line 18. ו[ברך לכול אי]לי קרו[בי]ם דעת אמ[תו]

If the dot over final *mem* is indeed a mark of deletion and not simply an accidental blot, restore perhaps דעת אמ[תו] קרו[בי]ם. Cf. לקרובי דעת in 4Q400 1 i 6. If the *mem* is not to be deleted, the restoration would require a transitive, active participle which could take דעת אמתו as its object.

Line 19. יברך בשם [הוד] נפלאותיו

The surface of the leather is damaged after בשם. One could assume either that the copyist left the space uninscribed because of bad leather, or that a short word (e.g., הוד, הוד, כול) was originally written but has been lost due to the flaking or abrasion of the surface. The latter explanation is favored by the parallel text of 4Q405 3 ii 8, which would be rather shorter than average if some word were not restored after בשם.

Ibid. ל[כול] [יודעי רזי] .טוהר

The lacuna in 4Q403 is too large to restore merely יטויר. Part of one letter following רזי is preserved in 4Q405 3 ii 9, perhaps *bet* or *pe*. *Tet* or *mem* is less likely. Schematically, restore [יודעי רזי] יד[ו]עי בבית נס[תרות] 4 17 4Q401. Cf. בינ[ת] טוהר.

Line 20. לכול נמהרי רצונו [וברך]

Cf. 1QH v 21 (נמהרי צדק). Holm-Nielsen's opinion (*Hodayot*, 105) that נמהרי צדק must mean "the timid righteous" because of the parallel with אביונים does not seem well-founded. Most translators take the phrase to mean "eager for righteousness" or the like.

Ibid. וב[ר]ך לכול מודי לו

Overlap with 4Q404 2 is indicated with broken underlining. For the hiphil participle מודי cf. 1 Chr 29:13. Note the paronomasia between מודי and הוד.

Line 21. [ל]הודי [פלא]

הודי is apparently an otherwise unattested plural of הוד. The Sabbath Shirot exhibit a strong stylistic preference for plural forms.

Ibid. הששי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם[גבורות] אלים

The other בשם clauses almost certainly refer to God and are modelled on the biblical expression יהוה בשם ברך (cf. Ps 129:8; 1 Chr 16:2; etc.). Thus, גבורות אלים is most likely not "the mighty acts (performed by) the angels" but, as Strugnell argued ("Angelic Liturgy," 326, n. 14) "God's mighty acts towards or through the angels." For the nuance of גבורות see the following note.

Lines 21-22. לכול גבורי שכל בשבעה [ד]ברי גבורות פלאו

Note the repetition of forms of גבר. For the phrase גבורות פלאו cf. 1QM xv 13; CD xiii 8. Cf. also 1QM xi 9; 1QH ix 27. Wernberg-Møller (*Manual of Discipline*, 74) has cogently argued that גבורה can have the meaning "wondrous, mysterious wisdom." He cites Job 12:13 where גבורה is associated with חכמה, עצה, and תבונה. The LXX translates גבורה there by *śynesis*. Cf. also Dan 2:20 where גבורתא is parallel to חכמותא. Theodotian translates גבורתא there with *śynesis*.

Line 22. וברך לכול תמימי דרך ב[ש]בעה דברי פלא

The phrase תמימי דרך and close variations (e.g., תמים בכול דרכיו) are frequent in QL (cf. 1QS ii 2; iii 9; iv 22; viii 10, 18, 21; ix 5, 9; 1QM xiv 7; 1QH i 36; CD ii 15), often with reference to the members of the Qumran community.

Ibid. ל[ת]מיד עם כול הויי עול מ[י]ם

ל[ת]מיד may be either adverbial ("continually," or perhaps here "[to be present] continually") or nominal in the sense of the tamid-offering, the

daily burnt offering. Similarly, כול הויי עולמים could be an angelic title, "all who exist forever." The closest parallel to this phrase, however, is CD ii 10 (לכול הוי עולמים ונהיות עד), a temporal clause meaning "for all ages to come and throughout eternity." The use of the preposition עם does not really allow one to decide between the two alternatives, since with temporal expressions it means "as long as" (Ps 72:5, עם שמש, "as long as the sun endures." Cf. also Dan 3:33 and 4:31, עם (דר-דר). Thus עם כול הויי עולמים can mean simply "forever." One is left with two alternative translations of radically differing meaning: (1) "to be present continually with all who exist eternally;" or (2) "for a daily offering for all ages to come." I am inclined to favor the latter interpretation for several reasons. CD ii 10 offers a very good parallel for the temporal clause, while the phrase עולמים הויי does not otherwise occur as an angelic title. The idea that prayer and praise can take the place of burnt offering is a well-known feature of Qumran theology (cf. 1QS ix 4-5; ix 26; x 5). Here, too, blessing may be equated with sacrifice and its benefits.

Line 23. וברך לכול חוכי לו בשבעה דבר[י] פלא

For לו חוכי cf. Isa 30:18 (אשרי כל-חוכי לו). Elsewhere in BH the piel is used. Cf. Isa 64:3; Dan 12:12.

Ibid. ל[מ]שוב ר[חמי] חסדיו

The first word could be restored ל[ה]שוב, i.e., as an infinitive, as well as ל[מ]שוב. In the parallel phrases in element M, however, *lamed* introduces a noun. While the expression cannot be paralleled precisely, cf. במשוב שלום in 1QM iii 11. חסד and רחמים are frequently associated in BH (cf. Jer 16:5; Hos 2:21; Zech 7:9; Dan 1:9; Ps 103:4; etc.) and in QL (1QS i 22; ii 1; 1QH i 31; iv 37).

Lines 23-24. [השב] יעי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם קודשו

בשם קודשו is frequent in the Psalms (Pss 33:21; 105:3; 1 Chr 16:10. Cf. also Pss 103:1; 145:21) and at Qumran occurs in CD xx 34 and 4QDibHaM vii 5. Cf. 1QSB iv 28.

Line 24. לכול קדושים ממיסדי ד[עת] בשב[עה] דברי קודש פלא ו

One could also read ממוסדי, "from the foundations of knowledge," taking the phrase as a designation of heaven. But in view of the angelic title ליוסדי הוד, "those who establish majesty" (line 17 above = 4Q405 ii 7),

it seems better to read ממיסדי, a piel participle, and render "the holy ones among those who establish knowledge." Note the repetition of the root קדש in this blessing.

Lines 24-25. וברך לכול מרימי משפטיו בשב[עה דב]רי פלא

Read either מרימי (hiphil participle) or מרומי (polel participle with syncope). Although the photograph is ambiguous, the manuscript itself does not favor מרימי. (See Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 327, n. 25).

Line 25. למגני עוז

Cf. Ps 18:36 = 2 Sam 22:36 (מגן ישעך) and Deut 33:29 (מגן עזרך), both metaphors for God. Here the phrase must refer to the effectiveness of the words of blessing.

Ibid. מהללי מלכות כבודו] נצח

This expanded description of the recipients of the blessing of the seventh chief prince is unparalleled in the other six blessings but may simply emphasize the climactic position of the seventh prince and his blessing. For מלכות כבוד see 4Q405 23 ii 11-12 and 4Q405 24 3. Cf. also כבוד מלכותו (4Q403 1 ii 10; 4Q405 23 i 3) as well as other combinations with הוד, דהר, רום, תפארת (4Q403 1 i 8, 14, 32, 33; 4Q400 1 ii 3; 2 1; 2 3). Cf. Ps 145:12 (וכבוד הדר מלכותו) and Esth 1:4 (כבוד מלכותו). Cf. also Dan 11:20-21. The frequent use of מלכות and the numerous references to God as king indicate the importance of that image of God in the Shirot.

The lacuna before נצח could contain either a parallel to מהללי, a temporal expression supplementing נצח, or a locative phrase. Cf. the schematic suggestions of Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 327, n. 26), וכול, בכול היכלי, לכול עולמי, מרנני.

Line 26. בשבעה ד[ברי פלא ל]שלוש עולמים

Cf. 1QS ii 4 (לשלוש עולמים); 1QH xi 27; xiii 18. Cf. also the phrase שלוש עולמים in the benediction of the high priest in 1QSb iii 5.

Ibid. וכול נשיאי] רוש יברכו יח]ד ל[א]ל[ו]הי אלים

The precise restoration is uncertain, but some form of ברך is virtually certain. After יברכו there would remain only some 2-3 ls., so perhaps restore יחד or the like. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 15 (יהללי יחד). אלוהי אלים, the object of the verb of blessing, could mean either "God of the angels" or "angelic heavenly beings." In 4Q402 4 8 the phrase אלוהי אלים probably refers to God. Here, however, if this sentence is understood to be

parallel to the one in line 27 below (ו[ברכו לנועדי צדק], then אלוהי אלים is best taken as an angelic epithet.

Lines 26-27. ב[שם קודשו ב]כול שובועי ת[עודותם]

Although the blessings in lines 26-29 do not completely follow the pattern of the seven blessings in lines 10-26, perhaps restore here בשם קודשו or the like. The phrase שובועי תעודותם is difficult. In the text of 4Q404, where it is often possible to distinguish *yod* and *waw* paleographically, the reading שוביעי seems materially better than שיביעי or שובועי; but in all other occurrences שובועי seems equally possible (4Q401 9 2; 4Q403 ii 30; 4Q404 11 2). Unfortunately, each of these instances occurs in a broken context. Despite the apparent *yod* in 4Q404 2, it seems best to read שובועי and to understand the word to be the same as BH שבוע, "heptad." The first *waw* may be understood either as a retention of an original short *u* in an open unstressed syllable or a *shewa* pronounced like the vowel in the following syllable. See Qimron §200.22. תעודותם might mean simply "testimonies" as in Isa 8:16, 20, but at Qumran תעודה sometimes means "convocation, military mobilization" (1QSa i 25, 26. Cf. 1QM iii 4). In this sense perhaps שובועי תעודותם וכול could be taken as the subject of the following verb and mean "all their seven-fold assemblies." Cf. לשבעת סודי קודש (4Q403 1 ii 22). Elsewhere in QL תעודה is apparently associated with the root יעד and means "that which is appointed or preordained." Cf. the discussion to MasShirShabb ii 3-4. The association of תעודה with the root יעד is interesting in view of the following phrase in 4Q403 1 i 27, לנועדי צדק, identifying the recipients of the blessing. Perhaps, then, שובועי תעודותם could refer to the seven words of blessing as a preordained formula, analogous to the פלא שבעה דברי of the earlier blessing accounts.

Ibid. ו[ברכו לנועדי צדק]

There is no close parallel for נועדי צדק in BH or QL, though a similar predestinarian attitude is expressed in 1QSa ii 2 (הנועדים לעצת) (היחד).

Lines 27-28. וכול ברוכי. [ברו]כי עו[ל]מ[ים] _____ [למו]

A new clause apparently begins with וכול ברוכי, but the structure of the sentence is obscured by a lacuna of approximately 20 ls. It is not clear whether one should supplement a verb and an object or simply an extended descriptive phrase in apposition with the following phrase,

ברוכי עולמים. The prepositional phrase למו at the beginning of line 28 should probably be taken as a direct or indirect object following a verb now lost in the lacuna at the end of line 27. In that case ברוכי עולמים would likely be the subject of the verb.

Line 28. ברוך [ה]אד[ו]ן מל[ך]ה כול מעלה לכול ברכה ות]

The singular ברוך suggests that a concluding blessing is addressed to God, a suggestion consonant with the superlative expression מעלה לכול ברכה. After ברוך one would expect a divine epithet. The traces are ambiguous but compatible with האדון. Alternatively, one could read ברוך ברוך, a repetition for emphasis. Since מעלה לכול ברכה can scarcely be governed by the preceding כול, one should probably take כול as the *nomen rectum* of a construct phrase which supplies a second divine epithet after האדון, e.g., מל[ך]ה כול. Cf. Sir 45:23 (אלוה הכול). And see the discussion of the phrase אדון הכול in 11QPs^a 151 by A. Hurwitz ("Psalm 151 from Qumran," 84). The spacing of the letters before the large lacuna is ambiguous. One could read מעלה לכול ברכות], though it appears somewhat more likely that the waw, tau before the lacuna introduce a second word, parallel to ברכה, e.g., ותשבחות.

Lines 28-29. ות[שבחות וברך לכול קדו]שים מברכ[יו ומצדי]קי[ו]

The lacuna after ות] is approximately 18 ls. It is not clear whether [is to be taken as the end of אלוהים ("God") or as part of an angelic title (קדושים, אלים, אלוהים). Judging from orthographic practice in 4Q403, מברכ[יו] is more likely to be piel ("those who bless Him") than pual, ("those blessed by Him"), although the latter is not impossible. In view of the concluding sentence in line 29, which seems to refer to God's blessing of the angels, one could see here a sentence parallel to that one. Thus, schematically, perhaps restore ומצדיקיו ומברכיו, and translate "and He will bless all the holy ones who bless Him and declare Him righteous."

Note: The following chart displays the formulaic pattern of the blessings of the seven chief princes as they are preserved in 4Q403. Superscribed numbers indicate the beginnings of lines. Material extant in MasShirShabb, 4Q404, and 4Q405 is underlined.

Formulaic Pattern of the Blessings of the Seven Chief Princes

A

[] ס לנשיאי ר[וש]

I

[השני¹² בנשיאי רוש]

II

[השלישי¹⁴ בנשיאי רוש]

III

[הרביעי¹⁷ בנש[יאי רוש]ש]

IV

[החמישי¹⁹ בנש[יאי רוש]

V

הששי בנשיאי רוש

VI

[השביעי בנשיאי רוש]

VII

E

[בשבעה דברי¹¹ פלא]

I

ב[שב]עה דבר[י פלא]

II

בש[בעת ד]ברי ר[וש]ס

III

ב[שב]עה דברי ה[וד]

IV

בשבעה ד[ברי] רום²⁰ אמת[ו]

V

בשבעה ד[ברי] גבורות פלאו

VI

בשב[עה] דברי קודש פלא[ו]

VII

D

ל[כול... סכל]

[יברך]

לכול מע[מדיהם]

[יברך]

ל[כול רו]מי ד[עת]

[יברך]

לכ[ול] הול[כי יו]שר

יברך

ל[כו]ל [יודעי רזי... ס]טוהר

יברך

לכול גבורי שכל

יברך

לכול קדושים ממסדי ד[עת]

יברך²⁴

C

בשם כ[בו]ד אלוהים

[יברך]

[בשם] אמתו

[יברך]

[בשם] רום מלכותו

[יברך]

בש[ם] הו[ד] המ[לך]

יברך

בשם [הוד] נפלאותיו

יברך

בשם [גבורות] אלים

יברך

בשם קודשו

יברך²⁴

I

H

ט

Fr

[בשב] עה ד [ב] רי פל [א]

[לכול סודיה]ם במקדש [קודשו]

II

[ב] שבעה דברי [פלא]

II

בשב[ע] דברי פלא

וּלְכוּל [אלי] ¹⁶דעת [אמתי] יברכ

III

בשב[עה] דבר¹⁸ [פלא]

ליוסד] הוד

IV

בשבועה [דברי פלא]

לכולל נמהרי רצונו

2

ל[ת]מיד עם כול הויל²³[עול]מ[י]ס

לכול תמימי דרך

II

למגבי עור

[ל]כול מרזמי²⁵ משפטי

VII

M

I

K

I

[לכול] טהורי עולמים

בשבעה ד' [ברי] כ' [ב] ו' [ד] נ' [פלאומי]

III

לרחמי [כ]ב [זידיו]

[בשבוע]ה דברי צדק

IV

[פלא] הודי²¹

בשבועה [דב] רי הוד

7

ל[מ]שוב ר[חמל] חסדיו

בשבועה דבר [י] פלא

VI

[ל] שלום עולמים

בשבעה ד' [ברי פלא] 26

VII

מלכות כבודו] ... נצח

4Q403 1 i 30-46: Transcription

30. למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השביעית בשש עשר לַחֹדֶשׁ הַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵי מְרוֹמִים הַרְמִים
בְּכֹל
31. אֵלֵי דַעַת יִקְדִּילוּ קְדוּשֵׁי אֱלֹהִים לַמֶּלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד הַמְקֻדָּשׁ בְּקוֹדְעוֹ לְכֹל קְדוּשׁוֹ
רֹאשֵׁי תוֹשְׁבֹתוֹת
32. כֹּל אֱלֹהִים שִׁבְחוּ לֵאלֹהֵי [ת] שְׁבָחוֹת הוֹד כִּי בַהֲדָר תִּשְׁבַּחוֹת כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ בֵּה
תִּשְׁבַּחוֹת כֹּל
33. אֱלֹהִים עִם הָדָר כֹּל מֶלֶךְ [וְתוֹ וְ] רֹמְמוֹ רֹמְמוֹ לְמַרְוֹם אֱלֹהִים מֵאֵלֵי רוֹם
וְאֱלֹהוֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ מַעַל
34. לְכֹל מְרוֹמֵי רוֹם כִּיָּא הוּא [א אֵל אֱלִים] לְכֹל רֹאשֵׁי מְרוֹמִים וּמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ [יִם]
לְכֹל סוּדֵי עוֹלָמִים בְּרִצּוֹן
דַּעַת לֹאמְרֵי פִיהוּ יִהְיוּ כִּי [וְלֵאֵלֵי רוֹם] לְמוֹצֵא שְׁפָתָיו כֹּל רוּחֵי עוֹלָמִים
[בְּרִצּוֹן דַּעַת כֹּל מַעֲשֵׂיו]
36. בַּמִּשְׁלָחַם רִנְנוּ מְרַנְנִי [דַּעַתוֹ בְּ] רִנְנוּ בְּאֱלֹהֵי פֶלֶא וְהִגּוּ כְבוֹדוֹ בְּלִשׁוֹן כֹּל הוֹגֵי
דַּעַת רִנּוֹת פֶּלֶא
37. בְּפִי כֹל הוֹגֵי [בּוֹ כִיָּא הוּא] אֱלֹהִים לְכֹל מְרַנְנֵי דַּעַת עַד וְשׁוֹפֵט בַּגְּבוּרָתוֹ
לְכֹל רוּחֵי בֵין
38. הוֹדוּ כָּל אֵלֵי הוֹד לְמֶלֶךְ [לְ] הָהוּד כִּיָּא לְכְבוֹדוֹ יוֹדוּ כֹל אֵלֵי דַּעַת וְכֹל רוּחֹת
צַדִּיק יוֹדוּ בְּאִמְתּוֹ
39. וְיִרְצוּ דַּעַתָם בְּמִשְׁפָּטֵי פִיהוּ וְהוֹדוֹתָם בְּמִשְׁכָּב יָד גְּבוּרָתוֹ לְמִשְׁפָּטֵי שְׁלֹמִים
זָמְרוּ לֵאלֹהֵי עֵז
40. בְּמִנַּת רוּחַ רוֹשׁ לְ[מִזְמוֹר] בְּשִׁמְחָת אֱלֹהִים וְגִיל בְּכֹל קְדוּשִׁים לְזִמְרוֹת פֶּלֶא
בְּשִׁמְחָת עוֹלָם [מִים]
41. בְּאֵלֵה יִהְלָלוּ כֹל י[סוּדֵי קוֹדֶשׁ] קוֹדְשִׁים עֲמוּדֵי מִשָּׁא לְזִבּוֹל רוֹם רוֹמִים וְכֹל
פְּנוֹת מִבְּנֵיתוֹ זִמְ[וֹ]
42. אֱלֹהֵי [הִים נְ] וְרָא כֹחַ [כֹּל רוּחֵי דַּעַת וְאוֹר] לְ[מִשָּׁא] יַחַד רִקִּיעַ זֶן טוֹהַר טְהוֹרִים
לְמִקְדָּשׁ קוֹדֶשׁ [וְ]
43. [וְשִׁבְחָהוּ] וְרוּחֵי אֱלֹהֵי [יִם] לְהוֹדוֹת [עוֹלָמֵי עַ] וְלִמְרֵי רִקִּיעַ רוֹשׁ מְרוֹם [מִ] יִם

- כול ק[ורו] וקירו[ח] כ[ו]ל
44. [מבנ] יתו מעשי תבנ[יתו] חי קוד[ש] קודשים אלוהים חיים [רו]חי
 קוד[ש] עו[ל]מים ממעל
 פלא נפלא הוד והדר ופלא והכ[בוד] באור
 45. [מ]כול קדו[ש]ים
 אורתם דע[ת]
 46.] בכול מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים סביבה למעון מלך אמת
 וצדק כול קירותו]

Overlap with 4Q404 3-5 is indicated with broken underlining. Overlap with 4Q405 4-6 is indicated with solid underlining.

4Q403 1 i 30-46: Notes on the Readings

Line 30. Read הרבים not הרמים. The ticked head of *mem* is not as clear as in most instances, and the inward curve of the downstroke is more pronounced than usual. See, however, למשפטי in line 39 and רוממו in line 33. The slanted baseline excludes *bet*.

Line 31. יקדילו. Read instead יקדישו.

Ibid. המקדיש בקודעו. Read instead בקודש. A damaged *shin* could easily be misread as *ayin*, *waw*.

Line 32. שבו לאלוהים. There is not room to restore שבו לאלוהי[ם] שבחו[ת] שבחות.

Line 33. רוממו רוממו. A dot over the final *waw* in the second occurrence of רוממו is probably not a mark of deletion. Cf. the accidental marks over בין in line 37 and over *yod* in לאלוקי עז in line 39. See further the comments to line 33.

Line 34. הוא. The legs of *he* are set at more of an angle than usual, rather like *alep*, but the broad head is clearly that of *he*. Cf. המקדיש in line 31 above. The traces following *he* fit *waw* but are not certain.

Lines 34-35. ברצון דעתו. This phrase, deleted by the scribe, is a dittography from line 35.

Lines 37. דעת. The word דעת is deleted and עד written in its place. The error may have resulted simply from a

metathesis of *ayin* and *dalet*, although it is plausible that מרנני דעת stood in line 36 and was incorrectly copied here.

Line 38. לַמִּלָּךְ הַיּוֹד. The *lamed* of לַמִּלָּךְ is certain, and the tail of *mem* is good.

Line 39. לַמִּשְׁפָּטִי שְׁלוֹמִים. A trace of ink above the *yod* in לַמִּשְׁפָּטִי is probably not a mark of deletion. The style of the Shirot strongly favors plural over singular forms.

Ibid. זָמְרוּ לֵאלֹהֵי עֵץ. The mark over *yod* in לֵאלֹהֵי is unintelligible as a mark of deletion but must be simply a blot of ink.

Line 42. רָקִיעַ זֶן טוֹהוֹ טְהוֹרִים. The scribe apparently began to write זוהר (cf. Ezek 8:2, כְּמִרְאֵה-זֹהַר), then corrected the text to טוֹהַר. Cf. the overlapping text of 4Q405 6 3 (רָקִיעַ טוֹהַר).

Line 43. וּשְׁבַחָהּ וְרוּחֵי אֱלֹהִים [לְהוֹדוֹת עוֹלָמִי עַ] וְלִמִּים. The lacuna at the beginning of line 43 is approximately 6-7 ls. wide. On the photograph there appear to be two traces at the right-hand edge of the leather, but the lower one is merely the shadow of a wrinkle in the leather. The actual trace is too small to be identifiable, though it is compatible with *waw* or *yod*. After the second lacuna *lamed* is clear. The following letter could be *he* or *het*. Next, traces of two vertical descenders are visible before the completely abraded surface which follows.

Line 44. מַעֲשֵׂי תְבוֹנָתוֹ. The *bet* is damaged but the straight downstroke rules out *kap*. *Pe* is just possible but usually has a downward slanting baseline. Only a small trace of the following letter is preserved.

Lines 44-45. רֹאֵי קוֹדֶשׁ עוֹלָמִים מִמַּעַל [מִכּוֹל קוֹדֶשׁ] שִׁים. Although there is room to restore *lamed* at the beginning of line 45 for מִמַּעַל לְכוֹל, one would expect to see traces of ink on the preserved leather.

Line 46. כֹּהֵל. The head of *lamed* is visible beneath כֹּהֵל in line 45.

4Q403 1 i 30-46: Translation

30. By the instructor. Song of the sacrifice of the seventh Sabbath
on the sixteenth of the month. ¹Praise the God of the lofty heights,
O you lofty ones among all the
31. elim of knowledge. ²Let the holiest of the godlike ones sanctify
the King of glory who sanctifies by holiness all His holy ones.

- ³O you chiefs of the praises of
32. all the godlike beings, praise the splendidly [pr]aiseworthy God.
For in the splendor of praise is the glory of His realm. *From it*
(comes) the praises of all
33. the godlike ones together with the splendor of all [His] maj[esty.
⁴And] exalt His exaltedness to exalted heaven, you most godlike ones
of the lofty elim , and (exalt) His glorious divinity above
34. all the lofty heights. For H[e is God of gods] of all the chiefs of
the heights of heaven and King of ki[ngs] of all the eternal councils.
{by the intention of}
35. {His knowledge} At the words of His mouth come into being [*all the*
lofty angels]; at the utterance of His lips all the eternal spirits;
[by the in]tention of His knowledge all His creatures
36. in their undertakings. ⁵Sing with joy, you who rejoice [*in His know-*
ledge with] rejoicing among the wondrous godlike beings. And chant
His glory with the tongue of all who chant with knowledge; and (chant)
His wonderful songs of joy
37. with the mouth of all who chant [*of Him. For He is*] God of all who
rejoice {in knowledge} forever and Judge in His power of all the
spirits of understanding.
38. ⁶Ascribe majesty, all you majestic elim , to the K[in]g of majesty;
for His glory do all the elim of knowledge confess, and all the
spirits of righteousness confess His faithfulness.
39. And they make acceptable their knowledge according to the judgments
of His mouth and their confessions (do they make acceptable) at the
return of His powerful hand for judgments of recompense. ⁷Sing praises
to the mighty God
40. with the choicest spiritual portion, *that there may be* [melod]y
together with divine joy, and (*let there be*) a celebration with all
the holy ones, that there may be wondrous songs together with
e[ternal] joy.
41. With these let all the f[oundations of the holly] of holies praise,
the uplifting pillars of the supremely lofty abode, and all the
corners of its structure. Sin[g praise]
42. to Go[d who is Dr]eadful in power, [*all you spirits of knowledge and*
light] in order to [exa]lt together the splendidly shining firmament
of [His] holy sanctuary.

43. [*Give praise to Hi*]m, O you god[like] spirits, *in order to pr*[aise for ever and e]ver the firmament of the uppermost heaven, all [*its beams*] and its walls, a[1]l its [*for*]m, the work of
44. [*its*] struc[t]ure. The spir[its] of holie[st] holiness, the living godlike ones, [*the spir*]its of [*eter*]nal holi[ness] above
45. all the hol[y] ones...wonder, wonderful with *majesty* and splendor and wonder. And *the gl*]ory *is* in the most perfect light, kn[owledge]
46. [...*in all* the wondrous sanctuaries; the godlike spirits (*are*) round about the abode of the King of truth and righteousness. All its walls...]

4Q403 1 i 30-46: Comments

The seventh Sabbath song is contained in 4Q403 1 i 30-ii 16. In a sequence of thirteen songs the seventh occupies the central position. Not surprisingly, the emphasis on the number seven which characterizes the structure and content of the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs is also present in the seventh, though in a different form. Each Sabbath song begins with a call to praise addressed to the angels. In the seventh Sabbath song, however, this call to praise is expanded into seven distinct calls to praise (lines 30-40; superscribed numbers in the translation indicate the beginnings of the seven calls to praise). In all probability the angels addressed are the members of the seven angelic councils (4Q403 1 ii 11, 22). The structure of the calls to praise is not so highly formulaic as the account of the psalms and blessings of the seven angelic princes in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs. There is, however, often a strong element of paronomasia based on the imperative which introduces the call to praise. While five of the imperatives are related to the primary theme words of the psalms of the seven angelic princes (שִׁבְחוּ, רִוְּמוּ, רִנְּנוּ, יִדְּרוּ, זָמְרוּ), the sequence is not the same, and there does not appear to be an intentional relation between the two lists.

After the seven calls to praise addressed to the angels, the animate structures and architectural features of the heavenly temple are called upon to praise (lines 41-46). It is likely that some three or four lines are missing from the bottom of col. i. The conclusion of the seventh Sabbath song in col. ii appears to describe the throne of God in the heavenly debir, its attendant angels, and their praise. Verb forms such as יִרְוְצוּ and apparent nominal sentences (see lines 11-12) suggest that this section is in the indicative rather than the imperative mood. The passage

concludes with a description of the praise uttered by the markabot, their cherubim and ophanim.

Line 30. למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השביעית בשש עשר לחודש

For discussion of the formulaic introduction to the Sabbath songs see notes to 4Q400 1 i 1. One expects the form בששה עשר for the day of the month.

Ibid. אלוהי מרומים

אלוהי מרומים could be either the vocative of the imperative or the object and could be taken as "God" or "godlike ones." In the very similar incipit to the song of the eighth Sabbath (4Q405 8-9 2, הללו לאלוהי כול, מרומים) the ambiguity is resolved by the use of *lamed* to mark the direct object. See also the discussion of the form of the incipit in the notes to 4Q400 1 i 1. On the basis of the parallels אלוהי מרומים is probably to be taken as the object here, too, referring to God. Cf. Mic 6:6 (אלהי מרום).

Ibid. הרמים

Although it is not impossible that הרמים could be taken as a modifier of אלוהי מרומים, it is more probable that the phrase הרמים בכול אלי דעת is the vocative, parallel to קדושי אלוהים, ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים, and אלוהי מאלי רום in the following imperative sentences. These four phrases may all be construed as comparatives, suggesting that the imperatives to praise are addressed to elite groups of angels, "the lofty ones among the angels of knowledge," "the chiefs of praise," etc.

Line 31. יקדילו קדושי אלוהים

Read יקדישו, not יקדילו, in view of the strong paronomasia on קדש in this call to praise. The source of the error is not clear, perhaps aural confusion with גדל. The verb should be construed as a jussive. Cf. Ps 107:1-2 and 148:5, 13 where jussives alternate with imperatives in exhortations to praise. The phrase קדושי אלוהים does not occur elsewhere in the Shiroth. Clearly an angelic title, the phrase could mean either "holy ones of God," "holiest of the godlike ones," etc.

Ibid. למלך הכבוד

See 4Q403 1 i 22 25; 4Q405 16 7; etc. Cf. Ps 24:7-10. מלך is frequently found in construct with an abstract quality in the Shiroth: מלך הטוב (4Q403 1 i 4); מלך ההוד (4Q403 1 i 38); מלך הטוהר (4Q403 1 ii 26); מלך אמת וצדק (4Q404 5 6).

Ibid. המקדיש בקודעו

Read בקודש not בקודעו. See notes on the readings. Cf. 4Q400 1 i 15 (וְחוּקֵי קוֹדֵשׁ שִׁים חֶרֶת לְמוֹ בָּם יִתְקַדְּשׁוּ כֹל קְדוּשֵׁי עֵד) and more generally 1QH xi 10 (טַהֲרָתָהּ אֲנוֹשׁ מִפֶּשַׁע לְהִתְקַדֵּשׁ לָכָה).

Ibid. לכול קדושו

Materially, one could read לכול קדושו and construe the phrase with the following תושבחות ראשי. The intensive paronomasia in the calls to praise is a strong argument, however, for taking the phrase כול אלוהים as the vocative of the following imperative, שבחו. Accordingly, one should read קדושו as phonetic orthography for קדושו and take the phrase המקדיש קדושו as concluding the preceding call to praise.

Lines 31-32. ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים שבחו לאלוה[י ת]שבחות הוד

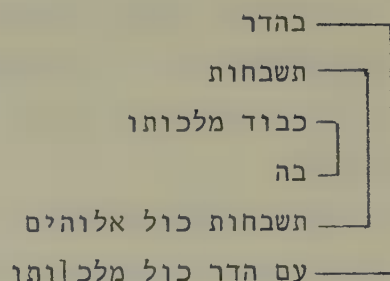
For angelic epithets compounded with ראשי see introductory notes on the angelology of the Sabbath Shirot. The aural quality of this well balanced and strongly alliterative line is striking.

Lines 32-33. כי בהדר תשבחות כבוד מלכותו בה תשבחות כול אלוהים עם הדר כול מלכ[ותו]

The call to praise is expanded with a כי clause, motivating the praise. In the Psalms such clauses generally recite the mighty acts of God in creation and/or in the salvation of Israel. Here, however, the language has become abstract almost to the point of incomprehensibility. To motivate the hearer to praise the author relies on the texture of the repeated words and sounds themselves. G. Scholem (*Jewish Gnosticism*, 21) comments on the similar use of language in Hekalot hymns, noting "the strangely vacuous sublimity and august repetitiousness of their diction."

The words הוד and הדר are a frequently occurring pair in the liturgical language of BH (Pss 21:6; 96:6; 104:1; 111:3; Job 40:10). Here the כי clause is verbally linked to the call to praise by the close proximity of הוד תשבחות and הדר תשבחות. For כבוד מלכותו cf. 1 Chr 29:25; Dan 11:20). The word or prepositional phrase בה presents a problem. Unless בה is an uncorrected error (e.g., for בהוד תשבחות), the only conceivable antecedent for the pronominal suffix ה- is מלכותו in the preceding phrase. The nuance of the preposition is perhaps best taken as causal, "on account of, arising from" (Jodan §133c). Stylistically, the rest of the sentence takes the construct phrase from the preceding clause, הדר תשבחות, and expands each of the terms into parallel construct phrases,

forming a chiastic pattern. Thus,



One might also describe the complex structure of the line by noting that the preposition *bet* occurs in the first and fourth elements, the noun *תשבחות* in the second and fifth, the noun *מלכות* in the third and sixth, and the noun *הדר* in the first and sixth. Cf. the complex poetic techniques of the Hodayot analyzed by B. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*.

Lines 33-34. ו[רוממו רוממו למרום אלוהים מאלי רום
ואלוהות כבודו מעל לכול מרומי רום

The first part of the fourth call to praise begins with ו[רוממו and includes all the material up through רום in line 34. It is then expanded with a *כי* clause that extends to במשלחם in line 36. In the first part of the call to praise ואלוהות כבודו מעל לכול מרומי רום contains no verb; yet it can only be construed as a nominal sentence in this context with great difficulty. ואלוהות כבודו is rather to be taken as a second object of the imperative ורוממו. Note the alliteration and wordplay on the root רום which unify the whole sentence. The difficulty in interpreting the sentence lies in determining the first object of ורוממו. The task is complicated by the fact that a mark over the final waw in the second occurrence of ורוממו might be either an accidental blot of ink or a mark of deletion. If taken as a mark of deletion, then ו[רוממו רומם must be taken as an imperative with an adverbial cognate accusative (GKC §117 p-r). Since מרום never appears as an epithet for God in the Shirot, the object would have to be אלוהים, with מאלי רום expressing that which God is exalted over. In the second half of the sentence ואלוהות כבודו would be the object, and מרומי רום would be parallel to מאלי רום. Thus one would have to construe מרומי here as a syncopated polel participle ("those who exalt"), although the phrase מרומי רום elsewhere appears to be a designation of heaven (4Q400 1 ii 4; 2 4), not an angelic epithet. Thus one would translate, "Highly exalt on high the God (who is) above the lofty angels, and His glorious divinity (exalt) above all who exalt loftiness." In

addition to the difficulty with מְרוֹמֵי רוֹם, this interpretation is somewhat awkward in lacking a vocative for the verb.

If one does not delete the waw, two interpretations are possible. One would read a double imperative, "Exalt, exalt!", though this would leave the same problems in construction discussed above. A better solution is to construe the second רוֹמֹמו as "His exaltedness," a good parallel to the other abstract quality, "His glorious divinity," which forms the second object of the imperative. For רוֹמֵם as a quality of God cf. רוֹמֵם אֵל (1QM iv 8) and רוֹמְמוֹת אֵל (Ps 149:6). Interpreted in this manner, אֱלוֹהֵי מְאֵלֵי רוֹם would be the vocative (cf. הַרְמִים בְּכוֹל אֵלֵי דַעַת in lines 30-31 above). Finally, לְמָרוֹם and מְרוֹמֵי רוֹם would be parallel locative expressions, with מְרוֹמֵי רוֹם taken as a term for heaven, as in 4Q400. Thus one should translate, "Exalt His exaltedness to exalted heaven, O you most godlike ones of the lofty angels, and (exalt) His glorious divinity above all the lofty heights."

The form אֱלוֹהוֹת is not BH but occurs in MH and in the unpublished 4QBerakot from Qumran. The use of *lamed* with מַעַל is relatively rare in BH, found chiefly in LBH, where it appears to be synonymous with עַל or מִמַּעַל ל־. See Jonah 4:6; Mal 1:5; 2 Chr 13:4; 24:20.

Line 34. כִּיָּא הוּ [א אֵל אֱלִים] לְכוֹל רֹאשֵׁי מְרוֹמִים וּמֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵּי [יָם] לְכוֹל סוּדֵי עוֹלָמִים

This sentence is a motive clause, introduced by כִּי, and consisting of two parallel nominal clauses. Perhaps restore as divine titles [יָם] מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵּי and [אֵל אֱלִים]. Cf. שׁוֹפֵט and אֱלוֹהִים as divine titles in a similar context in line 37 below. And cf. Deut 10:17 (הוּא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) and Dan 2:47 (וְאֲדָנִי הָאֲדָנִים) (הוּא אֵל אֱלֹהִים וּמֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵּי).

As in lines 32-33, a key word from the imperative sentence (רוֹמֹמו) is picked up in the motive clause (רֹאשֵׁי מְרוֹמִים). In the Sabbath Shirot לְכוֹל סוּדֵי עוֹלָמִים refers to the divisions of the angels. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 19 (סוּד שְׁנֵי בְמַעוֹן פֶּלֶא) and 22 (לְשַׁבַּעַת סוּדֵי קוֹדֶשׁ) where the context concerns the heavenly temple. Cf. 1QS ii 25 where סוּד עוֹלָמִים is used to refer to the Qumran community.

Lines 35-36. לֵאמֹרִי פִּיהוּ יִהְיוּ כִּי [וְלֵא אֵלֵי רוֹם] לְמוֹצֵא שְׁפָתָיו כּוֹל רוּחֵי עוֹלָמִים
בְּרִצְוֹן [דַּעַתוֹ] כּוֹל מַעֲשָׂיו בְּמִשְׁלַח

The כִּי clause which had referred to God's authority over the angels is followed by a tripartite reference to the creation of the angelic spirits by the word of God. Although Genesis 1 does not include a reference to the creation of the angels, their creation is frequently

mentioned in later Jewish accounts. See, e.g., Jub. 2:2-3 where the first act of the newly created angels is to view the works of God and to praise.

Since למוצא שפתיו and לאמרי פיהו are parallel expressions, some phrase parallel to כול רוחי עולמים should probably be restored in the lacuna. Although the leather is somewhat twisted, the lacuna appears to be about 12-14 mm. wide, so restore perhaps כול אלי רום and translate, "at the words of His mouth come into being all the lofty angels; at the utterance of His lips all the everlasting spirits." For רוחי עולמים see 1QH i 11 (רוחות עולם).

The third clause is not as parallel in structure or content as the other two are to each other, though it does form a third coordinating statement. The sense of the phrase ברצון דעתו is fairly clear. It means the intention or desire of God as informed by God's knowledge (cf. רצון רוחו, "his own will," in CD iii 3), but an idiomatic English equivalent is elusive. For a similar notion cf. 1QH i 8-10 (אתה יצרתה כול רוח...כול) (צבאותם תכנן תה לרצונכה).

מעשיו is better translated as "creatures" rather than "works," since the word is modified by משלחם, "their undertakings," and is parallel to רוחי עולמים. משלחם I take to be equivalent to משלח ידיהם (cf. 1QS ix 23; x 13; cf. also Deut 12:7; 15:10; 23:21; 28:8, 20).

Line 36. רננו מרנני [דעתו ב] רונו באלוהי פלא

A trace of ink above the break indicates a letter after רננו and before the following word, ruling out the possibility of reading a double imperative. Read rather the participle מרנני as a vocative after רננו. The traces, though slight, are compatible with *mem*. Cf. מרנני in line 37. Though the twisted leather makes accurate measurement difficult, the lacuna is ca. 9-11 mm. wide. Perhaps restore מרנני דעתו. Cf. the correction in line 37, מרנני דעת עד. That error might have been occasioned by the presence of מרנני דעת in line 36. The noun רונו is otherwise unattested.

Lines 36-37. והגו כבודו בלשון כול הוגי דעת רנות פלאו בפי כול הוגי [בו]

Despite the new imperative (והגו), the recurrence of רנות and מרנני in lines 36 and 37 indicates that these lines should be considered an expansion of the fifth call to praise, not the beginning of the sixth. The material in lines 36-37 could be construed as a verbal sentence ("Chant His glory with the tongue of all who chant of knowledge") followed by a nominal clause ("His wonderful songs are in the mouth of all who chant of Him"). Alternatively, one could take כבודו and פלאו as

parallel objects of והגו (see translation above). This second alternative emphasizes the high degree of parallelism in the passage and is a similar construction to that discussed in the notes to lines 33-34 above, where הגה takes two parallel objects, רוממו and אלוהות כבודו. Although הגה usually takes its object with *bet*, it can also take the accusative (Ps 2:1). For והגית בי יומם ולילה cf. Josh 1:8 (כול הוגי בו).

Line 37. כִּיָּא הוּא אֱלֹהִים לְכֹל מְרַנְנִי דַעַת עַד

This clause and the following one appear to be similar in structure to the כִּי clause in line 34 above. Note the repetition of מְרַנְנִי.

Ibid. וְשׁוּפֵט בְּגִבּוּרָתוֹ לְכֹל רוּחֵי בֵין

Here the angels are said to be subject to the judgments of God. Cf. 4Q400 l i 5, 15. Cf. also lQH x 35. As a noun בֵין is not attested in BH or in QL, though it does appear in the dictionary of Ben Yehuda. It is another example of the preference for masculine rather than feminine noun forms in the Sabbath Shirot. For the phrase רוּחֵי בֵין cf. 4Q405 17 3 (רוּחֵי דַעַת וּבִינָה). Cf. also Isa 11:2.

Line 38. הוֹדוּ כָל אֱלֵי הוֹד לִמְ[לך] הַהוּד

The spelling כָל occurs only here. Elsewhere in 4Q403 כֹל is used. Note the word play between יָדָה and הוֹד. Cf. lines 20-21 above.

Ibid. כִּיָּא לְכַבּוּדוֹ יוֹדוּ כֹל אֱלֵי דַעַת וְכֹל רוּחוֹת צַדִק יוֹדוּ בְּאִמְתּוֹ

Note the abc|c'ba' chiasm of the line and the way in which the verb יָדָה recurs in the כִּי clause. The spelling אֱלֵי also occurs in 4Q403 l ii 33. The use of *bet* after יֹדוּ is unusual but perhaps is only a stylistic variant for *lamed*.

Line 39. וְיִרְצוּ דַעַתָם בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי פִיהוּ וְהוֹדוּתָם בְּמִשׁוֹב יָד גְּבוּרָתוֹ לְמִשְׁפָּטִי שְׁלוֹמִים

The verb וְיִרְצוּ must be piel, "and they make acceptable." For מִשְׁפָּטִי see Ps 105:5. Cf. also Ps 119:13. וְהוֹדוּתָם is probably to be taken as a second object of וְיִרְצוּ. מִשׁוֹב, a verbal noun or perhaps an Aramaizing infinitive, is unattested in BH or MH but occurs in lQS iii 1 and frequently in lQM. In lQS and lQM מִשׁוֹב means "return" or "withdrawal." When followed by *lamed*, however, מִשׁוֹב cannot mean "withdrawal" but must mean "return" in the sense of recommencing a thing. Cf. Ps 119:79 where יָשׁוּבוּ followed by *lamed* means "to turn to" or "to resort to." For שְׁלוֹמִים cf. lQM iv 12 (שְׁלוֹמִי אֵל). Thus, according to this line, the knowledge and praise of the angels are also informed by God's acts of judgment.

Lines 39-40. זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש

The association of the words זמר and עז recalls Exod 15:2. Cf. זמר עז in line 6 above. The nuance of the preposition in the phrase במנת רוח רוש is uncertain--with, as? Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 20 (ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במנה פלאיו). In both occurrences the word מנה/מנת ("sacrificial portion") occurs in a prepositional phrase modifying a verb of praise. Here, as elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot (e.g., 4Q400 1 i 4, תרומת לשון; 4Q403 1 ii 26, ותרומת לשוניהם) and in other QL (lQS ix 4, 26; x 8, 14), the language of material offering is applied to offerings of praise. The only other occurrence of מנת in QL (למנת שפתיו in lQS x 8) is sometimes considered an error for מנחת שפתיו. See the reference in Kuhn, *Konkordanz*, 125. In light of 4Q403 1 i 40 and ii 20, the emendation of lQS x 8 seems unnecessary. Though the phrase רוח רוש could refer to a single angelic figure, it is unclear why the angels would be exhorted to praise "with the portion of the chief spirit." More likely, רוח qualifies מנת as "spiritual" rather than "material" (cf. the similar use of רוח in 4Q400 1 i 5), and one should translate "with the choicest spiritual portion." For the construction with רוש cf. Exod 30:23 (קח-לך בשמים ראש), referring to the spices used in the holy oil for anointing.

Line 40. ל[מזמור]ר בשמחת אלוהים

The lacuna is about 5-6 ls. wide. There is room for a short infinitive plus object (e.g., ל[רנן זמ]ר) or for a nominal result clause introduced by *lamed* (e.g., ל[מזמור]ר).

Ibid. וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא בשמחת עול[מים]

It is tempting to emend וגיל to וגילו and read an imperative parallel to זמרו. Even if one retains וגיל and construes the sentence as a nominal clause, the parallelism with the preceding hemistich remains strong.

זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש ל[מזמור]ר בשמחת אלוהים
וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא בשמחת עול[מים]

For שמחת עולמים cf. lQS iv 7; Isa 35:10; 51:11; 61:7. With this phrase the seventh and final call to praise addressed to the angels concludes. In what follows the animate structures of the heavenly temple are urged to praise.

Line 41. באלה יהללו כול י[סודי קוד]ש קדושים

The phrase באלה apparently refers to those who have been exhorted to praise in lines 30-40. יהללו is perhaps to be taken as a jussive rather

than an imperfect. See [זמ]רו in line 42, apparently an imperative. Probably restore ש קודשים [קוד]. The word immediately preceding begins with a clear *waw* or *yod*. Since in the following phrases architectural features are mentioned (פנות, עמודי), perhaps restore י[סודי], "foundations," here.

Ibid. עמודי משא לזבול רום רומים

I can find no parallel outside the Shirot to עמודי משא. In the OT pillars are identified either according to their material (e.g., עמודי הנחשת, 2 Kgs 25:13) or to the place in which they stand (עמודי החצר, Exod 27:17). While עמודי משא could mean "pillars of lifting," i.e., structural columns, there may be a double entendre involved. In 11QShirShabb 5-6 5 יש[מיע]ו has the meaning of "an utterance, an uplifting (of praise)" (מקול משא אלוהים). Something of the same ambiguity may be found in lines 41-42, immediately following.

It is tempting to take זבול as a proper name for heaven, as in Rabbinic literature, but since two other Rabbinic names for heaven מעון and רקיע, are clearly taken as common nouns in the Sabbath Shirot (both appear as the *nomen regens* in construct phrases), it is probable that זבול too should be taken as a common noun. The only other occurrence of זבול in the Shirot is in 4Q405 81 2 (מלאכי זב[ול]).

Ibid. וכול פנות מבניתו

The non-biblical form מבנית occurs in 1QS xi 8 as a metaphor for the community and in 1QH vii 4, 9 as a metaphor for the body. Here, translate probably "structure." The suffix refers back to זבול or, without an explicit antecedent, to the heavenly sanctuary.

Lines 41-42. זמ[רו] אלו[הים] נ[ורא] כוח

In the lacuna at the beginning of line 42 restore either נ[ורא] or מ[ורא]. Both are attested in 4Q405 23 i 13 (מורא מלך אלוהים נורא על [כו]ל אלוהים). The epithets there refer to God. Here, too, נ[ורא] כוח appears to be the object of זמ[רו] and to refer to God.

Ibid. כול רוחי דעת ואור ל[מש]א יחד רקיע זן טוהר טהורים למקדש קודש[ו]

Only about 8 ls. of the lacuna in 4Q403 1 i 42 are left unreconstructed when the evidence of 4Q405 6 3 is combined with that of 4Q403. Since one expects a vocative to go with the verb of praise (זמרו), restore, e.g., כול רוחי דעת ואור, "all you spirits of knowledge and light." Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 35 (בכול אלי אור); 4Q405 17 3 (רוחי דעת ובינה) for similar angelic titles. The *lamed* clause can best be understood as expressing the purpose

or result of the angelic praise. Cf. לזמרות פלא in line 40 above. The syntax of the sentence makes it difficult to construe משא here as meaning "an utterance of praise." If משא means "uplifting, bearing up" (cf. 2 Chr 20:25 and 35:3), then the praises of the spirits lift up the firmament itself. Cf. generally Ps 22:4 which speaks of God "enthroned on the praises of Israel." It is quite likely in view of the word play in the Shirot that משא has here acquired a metaphorical sense, "exalting."

In the phrase טוהר טהורים the spelling of the second member of the construct phrase reflects the quiescence of *he*. The phrase could be a designation for heaven (see the discussion of Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 325-326), but here the phrase is probably a superlative construction modifying רקיע. See Exod 24:10 (וכעצם השמים לטהר). Cf. also Ezek 1:22; 1 Enoch 14:10-11; Rev. 4:6.

Line 43. ושבחיה] ו רוחי אלוה] ים] להוד]ות עולמי ע] ולמים

After למקדש קודש] in line 42, which probably brings the sentence to an end, one expects a verb of praise in the lacuna at the beginning of line 43. The lacuna is ca. 6-7 ls. wide, so perhaps restore ישבחוהו or the like. Assuming רוחי אלוה] ים] to be the vocative of the imperative, the following word perhaps introduces a clause of purpose or result (*lamed* plus an infinitive or verbal noun) similar to למשא in the preceding imperative sentence. Thus restore, e.g., להוד]ות, taking the sequence of structures and architectural features beginning with רקיע רוש מרומים as the objects of the infinitive. While להודות normally takes its object with *lamed*, the simple accusative is used in Ps 142:8.

Ibid. רקיע רוש מרו]מ] ים

Note the variant text of 4Q405 6 2 ((רקיע] ע] ר]אשי מרומ]ים]). While the text of 4Q405 might be rendered "the firmament of the chiefs of the heavens," taking ראשי מרומים as an angelic title, the comparison with רקיע רוש מרומים in 4Q403 suggests rather that רוש מרומים and ראשי מרומים are simply alternate plural forms of a type well attested in LBH and MH (GKC §124 p-r; Segal §381). Thus translate "the firmament of the highest of the heavens," or the like. For the phrase רוש מרומים cf. Prov 8:2.

Lines 43-44. כול ק]ורו]תו] וקירו]תו כ]ו] ל] מבנ]יתו מעשי תבנ]יתו

The lacuna after כול is about 5-6 ls. in width. Restore some architectural term compatible with the following קירו]תו, e.g., קורו]תו, "beams" (cf. 2 Chr 3:6-7). There are two traces visible after וקירו]תו. While the

second trace is somewhat too low for a good *lamed*, the traces otherwise fit כול, and it is difficult to see what else might be restored. The first word in line 44 ends either with וְתו- or יְתו-. Perhaps restore וְתו[דלת or יְתו[מכנ] to continue the series of architectural terms from line 43. The word מעשי could be phonetic spelling for the construct, מעשה, "the workmanship of its structure," or could be a plural form, "the works (belonging to) its structure," summarizing the architectural terms which preceded.

Line 44. רוחי קודש]ש[קודשים אלוהים חיים

Note that 4Q404 5 1 reads רוח not רוחי. In view of the other angelic titles following, the plural is to be preferred. The expression רוחי קודש may mean either "most holy spirits" (cf. the phrase רוחי קודש עולמים later in line 44) or "spirits of the holy of holies." However the title is construed, these angelic spirits are in some way associated with the heavenly sanctuary which has just been described, either as attendants or as the animate spiritual substance of the heavenly temple itself. In this context of angelic titles אלוהים חיים should be taken as "living godlike ones," not "the living God." Cf. 4Q405 14 5, 6; 19 4, 6; 22 6 for other occurrences of the phrase, also apparently in apposition with angelic titles. It is not clear how this list of angelic epithets is related syntactically to the preceding list of architectural features.

Line 44-45. רוחי קודש]ש[עו]למים ממעל [מ]כול קדו]שים

Materially, it does not appear possible to read ממעל [ל]כול קדו]שים. See notes on the readings. At the same time ממעל seems awkward if construed simply as an adverb ("above"), concluding the preceding sentence. Conceivably, one could read ממעל [מ]כול קדו]שים, but the construction is anomalous. In 1 Kgs 7:20 (ממעל מלעמח) *mem* appears to be used in order to avoid a sequence of three *lamed*s.

Line 45. פלא נפלא הוד והדר ופלא והכ]בוד באור אורתם דע]ת[[מ]כול קדו]שים

The lacuna in line 45 between פלא נפלא הוד והדר and כבוד is just over 6 cm. wide. Much of this missing material can be reconstructed from 4Q404 and 4Q405, leaving only about 12-15 ls. unreconstructible at the beginning. One discrepancy between 4Q405 6 6 and 4Q404 5 3 requires comment. Both agree in reading פלא נפלא הוד, but the traces of the single letter preserved before פלא do not agree. In 4Q404 5 3 the traces fit *ayin*, although the reading is not wholly certain. In 4Q405 6 6 *yod* is preserved. Perhaps both texts contain forms of רקיע, the singular in 4Q404 and the plural

construct in 4Q405. The lacuna after הוֹד in 4Q405 6 6 is approximately 5 ls. wide. Perhaps restore וְהוֹדִי.

It is rather difficult to explain the meaning of the reconstructed line. נִפְלָא is otherwise unattested in the Shirot except in the feminine plural נִפְלָאוֹת. If one reconstructs הוֹד וְהוֹדִי, the phrase could mean "wonderful in majesty and splendor." Despite the redundancy, it is probably better to take וְנִפְלָא with the preceding phrase rather than with כְּבוֹד [ו] . There is a certain general similarity between the language of this line and the text of the first Hekalot hymn in Hekalot Rabbati. The "princes who serve" (הַשְּׂרָיִם הַמְשִׁרְתִּים) address the throne of God as follows, רִנְּנוּ רִנְּנוּ מוֹשֵׁב עֲלֵיוֹן...שִׁנְעָשָׂה בְּהִפְלָא וְנִפְלָא. Scholem (*Jewish Gnosticism*, 26) translates "Rejoice, rejoice, supernal dwelling...made marvelously and a marvel." It is clear from the beginning of the second column of 4Q403 that the enthroned glory of God and the chariot throne are the subjects of the conclusion of the seventh Sabbath song. The transition from the account of the architectural features of the temple to the debir and throne seems to occur in these final lines of column i.

[ו] [כְּבוֹד] is very difficult. Even assuming a slight realignment of the fragments, the lacuna is too large to read simply הַכְּבוֹד. Reading either [ו] [כְּבוֹד] or [ו] [הַכְּבוֹד] is equally problematic. A hiphil converted perfect, [ו] [הַכְּבוֹד] ("and He glorifies by the most perfect light the knowledge of..."), is possible, but the context does not favor a reference to God's action here. Reading [ו] [הַכְּבוֹד], one must translate something like "and the glory is in the most perfect light." Cf. generally 4Q405 23 ii 8 (בְּתוֹךְ כְּבוֹד) (מְרָאֵי שְׁנֵי צִבְעֵי אֹר), "in the midst of the glorious vision of scarlet are garments dyed with light." For אֹרְתָם or אֹרְתוֹם (4Q404 5 4) see the discussion to אֹרְתוֹם in 4Q403 1 ii 1.

Line 46.

This line must be completely reconstructed from 4Q404 and 4Q405.

4Q405 6 6-7 reads: [י פלא נפלא] [הוד] [ו] [כבוד באור]

[ל מקדש] [י] פלא רוחות אלוהים סביבה למעון

The line length of 4Q405 6 is approximately 72 ls.

4Q404 5 5-6 reads: [מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים]

[מ] [לך אמת] [ו] [צדק כול קירותו]

The line length of 4Q404 5 is approximately 35 ls., though line 5 is slightly longer than average.

One knows from 4Q403 l i 45 that אורחם דעת is to be restored at the beginning of 4Q405 6 7. Based on a line length of 72 ls. in 4Q405 6, approximately 25 ls. are left unreconstructible before [ל מקדש]י. The phrase סביבה למעון must be reconstructed at the beginning of 4Q404 5 6. Based on a line length of 35 ls., this supplement should fill the lacuna entirely, so that מ[לך follows immediately upon למעון. Thus for 4Q403 l i 46, after a gap of approximately 25 ls. which are unreconstructible, restore as follows:

בכול מקדשי פלא רוחות אלומים סביבה למעון מלך אמת וצדק כול קירותו

Since the line length of 4Q403 l i is approximately 75-80 ls., קירותו or כול קירותו may belong at the beginning of line 47.

Line 47.

The material preserved in 4Q404 and 4Q405 is too scanty for a continuous reconstruction. After קירותו there is an unreconstructible gap of about 9 ls. Then the combined text of 4Q404 and 4Q405 reads:

[תבני]ת . The trace before סי cannot be *pe*, ruling out אפסי, which occurs in 4Q405 6 9 below.

Lines 48-50.

Because the lines of 4Q403 l i are only about 7 ls. longer than those of 4Q405 6, the remaining material of 4Q405 6 9-11 probably corresponds to 4Q403 l i 48-50. 4Q405 6 9 reads [ל]ל[. The word אפס is not otherwise attested in the Shiot. 4Q405 6 10 reads [ת קול . 4Q405 6 11 reads [ישמיעו .

4Q403 1 ii: Transcription

1. אֹרְתוֹם רוֹקֶמֶת רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשׁ [ס...]
2. בְּמוֹתֵי דַעַת וּבִהְדוּם רַגְלֵיוֹ גַּ' [...]
3. מֵרָאִי תַבְנִית כְּבוֹד לְרֹאשִׁי מִמַּלְכוּת רוֹחַ [י...]
4. כְּבוֹדוֹ וּבְכוֹל מִהִפְכֵיהֶם שְׁעָרָיו ° [...]
5. לֶכֶת ° רִקְלִי [ל] לָהּ לְדוֹשׁ אֱלֹהִי [...]
6. מִבִּינוֹתָם יִרְצוּ אֶל [ל] הֵימָן כְּמֹרְאֵי גַחְלִי [אש...]
7. מִתְהַלֵּךְ סָבִיב רוּחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשִׁים ° [...]
8. קוֹדֶשׁ קִי [ו] שִׁים רוּחוֹת אֱלֹהִים מֵרָאִי עוֹ [למיס...]
9. וְרוּחוֹת אֱלֹהִים בְּדָנִי לִהְבֵּת אֵשׁ סָבִיבָה לִי [...]
10. רוּחוֹת פֶּלֶא וּמִשְׁכָּן רוֹשׁ רוּם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ דְּבִירָא [°...]
11. וְקִדְשָׁא [ל] שְׁבַעַת קוֹדֶשִׁי רוּם וְקוֹל בֶּרֶךְ מֵרָאשִׁי דְּבִירוֹ [...]
12. וְקוֹל הַבֶּרֶךְ נִשְׁמַע נִכְבֵּד לְמִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים וּמוֹסְדִי [°...]
13. הַבֶּרֶךְ וְכוֹל מַחְשַׁבֵּי הַדְּבִיר יַחוּשׁוּ בְּתַהֲלִי פֶלֶא בְּדִבְרֵי [ר...]
14. פֶּלֶא דְּבִיר לְדְּבִיר בְּקוֹל הַמוֹנִי קוֹדֶשׁ כּוֹל מַחְשַׁבֵּיהֶם [...]
15. וְהִלְלוּ יַחַד מִרְכָּבוֹת דְּבִירוֹ וּבִרְכוּ פֶלֶא כְּרוּבֵיהֶם וְאוֹפְנֵיהֶם [ס...]
16. רֹאשִׁי תַבְנִית אֱלֹהִים וְהִלְלוּהוּ בְּדְבִיר קוֹדֶשׁוֹ (vacat) [...]
17. (vacat) [...]
18. לְמִשְׁכִּיל שִׁיר עוֹלָת הַשְּׁבַת הַשְּׁמִינִית בְּשִׁלוּשָׁה וְעַ [שִׁירָם לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי הִלְלוּ לְאֱלֹהֵי
כּוֹל מְרוֹמֵי רוּם כּוֹל קְדוּשֵׁי עוֹלָמִי]
19. עוֹלָמִים שְׁנָיִים בְּכוֹהֲנֵי קוֹרֵב סוֹד שְׁנֵי בְּמַעוֹן פֶּלֶא בְּשַׁבַּע [בְּכוֹל יְדוּעֵי]
20. עוֹלָמִים וְרוֹמְמוֹהוּ רֹאשִׁי נְשִׂאִים בְּמִנְה פֶלֶאִיו הִלְלוּ [לְאֱלֹהֵי אֱלִים שְׁבַע כְּהוֹנָת
קוֹרְבוֹ [...]]
21. רוּם שְׁבַעַת גְּבוּלִי פֶלֶא בְּחֻקוֹת מִקְדָּשִׁי רֹאשִׁי נְשִׂאִי כוֹהֵן [נֹת פֶּלֶא...]
22. כוֹהֵן [נֹת] שְׁבַע בְּמִקְדָּשׁ פֶּלֶא לְשַׁבַּעַת סוֹדִי קוֹדֶשׁ כֹּ' [...]
23. הַשֵּׁר מִלְּאֲכֵי מֶלֶךְ בְּמַעוֹנִי פֶלֶא וְדַעַת בִּינְתָם לְשַׁבַּעַת [°...]
24. רוֹשׁ מְכוֹהֵן קוֹרֵב וְרֹאשִׁי עֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ בִּקְהֵל ° [...]
25. וְתִשְׁבַּחוּת רוּמָם לְמֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד וּמִגְדֵּל [א] לְ[וְהִי...]

26. לאל אלים מלך הטהור ותרומת לשוֹנֵיהֶם ֿֿֿ [...]
27. שבע רזי דעת ברז הפלא לשבעת גבולי קוד־ש קדשים... ולשון הראישון תגבר
שבעה בלשון משנה לו ולשון משניו תגבר
28. שבע משל־ישי ל[ו ולש] ון השל[ישי ת] גבר שבע[ה מרביעי לו ולשון הרביעי תגבר
שבעה בלשון החמישי לו ולשון החמישי תגבר שבעה בלשון]
29. הששי לו ולשו[ן הששי תגבר שבעה ב] ל[שון השביעי לו ובלשון השביעי
תגבר...]
30. ולפי שובועי ד[ברי...]
31. בותהלי פלא בדב[רי פ] לא־[...]
32. הפלא (vac) [תהלת] ב־[לשון הראישון...]
33. הפלא והלל לאדון כול איל[י...]
34. ראוש פלאיו להלל גדול[...]
35. למאירי דעת בכול אלי אור[...]
36. תשבחות [ב] ל־שון הרביע[י...]
37. פלא ת[הלת הודות ב] ל[שון החמישי...]
38. הוד[ות...]
39. תה[לת...]
40. ֿֿֿ [...]
41. [...]
42. [...]
43. [...]
44. [...]
45. [מעונ[י...]]
46. [ֿֿֿ בש[בעה...]]
47. [לֿֿֿ כו[...]]
48. [ל[...]]

Overlap with 4Q404 6 is indicated by broken underlining, that with 4Q405 8-9 and 11 by solid underlining. Since the column width of 4Q403 1 ii would be greater than can be indicated on the page, ellipsis points are used.

4Q403 1 ii: Notes on the Readings

Line 4.] שׁערי^{°°°} . Although the letters are split by a crack in the leather, *shin* and *ayin* are certain. Photo PAM 42.182 preserves the reading clearly.

Line 5.] לה לְדוֹשׁ אֱלוֹהִי [לְ] . For סְרָקִי see comments below. *לְדוֹשׁ* is an error for *לְרוֹשׁ*. See further comments below. Photo PAM 42.182 clearly preserves the reading אֱלוֹהִי.

Line 6.] יִרְוָצוּ אֶ[לוֹ]הִים מֵרָאִי גַחְלִין^{°°°} . At the edge of the small lacuna the right-hand arm and leg of *alep* are visible. Above the final *mem* after the lacuna an interlinear letter appears, either *kap* or *bet*. In the next group of letters the tail of the first trace is too short for *bet*, the head too wide for *kap*; but the traces fit *mem* well. Judging from the spacing, the next letter would be *dalet* or *resh*, not *waw* or *yod*. The final *alep*, *yod* are clear. In the last word *gimel*, *lamed*, and *yod* are certain. The traces of the second letter are good for the head of *het*.

Line 10.] מַלְכוּתוֹ דְּבִירוֹ^{°°°} . Compare the traces with דְּבִירוֹ in line 11 below. The base line of *bet* is certain, and the two vertical marks fit *yod* and *resh*.

Line 11.] וְקִדְשׁ^{°°°} לְשַׁבְּעַת קוֹדְשֵׁי רוֹם^{°°°} . The short break after וְקִדְשׁ makes it uncertain whether the verb is singular ([וְקִדְשׁ]) or plural ([וְקִדְשׁוֹ]). The head of *lamed* in לְשַׁבְּעַת is visible beneath *pe* in line 10. The tail is visible between the two *shins* in line 12. Although the tail of *lamed* is not usually so long, cf. לְשַׁבְּעַת in line 22 below.

Line 13.] בְּדִבְרֵי^{°°°} . A mark under the second *bet* is probably not a mark of deletion.

Line 21.] רָאִשֵׁי נְשִׂאֵי כוֹהֵן^{°°°} נֹתָן פֶּלֶא^{°°°} . The phrase is marked as deleted in 4Q403 1 i 21. The same phrase, not marked for deletion, occurs in the parallel text of 4Q405 8-9 5-6.

Line 23.] הִשָּׁר[°] . Both traces after *he* belong to *shin*. The letter after the break is *resh*. Lack of alignment and a shadow obscure the reading in the photograph, but *resh* is unequivocal on the fragment itself.

Line 26.] לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם^{°°°} . After *waw* the base of ligatured *nun*, *yod* is visible, followed by the two legs of *he*. The tail of final *mem* is likewise clear.

Line 31.] בְּתַהֲלֵי פֶלֶא בְּדִבְרֵי^{°°°} [פֶּ]לֶא^{°°°} . A dot over the *bet* in בְּתַהֲלֵי may be accidental or may mark deletion. In בְּדִבְרֵי the head and base of the first

bet are good, as is the base of the second bet. The trace between the two bets would fit *dalet* or *resh*. In the remaining traces one can see the tail of *lamed* meeting the right leg of *alep*. Cf. פלא earlier in the line.

Line 37. ת[הלת הודות ב]ל[שון]. The outlines of *taw* are faint but certain. The top of the head of *lamed* is visible beneath *bet* in הרביע[י] in line 36.

Line 39. תה[לת]. The second trace is ambiguous but would fit *he* or *het* well.

4Q403 1 ii: Translation

1. *perfect light*, the mingled colors of a most holy spiritual substance [...]
2. high places of knowledge. And at His footstool ◦[...]
3. the appearance of the glorious form of the chiefs of the realm of spirit[s...]
4. His glory. And in all their turnings the gates ◦[...]
5. *the flashing of the light* [ning...]◦[...]. to the chief of the godlike beings [...]
6. from between them godlike beings run like the appearance of coals of [fire...]
7. moving round about. The spirits of holiest holiness ◦[...]
8. *spirits*] of holiest h[ol]iness, divine spirits, an et[ernal] vision[...]
9. and divine spirits, shapes of flaming fire round about it ◦[...]
10. wondrous spirits. And the tabernacle of highest loftiness, the glory of His kingdom, the debir [...]
11. And *He/they* consecrate/s the seven lofty holy places. And there is a voice of blessing from the chiefs of His debir [...]
12. And the voice of blessing {is heard} is glorious in the hearing of the godlike beings and the councils of [...]
13. *voice of*] blessing. And all the crafted furnishings of the debir hasten (to join) with wondrous psalms in the debi[r...]
14. of wonder, debir to debir with the sound of holy multitudes. And all their crafted furnishings [...]
15. And the chariots of His debir give praise together, and their cherubim and thei[r] ophanim bless wondrously [...]
16. the chiefs of the divine structure. And they praise Him in His holy debir. (vacat)[...]

17. (*vacat*) [...]
18. By the instructor. Song of the sacrifice of the eighth Sabbath on the tw[enty third of the second month. Praise the God of all the *lofty heavens*, all you]
19. eternally [holy ones], second among the priests of the inner sanctum, the second council in the wonderful dwelling among the seven [... among all who have knowledge of]
20. eternal things. And exalt Him, O you chiefs of princes with His wondrous portion. Praise [*the God of elim* , O you seven priesthoods of his inner sanctum...]
21. loftiness, seven wondrous territories *according to* the ordinances of His sanctuaries {the chiefs of the princes of the [wondrous] priest-hoods}[...]
22. seven priest[hoods] in the wondrous sanctuary *for* the seven holy councils o[...]
23. the prince, the angels of the King in the wonderful dwellings. And the insightful knowledge *of* the seven [...]
24. chief [...] *from* the priest of the inner sanctum. And the chiefs of the congregation of the King in the assembly o[...]
25. and praises of exaltation for the King of glory, and magnification of the [G]o[d of...]
26. to the God of the *elim*, King of purity. And the offering of their tongues oo[...]
27. seven mysteries of knowledge in the wondrous mystery *of* the seven [most] holy precincts [...And the tongue of the first (angelic prince) will grow strong sevenfold (joining) with the tongue of the one who is second *to him*. And the tongue of the one who is second *with respect to him* will grow strong]
28. sevenfold from (the sound of) the one who is third *with respect to* [him. And the ton]gue of the thi[rd will] grow strong sevenfo[ld from (the sound of) the one who is fourth *with respect to him*. And the tongue of the fourth will grow strong sevenfold (joining) with the tongue of the one who is fifth *with respect to him*. And the tongue of the fifth will grow strong sevenfold (joining) with the tongue of]
29. the one who is sixth *with respect to him*. And the tongu[e of the sixth will grow strong sevenfold (joining with) the] to[ngue of the

- one who is seventh *with respect to him*. And with the tongue of the seventh *it will grow strong...holiness of the sanctuary...*
30. and according to the sevenfold w[ords...]
31. in wondrous psalms with [won]drous wor[ds...]
32. wonder. (vac) [Psalm of] blessing o[f the tongue of the first...]
33. wonder, and praise to the Lord of all the eli[m...]
34. his wonderful *choice* [...] for great praise [...]
35. *for* those who cause knowledge to shine among all the elim of light [...]
36. [Psalm of] praise [by] the tongue of the fourt[h...]
37. wonder. *Ps[alm of thanksgiving by the] to[ngue of the fifth...]*
38. thanks[givings...]
39. P[salm of...]
40. °[...]
41. [...]
42. [...]
43. [...]
44. [...]
45. [...] dwelling[s...]
46. [...]° with s[even...]
47. [...]°°° °°°[...]
48. [...]°[]°[...]

4Q403 1 ii 1-16: Comments

Line 1. אורתום

The form אורתום occurs in lQH xviii 29, in lQH iv 23, and is probably to be restored in iv 6. A. Dupont-Sommer ("Hymnes," 42) read lQH iv 6 as אורתים, suggesting a dual formation to be translated "daybreak." This explanation, however, is not suitable for all occurrences of the word. Previously, Dupont-Sommer (*Preliminary Survey*, 74) had suggested a contraction of the singular of אורים and תמים. Cf. the comments of J. Licht (*Thanksgiving Scroll*, 91) who discusses a Rabbinic interpretation of אורים and תמים which associates them with the words אור and תום. While it is entirely possible that some such word play is involved, the suggestion most generally held is that אורתום is a combination of אור and תום meaning "perfect light," a meaning suitable in all contexts (see the discussion of S. Holm-Nielson, *Hodayot*, 80, n. 6). Licht (*Thanksgiving Scroll*, 218) has

suggested that in lQH xviii 29 (לפניך לעד ולהיציב) במכון עלום) the word אורתום may carry overtones of the light of the seven days of creation which was traditionally thought to be reserved as a reward for the righteous. Even though אורתום occurs in broken contexts in the Sabbath Shirot, it is clear that it refers to a peculiarly celestial light, associated with the debir of the heavenly sanctuary and perhaps with the appearance of the throne of Glory itself.

It is likely that באור אורתם in 4Q403 1 i 45 (= 4Q404 5 4, באור אורות) should be understood as further attestations of אורתום. The spelling in 4Q403 1 i 45 could be explained as defective orthography. That of 4Q404 5 4 cannot be explained in such a manner. It is possible, however, that metathesis has occurred, assimilating the rare אורתום to a more familiar noun pattern, אורות. The form אורות is itself problematical in 4Q404 5 4, since there is no clear antecedent for the suffix. Finally, the similarity between the phrase באור אורתם in 4Q403 1 i 45 and לאור אורתום in lQH xviii 29 also suggests the equivalence of the words in question, despite the differences in orthography.

Ibid. רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי]ם

The choice of the reading רוקמת over ריקמת requires comment. In BH the form of the word is *riqmâ*. In the orthography of 4Q403, however, *yod* is not otherwise used to represent the vowel *i* in closed syllables. The shift of *riqmâ* to *roqmâ* is probably an example in the feminine of the general preference for *qutl* forms in Qumran Hebrew. See Qimron §331.324. The same form occurs in lQM v 6 and vii 11, where it is also probably to be read רוקמה. Although often rendered as "embroidery," the word refers to variegated color, usually in garments or other fabrics, but also in decorative stone and metalwork (see 1 Chr 29:2; lQM v 6).

The broken condition of the line obscures the structure of the sentence, but רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי is perhaps to be understood as a single construct chain. Cf. 4Q405 23 ii 7 (רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג) and 8 (צבעי אור רוח קודש קדשים). Here, as in 4Q405 23 ii 8, רוח appears to be used as a *nomen qualitatis*. It is not entirely clear what is being described in line 1, probably the appearance of the throne of Glory and its attendant spirits. See the similar description in 4Q405 22 10-11.

Line 2. במותי דעת

"High places/altars of knowledge?" The significance of the phrase is quite uncertain.

Ibid. ובהדום רגליו

ובהדום רגליו is a common biblical expression. Cf. Isa 66:1; Ps 132:7; Lam 2:1; and especially the important liturgical hymn Ps 99:6. In the Bible the reference is frequently to the sanctuary or to the ark as the footstool of God. Here the reference to the divine footstool and the language reminiscent of Ezek 1, 8-10, etc. in the following lines indicates that the enthroned Glory of God is the subject.

Line 3. מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוח]

The first three words recall Ezek 1:28 (הוא מראה דמות כבוד יהוה). Here מראי is phonetic spelling for מראה. If the line is closely modelled on Ezek 1:28, then it may be that one should take the *lamed* as circumlocution for the genitive, so that ראשי ממלכות is governed by כבוד just as יהוה is in Ezek 1:28. Cf. 4Q405 22 5-6 where expressions taken from the description of the Glory are also applied to the angels who attend the chariot throne. The Sabbath Shirot are even more reticent in speaking of the Glory of God than is Ezekiel. The Shirot speak only of the attendant spirits who constitute the visible appearance of the Glory.

It is not clear whether to supplement רוח] ממלכות רוח] י קודש as a construct phrase, "realm of [the holy] spirit[s]," or to restore an appositive for ממלכות, ראשי, e.g., רוח] י קודש קודשים, "chiefs of the realm, [most holy] spirits."

Line 4. כבודו ובכול מהפכיהם שערי]

Cf. 4Q405 23 i 7-10 where the angels go in and out the gates and portals of heaven while the gates sing praise. The word מהפכיהם is problematic. Neither the form nor the meaning can be compared with BH מהפכה, "overthrow." Many previously unattested *mem*-prefix nouns with verbal meanings occur in QH, however. See Qimron §331.5. The suffix on מהפכיהם could refer to the gates or to the angels.

In view of the allusions to Ezekiel in the preceding and following lines, it may be that שערי is also drawn from Ezekiel. References to gates and to the chariot of Glory occur in two places in Ezekiel, in Ezek 10:19 (cf. also 8:3-4) when the Glory leaves the temple by the east gate and in Ezek 43:1-5 when the Glory returns by the east gate to be present forever in the ideal temple. Although the context of 4Q403 1 ii is too broken for one to be certain, perhaps this central song of the Sabbath Shirot describes the epiphany of the Glory in the heavenly sanctuary. Cf. generally the appearance of God on his throne in the seventh heaven

three times a day in Hekalot Rabbati. This epiphany is the occasion and subject of many of the Hekalot hymns in that collection. See I. Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 153-55.

Line 5.]לכת סרקין

לכת, the infinitive construct of הלך, is probably to be taken with the following word, but that word appears to be ירקקי, ורקקי, or perhaps זרקקי. None of these readings, however, makes good sense. Better would be לכת ברקקי, "the flashing of the lightning." Either the leather is abraded so that most of bet has been lost, or the scribe mistakenly wrote waw/yod for bet. Cf. Ezek 1:13 (ודמות החיות מראיהם כגחלי-אש בערות כמראה הלפדים). The phrase כמראי גחלי אש (מתהלכת בין החיות ונגה לאש ומן-האש יוצא ברק) occurs in line 6, immediately below, suggesting that the present line may also be informed by this verse in Ezekiel.

Ibid.]לדוש אלוהין

In לדוש the *dalet* seems certain, but "to crush out" does not make good sense here. The word is rather an error for לרוש. It is not clear, however, whether the "chief of the godlike beings" would refer to God or to a single chief angel. Or, perhaps translate "at the head of the angels."

Line 6. מבינותם ירוצו א[לו]הים כמראי גחלי אש

The whole line draws upon Ezek 1 and 10. The plural form בינות occurs in Ezek 10 six times, where it refers to movement around the "galgal" and the cherubim. (Cf. Ezek 10:6, מבינות לגלגל מבינות לכרובים). For the rest of the line cf. Ezek 1:13, cited above, and Ezek 1:14 (והחיות רצוא) (ושוב כמראה הבזק). Cf. also Ezek 10:2. In 4Q403 1 ii 6, however, the subject of ירוצו is the אלוהים, not the חיות and their fiery appearance, as in Ezek 1:13-14. Elsewhere in the Shirot cf. 4Q405 22 9-10 (ובלכת האופנים) (ישובו מלאכי קודש יצאו מבין [ג]לגלי כבודו).

Line 7. מתהלך סביב רוחות קודש קודשים

Cf. 4Q405 22 11-12 (מתהלכים תמיד עם כבוד מרכבות [ה]מלך) where the brilliantly colored spirits who attend the chariot throne are the subject. Cf. also Ezek 1:13 (מתהלכת בין החיות) where the subject is "something like torches" (כמראה לפידים). Here the subject of the masculine singular participle is uncertain, though it seems clear that it is the appearance of the divine chariot throne which is still being described. סביב should be taken adverbially with מתהלך, not as a preposition before רוחות. In BH and QH סביב alone is used adverbially, whereas סביב ל- or the plural

סביבות is used with the force of a preposition. For רוחות קודש קודשים cf. רוחי קודש קודשים in 4Q403 1 i 44 and 4Q405 22 10, the only other occurrences of the phrase in the extant fragments of the Shirot. See also 4Q405 19 2 where the phrase may be restored. And cf. 4Q405 14-15 4 (רוחי קורב קודש), a variant of the more frequent כוהני קרוב. Whether one translates קודש קודשים as "most holy" or as "holy of holies," the contexts in which the phrase occurs indicate that these are the angels who serve in the debir and attend the chariot throne.

Line 8. קודש ק[וד]שים רוחות אלוהים מראי עו[למים]

Perhaps restore קודש קודש קודשים here as well. For רוחות אלוהים cf. 4Q404 5 5 = 4Q405 6 7 and 4Q405 23 i 9-10.

Line 9. ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה

The word בדני, attested outside the Sabbath Shirot only in lQM v 9 (and in the form אבדני in lQM v 6), is roughly synonymous with צורות and means "pattern, shape, design" or the like. The word occurs some eighteen times in the Sabbath songs and is best preserved in context in 4Q405 14-15 i and 19. See comments to 4Q405 14-15i for further discussion. The antecedent of the suffix of סביבה is uncertain, though perhaps it refers to the divine מרכבה.

Line 10. רוחות פלא ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו דביר

Perhaps supplement קודשו after דביר. After רוחות פלא the construction of the line is uncertain, perhaps a series of appositives or the subject and predicate of a nominal sentence. משכן, רוש רום is probably to be translated "tabernacle of highest loftiness." It is not impossible, however, that רוש could be taken personally, "the tabernacle of the chief of loftiness," referring to God or to a single superior angel whose special privilege is service in the highest sanctuary. Cf. the privileged position of Michael in 3 Apoc. Baruch.

Line 11. וקדש[לשבעת קודשי רום וקול ברך מראשי דבירו]

The initial letter may be read either as waw or yod, so that one may construe a perfect or an imperfect verb. Similarly, the break at the end of the word makes either a singular or a plural form possible. For קדש with *lamed* see 4Q403 1 i 31. The verb should be translated as piel: "And He/they consecrate/s the seven lofty holy places." The "seven lofty holy places" are undoubtedly the same as the "seven wonderful precincts" of line 21 below.

The second part of the line is probably a nominal sentence, "And there is a voice of blessing...." For קול ברך see 4Q405 23 i 7 and the phrase וקול דממת ברך in 4Q405 22 12. The last word of the line may be read דבירו, "His debir," or דבירי, e.g., [wondrous] debirim. See line 14 below where multiple debirim seem to be envisioned.

Line 12.] ^{....} _{....} הברך נשמע נכבד למשמע אלוהים ומוסדי

The deleted word נשמע is perhaps a conflation of the following two words. BH knows משמע in the sense of "report," but for משמע as a verbal noun, "hearing," see 1QS*a* i 11 (ולוהת[י]שב במשמע משפטים). At the end of the line one could read ומוסדי with a meaning equivalent to סוד (as in 4Q400 2 2); or one might read מיסדי, "those who establish," as part of an angelic title (cf. 4Q403 1 i 24 = 4Q405 3 ii 16).

Line 13. הברך וכול מחשבי הדביר יחושו בתהלי פלא בדביר]

Restore קול at the end of line 12 for הברך [קול. מחשבי probably means "skillfully crafted things," referring to the furnishings of the sanctuary. Cf. מחשבת in Exod 31:4. The form מחשבת also occurs six times in 1QM v 6-11 (as a *nomen rectum* after מעשה, חרש, מעשי צורות, and מעשי עמוד) in a description of the construction and appearance of ornamented weapons. van der Ploeg (*Guerre*, 94) identifies the word as a *nomen qualitatis* meaning "with art, artistic." The masculine plural מחשבי is not BH but is also attested in the unpublished 4QBerakot texts. That the מחשבי דביר are the subjects of יחושו בתהלי פלא is not surprising. Cf. line 41 above where the various parts of the heavenly temple are summoned to praise. Also cf. 4Q405 19 and 23 i. In the Christian Apocalypse of Paul the visionary says "I saw the altar and the veil and the throne, and all of them were rejoicing, and the smoke of a sweet odor rose up beside the altar of the throne of God" (§44; trans. M. R. James).

Line 14.] פלא דביר לדביר בקול המוני קודש וכול מחשביהם]

In the Sabbath Shirot פלא is always used as a modifier following the word it modifies, either in a construct relationship (e.g., דברי פלא) or as an adverb (וברכו פלא). If פלא goes with what precedes, then דביר לדביר must be construed together. It is difficult to see what the phrase could mean except "debir to debir," referring perhaps to antiphonal singing across multiple heavenly sanctuaries. Cf. Ps 42:8 (תהום-אל-תהום קורא). This image is suggested also by the plural suffix in מחשביהם. In line 13 above it was כול מחשבי הדביר who sang praises. The plural suffix in this

line could refer to multiple דבירים which are perhaps to be distinguished from the highest, הדביר, "the debir." (Or, perhaps הדביר is to be understood distributively or collectively.) Cf. also ומשכן רוש רום in line 10. In the phrase בקול המוני קודש, המוני may mean either "multitudes" (cf. Ezek 32:20; Joel 4:14) or "shouts" (not attested in the plural in BH or QL). Cf. in general Ezek 1:24.

Line 15. והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניהם]

Since God is the object of praise in line 16 below, the markabot, cherubim, and ophanim are almost certainly the subjects, not the objects of the verbs of praise here. The adverb יחד and the plural suffixes remove all doubt that these nouns are true plurals, not plurals of majesty. The form דבירו may be phonetic orthography for דביריו, though it seems to be possible in the Shirot to refer to the heavenly sanctuary either with a singular term or with a plural term, denoting the several component holy places which comprise it. The suffixes on כרוביהם and אופניהם refer back to מרכבות. The falling together of the masculine and feminine 3d plural suffixes is well attested in LBH and QH. The use of יחד recalls a recurrent feature in the description of angelic praise. In 1 Enoch 61:9-11, 2 Enoch 19:6, Apoc. Abraham 18:30, and Asc. Isa. 7:15; 8:18; 9:28 the angels are said to sing "with one voice," i.e., in unison.

It is not apparent how many markabot are intended here, whether there is one in each of the seven sanctuaries referred to in line 11 (cf. Asc. Isa. 7 where there are angelic "thrones" in each of the lower five heavens) or whether the markabot have become a class of heavenly beings present in large numbers in each of the debirim. A plurality of chariot thrones is a phenomenon otherwise known only in the most fully developed Merkabah literature (perhaps dependent on Isa 66:15, מרכבתיו וכסופה מרכבתיו). The passage most similar to 4Q403 1 ii 14-15 is Ma^cseh Merkabah 6. (For the Hebrew text see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 103-17.) There the praises of thousands of chariots in each of the seven Hekalot are described.

In the first palace stand four thousand myriad markabot of fire and a hundred thousand myriad flames are mingled among them. In the second palace stand one hundred thousand myriad markabot of fire; and one hundred thousand myriad flames are mingled among them.

Thus the enumeration continues from palace to palace with ever increasing numbers. Then the text goes back to describe the praise in each palace.

In the first palace the markabot of fire say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts. All the earth is full of His glory." And their

flames of fire break through and are gathered to the second palace and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts. All the earth is full of His glory."

In this manner the praises in each palace are described, the markabot in each palace reciting a different doxology, with the seventh being the most elaborate and impressive.

Line 16. ראשי תבנית אלוהים והללוהו בדביר קודשו

Although "chiefs of the divine image" or perhaps better "chiefs of divine appearance" is possible, תבנית should probably be taken as "structure" here, referring to the sanctuary. Cf. ראשי דבירו in line 11 above.

Although the broken lines obscure much, it appears that after the sanctuaries are consecrated (line 11), the high priestly angels answer with a blessing (line 11). When the sound of blessing is heard by the other angelic spirits (line 12), they and all the other divine beings of the heavenly sanctuary respond with praise and blessing, culminating in the praise of the markabot (lines 13-15). The passage ends with a return to the blessing of the chief priestly angels (line 16).

4Q403 1 ii 17-48: Comments

Line 17.

A blank line separates the end of the seventh Sabbath song from the beginning of the eighth.

Line 18. למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השמינית בשלושה ועשרים לחודש השני הללו
לאלוהי כול מרומי רום כול קדושי עולמי

The readings of 4Q403 1 ii 18-22 can be confirmed and supplemented in several places by overlap with 4Q405 8-9. The eighth Sabbath falls on the twenty-third day of the second month according to the solar calendar. The restoration of the number of the month in the heading is optional. Cf. 4Q400 1 i 1 (לחודש הראשון הללו) but 4Q403 1 i 30 (לחודש הללו). Judging from the requirements of space in the restoration of 4Q405 8-9, one should make fairly brief supplements before and after קדושי.

Line 19. עולמים שניים בכוהני קורב סוד שני במעון פלא בשבע]

Note the spelling of שניים. (See Qimron §100.321). In BH the plural occurs only in Gen 6:16 (תחתים שנים ושלשים תעשה), referring to the construction of the decks of the ark) and Num 2:16 (ושנים יסעו, "and they shall set out second"). Here the reference is clearly to the angelic priests of second rank, presumably the נשיאי משנה whose praises and blessings are

described below. The expression כוהני קורב, "priests of the inner sanctum," occurs also in the first Sabbath song (4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19). After the reference to סוד שני, the phrase בשבע is probably to be supplemented with some reference to the seven sanctuaries (see line 11), precincts (line 21), councils (line 22), or priesthoods (line 22) among which the angels are divided. Note that where 4Q403 1 ii 19 reads במעון פלא, 4Q405 8 3 reads במעוני פלא. In many cases the use of the plural in terms for heaven seems to be merely a stylistic variant.

4Q403 1 ii 19-20. בכול ידועי עולמים

The phrase עולמים ידועי occurs also in 4Q405 3 ii 1 = 4Q403 1 i 11. The knowledge of heavenly or esoteric matters is frequently attributed to the angels in the Sabbath Shirot (4Q401 17 4, תרות נס בבית על יד; MasShirShabb i 4, בידעים נגלי]; 4Q405 3 ii 9, לכול ידועי רזין). Cf. also 1QM x 11 (מלאכי קודש מגולי אוזן ושומעי עמוקות). The gift of similar esoteric knowledge to the members of the Qumran community is related to their community with the angels in 1QS xi 5-8. The idea that the angels know the mysteries of creation and of the eschatological future is presupposed in their function as agents of apocalyptic revelation (see, e.g., 1 Enoch 17-19; Jub 1:27; 4 Ezra 4). Even the knowledge of the angels is limited, however (MasShirShabb i 4; 4 Ezra 4:52; Mark 13:32; cf. Eph 3:10 and 1 Pet 1:12).

Line 20. ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במנה פלאיו

If נשיאי רוש is merely a rhetorical variant of ראשי נשיאים, then here the chief princes are also called on to join in praise with the angels of the second rank. It is also possible, however, that ראשי נשיאים refers to either or to both the נשיאי רוש and the נשיאי משנה as superior angels. In the phrase פלאיו במנה one expects מנת, the construct, before פלאיו. The words מנה and מנת customarily signify a portion of a sacrificial animal. Since in the Sabbath Shirot, as in QL generally, praise becomes a substitute for sacrifice, songs of praise may be referred to as sacrificial portions. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 39-40 (זמרו לאלוהי עוז במנת רוח רוש).

Ibid. הללו לאלוהי אלים שבע כהונת קורבו

The reading שבע כהונת קורבו, preserved in 4Q405 8-9 4-5, should fit in the lacuna not far after הללו. In fact one should supplement only a divine epithet following הללו (e.g., מלך הכבוד or לאלוהי אלים) and take שבע כהונת קורבו as the vocative, parallel to נשיאים ראשי. See

notes to 4Q405 8-9 for the estimates of line length which underlie this reconstruction. The seven priesthoods are presumably to be associated with the seven angelic councils of line 22 and the seven holy places of line 11. See also the damaged but probable reading of 4Q405 7 6 (שב[עה] (דבירי כהונות]). One should perhaps compare 1QM ii 1-3 where the tribal division of Israel is reflected in the designation of twelve chief priests and twelve chief Levites who are to serve perpetually at the daily sacrifice. Alongside these twelve are the chiefs of the twenty-six priestly and Levitical divisions who serve on a rotating basis. The entire organization is headed by a chief priest and his deputy (כוהן הראש ומשנהו). The division of Israel into twelve tribes seems to have its counterpart in the sevenfold division of the angels, according to the angelology of the Sabbath Shirot.

Line 21. שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו ראשי נשיאי כוה[נות] פלא

Cf. 4Q400 1 i 13 (בהיכלי מלך[...]) בגבולם ובנחלתם). The word גבול is frequent in Ezekiel. In Ezek 43:12 it refers to the territory of the temple mount. For בחוקות מקדשיו cf. Ezek 43:11 (כול חקיו), referring to the requirements for the proper construction of the temple which has just been shown to Ezekiel. Cf. also Ezek 44:5 (חקות בית יהוה), the regulations concerning those who may and may not enter the temple. One wonders, however, if חוקות has a somewhat different meaning here. The masculine synonym חוק not only means "regulation, statute" but also can mean "boundary" (cf. 1QM x 12). If the feminine חוקה also takes on this nuance, then one could translate בחורות מקדשיו as "within the boundaries of His sanctuaries." Cf. Jer 5:22 where גבול לים is parallel to חק-עולם. Here, too, גבולי פלא and בחוקות מקדשיו may be coordinated phrases.

The phrase נשיאי כהונות פלא occurs without marks of deletion in the parallel text of 4Q405 8-9 5-6. Although the broken condition of both texts obscures the nature of the error in 4Q403 and the relationship of the two texts, the phrase in 4Q403 is apparently a dittography.

Line 22. כוה[נות] שבע במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש כ]

4Q405 8-9 6-7, which appears to overlap the end of 4Q403 1 ii 21 and the beginning of 22, reads [כוה[נות] שבע]. Although chiasmic concord of gender with numerals is apparently not always observed in 4Q403 (cf. i 5; ii 27), the form שבע suggests the restoration of the feminine כוהנות rather than the masculine כוהנים. For the form כוהנות instead of כהונות see 4Q400 1 ii 10 and 4Q400 2 6. If this restoration is correct, then it would

appear that the seven priesthoods are apportioned among seven angelic councils.

Line 23. השר מלאכי מלך במעונוי פלא ודעת בינתם לשבע]

In view of the phrase מלאכי מלך which immediately follows, one should probably take השר as part of an angelic title. The singular noun is most unusual in the Shirot, but note כוהן קורב in line 24 below. שר is extremely rare in the vocabulary of the Shirot, occurring only three times (in each case in a damaged or doubtful reading). Although somewhat more common, מלאך is still one of the less frequently used designations for angels in the Shirot (ten occurrences). For the ascription of knowledge and insight to the angels (ודעת בינתם) see notes to lines 19-20 above. The syntactical relationship of לשבע] to ודעת בינתם (periphrasis for genitive, purpose/result, etc.) cannot be determined.

Line 24. רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדת המלך בקהל ס]

Unless one assumes that the preposition מ- governs המלך as well as קורב, one must conclude that a new sentence begins with וראשי. Even so, it is not clear how the preposition מ- is to be construed. The word רוש at the beginning of the line could be supplemented either כוהני רוש (see 4Q401 13 3) or נשיאי רוש, or by a phrase similar to מנת רוש (4Q403 1 i 39-40), רקיע רוש (4Q403 1 i 43), etc. The plural phrase כוהני קורב occurs in 4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19, in line 19 above, and in 4Q405 21 1, but the singular קרוב כוהן is otherwise unattested. The possibility of a single angelic high priest over the lower ranking angelic priests is also raised by the tantalizing but broken references in 4Q401 11, 22, and 23. Without further context, however, one could also understand the singular קרוב כוהן distributively, referring to one of the angelic priests in each of the seven councils or priesthoods. The ראשי המלך are perhaps the angelic counterparts of the ראשי אבות העדה mentioned in 1QM ii 7. See also 1QM iii 4; 1QSa i 16, 23, 25; etc. Cf. Num 31:26.

Line 25. והשבחות רומם למלך הכבוד ומגדל [א]ל[והי

Both רומם and מגדל should be taken as nouns of praise. For רומם cf. Pss 66:17; 149:6, and in the Shirot 4Q403 1 i 1. Although מגדל is not otherwise attested in BH, QH, or MH with the meaning "magnification," *mem*-prefix nouns with verbal meanings are relatively common in QH. Also note גדל (probably *gādēl*) as a noun of praise in 4Q403 1 i 8.

Line 26.]אל אליו מלך הטהור תרומה לשוניהם]

In constructions with the pattern מלך הטהור one expects the noun, טוהר, not the adjective, טהור. The confusion undoubtedly results from the quiescence of *he* rather than a general falling together of *qutl* and *qatāl* forms. קודש and קדוש are regularly distinguished in use in the Sabbath Shirot. The phrase מלך הטהור may mean either "King of purity" or "King of heaven" (see Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 326, n. 10). The word תרומה is always associated with לשון in the Sabbath Shirot (see 4Q400 2 7; 4Q405 23 ii 12). Elsewhere in QL the expression שפתים תרומה is favored (cf. 1QS ix 4; x 6, 14).

Line 27. שבע רזי דעת ברז הפלא לשבעת גבולי קוד[ש קדשים

For רזי דעת see 1QS iv 6; cf. also 1QH ii 13. Note the apparent lack of chiasmic concord of gender in שבע רזי. Perhaps שבע is phonetic spelling for שבעה. Lamed in לשבעת גבולי קודש can either be a preposition or periphrasis for the genitive. For the seven precincts see line 21 above.

Lines 28-29.

Lines 27-29 contain a formulaic passage concerning seven "tongues." These lines overlap with 4Q405 11 2-5. Because the text is so formulaic, it is possible to make a fairly complete restoration of the passage. The text of 4Q403 1 ii 27-29 is used as the base text. Portions extant in 4Q405 11 2-5 are underlined.

G	F	E	D	C	B	A
[ו]	משנה	בלשון	שבעה	תגבר	הראישון	<u>ולשון</u>
[ו]	<u>משלישי</u>		שבע	<u>תגבר</u>	<u>משניו</u>	<u>ולשון</u>
[ו]	מרביעי		שבע[ה	<u>תגבר</u>	<u>השל[ישי</u>	<u>ולש[ו]</u>
[ו]	<u>החמישי</u>	<u>בלשון</u>	<u>שבעה</u>	<u>תגבר</u>	<u>הרביעי</u>	<u>ולשון</u>
<u>לו</u>	הששי	[בלשון]	<u>שבעה</u>	<u>תגבר</u>	<u>החמישי</u>	<u>ולשון</u>
[ו]	<u>השביעי</u>	<u>ב[לשון]</u>	<u>שבעה</u>	<u>תגבר</u>	<u>הששי</u>	<u>ולשו]</u>
				<u>תגבר...</u>	<u>השביעי</u>	<u>ובלשון</u>

There are several minor divergences between 4Q403 1 ii 27-29 and 4Q405 11 2-5.

(1) 4Q405 11 3 omits שבע/שבעה in element D, reading תגבר משלישי. The omission appears to be a scribal error, since element D is attested in the formula for the fourth, fifth, and sixth tongues.

- (2) 4Q405 11 3 reads משניו. One expects השני, parallel to השלישי, etc., but cf. משניהו in 4Q401 3 4, a text which, although highly fragmentary, is closely related to 4Q403 1 ii 27-29.
- (3) 4Q405 11 3: שלישי. 4Q403 1 ii 28: השלישי.
- (4) Both 4Q403 and 4Q405 agree in reading משלישי לו in the formula for the second tongue. Contrast בלשון החמישי לו and בלשון השביעי לו in sentences four and six.
- (5) In the last section of the passage the formula for the seventh tongue is introduced by ובלשון instead of the expected ולשון. While this difference could easily be explained as contamination from element E (בלשון), it may be that the seventh tongue has a different formula for climactic emphasis.

The text aptly describes the passage as a "mystery," for it is extremely difficult to construe. Line 27 refers to the seven holy precincts from which, one presumes, the formulaic praise comes. Although the identification of the seven tongues is not made explicit, they are not independent entities, as in Rev 4:5, but belong in all probability to the angelic princes. While "tongue" is construed as feminine (in agreement with תגבר), the ordinals are all masculine. See the similar formula in 4Q403 1 i 1 and 6 (בל[שון] נשביעי לנש[יאי רוש]; [בלשון] השלישי לנשיאי רוש).

The construction of the passage is very difficult, though several observations can be made. Since תגבר has no apparent object, it should be taken as qal, "to be strong, prevail," or perhaps here "to grow strong." שבע or שבעה does not modify a noun and is best taken as a multiplicative. In BH only the form שבע is used for the multiplicative (GKC §134r), but the Sabbath Shirot apparently deviates in some respects from the BH grammar of numerals (cf. the discussion to 4Q403 1 i 5; ii 27), though the apparent divergence may be an orthographic/phonological matter. In elements F and G, if בלשון החמישי and משלישי לו are indeed equivalent expressions, one could understand מ- as expressing either the origin, source, or cause of an event, equivalent to *bet* of instrumentality with causal force. The idea expressed is apparently that of a sequential joining of voices, each voice increasing the sound sevenfold. Finally, it is difficult to explain the meaning of לו. One suspects that the construction is elliptical for, e.g., "the one who is fifth, (next) to him," but the construction cannot be paralleled. Perhaps the pronoun in each case refers back to the first of the angelic princes, "the one who is fifth with respect to him."

Line 30. ולפי שובועי ד[ברי]

See the discussion of שובועי in the comments to 4Q403 1 i 27. Perhaps restore ד[ברי] by analogy with the phrase בשבעה דברי פלא, frequent in the Shirot.

Lines 31-41.

Lines 31-41, though very fragmentary, appear to have contained a version of the formulaic praise psalms of the seven deputy princes, similar to but not identical with those of the seven chief princes preserved in 4Q403 1 i 1-9 (= MasShirShabb ii 1-23). The formulaic section is introduced in lines 30-31 (note the phrases ד[ברי] שובועי and פלא בתהלי). In lines 32-38 one finds occurrences (in order) of the theme words of the first, second, fourth, and fifth angelic princes (ברך, line 32; גדול or perhaps better גדולות, line 34; תשבחות, line 36; הודות, line 38). In addition in line 36, where the theme word of the fourth prince occurs, the phrase [ב]לשון הרביעי immediately follows תשבחות. Cf. שבע בלשון תהלת שבע הרביעי in 4Q403 1 i 2. Although there is no direct overlap, portions of the same formulaic passage from the eighth Sabbath song are preserved in 4Q405 12, 64, and 67. Fragment 4Q405 12 contains part of the praise of the second and third princes: (1) [בל]שון [...] (2) [...]פלא. (3) [...]וגדל (4) [...]תהלת. Each of the words fits the formulaic praise of the angelic princes, and וגדל preserves the theme word of the second prince. 4Q405 67 contains part of the account of the psalm of the seventh prince: (1) [...]פלא או זמרת ע[וז...] (2) [...]זמר[י...] (3) [...]שבע[...]. Slight discrepancies between the text of this fragment and the well-preserved text of the psalms of the seventh chief prince in the sixth Sabbath song enable one to determine that 4Q405 67 is not in fact from the sixth Sabbath song. Note, e.g., the occurrence of פלא in 4Q405 67 1 and פלאיו in 4Q403 1 ii 34. Whereas the eighth Sabbath song employs forms with masculine singular suffixes (referring, probably, to the princes), the psalm accounts of the sixth Sabbath song use feminine singular suffixes (פלאה, פלאיה), referring apparently to the לשון. The last fragment from 4Q405 which probably comes from this section of the eighth Sabbath song is 4Q405 64: (2) [...]תהלי גד[ל...] (3) [...]שבע[...]. This fragment preserves part of the summary account of the seven types of psalms of the angelic princes, corresponding to the summary account of the chief princes in 4Q403 1 i 7-9 (= MasShirShabb ii 19-23). One cannot entirely exclude the possibility that 4Q405 64 comes from the

sixth Sabbath song (near 4Q405 3 i) rather than the eighth, but the leather and script of 4Q405 64 more nearly resemble that of 4Q405 12 and 13 than they do that of 4Q405 3.

The wording of the description of the psalms in the eighth Sabbath song is not precisely the same as that of the sixth Sabbath song. Compare the chart of the psalms of the seven chief princes in the notes to the Masada fragment. Consequently, it is not possible to reconstruct the entire passage here.

Line 32. הפלא (vac) [תהלת] ב[לשון הראישון]

For ב[לשון הראישון] as the theme word of the first prince see notes to MasShirShabb ii 19. The restoration follows the pattern for the beginning of the psalm accounts in the sixth Sabbath song and in line 36 below.

Line 33. הפלא והלל לאדון כול אילי

Line 33 seems to contain an expansion of the pattern as attested in the sixth Sabbath song. Whether line 33 belongs to the account of the first or second prince is not certain. For הלל as a noun in the Shirot see 4Q405 14 3 (והלל פלאיהם לאל אלים). The divine title אדון occurs only here in the Shirot, though it may be restored in 4Q403 1 i 28. The plene spelling of אילי also occurs in 4Q403 1 i 38 and perhaps in 4Q403 1 i 18.

Line 34. ראוש פלאיו להלל גדול]

Elsewhere in 4Q403 (and in the other manuscripts of the Shirot) the singular for "chief" is always spelled רוש. Although the word ראוש occurs here, I think it unlikely that the word indicates that the formulaic passage is to be associated with the seven chief princes. Here the word is in construct with the following פלאיו, whereas in the account in the sixth Sabbath song רוש occurs only in the phrase לנשיעי רוש בלשון... Since the two formulaic passages differ somewhat in wording and formulation, this consideration cannot settle the matter decisively. One should also take into account, however, the fact that the formulaic blessings which follow (4Q405 13) are explicitly attributed to the deputy princes. Since both the psalms and blessings of the sixth Sabbath song are attributed to the chief princes, it seems most likely that both the psalms and blessings of the eighth song should similarly be attributed to the deputy princes. If ראוש is not part of the phrase נשיעי ראוש, it may perhaps be understood as qualifying a noun of praise, as in Ps 137:6 (ראש שמהתי). להלל גדול] could be rendered "for great praise," or, supplementing גדול]ת, "to praise the greatness of...."

Line 35. למאירי דעת בכול אלי אור]

There are references to the giving of instruction (4Q400 1 i 17) and to the revealing of secret knowledge (4Q401 14 ii 7) elsewhere in the Shirot.

Line 36. תשבחות [ב] לשון הרביע[י

The structure of the formulaic praises is again apparent here. Restore תהלת at the end of line 35. Compare 4Q403 1 i 2.

Line 37. פלא ת[הלת הודות ב][ל שון החמישי

In the pattern of the psalms of the angelic princes in the sixth Sabbath song, each psalm ends with the word פלא, and each new psalm account begins with תהלת. Although the restoration is conjectural, the supplement fits well.

Line 38. הוד[ות

For הודות as the theme word of the psalm of the fifth prince see 4Q403 1 i 3.

Line 39. ת[הלת

The reconstruction is plausible but not certain. If תהלת is the correct restoration, probably supplement תהלת זמר for the psalm of the seventh prince.

Lines 39-41.

The material preserved in 4Q405 64 and 67 containing part of the account of the psalm of the seventh prince and the summaries of the psalms of all the princes would have overlapped these lines in 4Q403 1 ii.

Lines 42-48.

According to the reconstruction of 4Q405, the eighth Sabbath song contained an account of the blessings of the seven deputy princes. See 4Q405 13 which contains part of the blessings for the fourth through the seventh princes. Assuming that the blessing account followed immediately upon the account of the psalms of the angelic princes, as in the sixth Sabbath song, one should reconstruct the blessings of the deputy princes beginning somewhere around line 42. The verbal correspondence between the two blessing accounts in the sixth and eighth songs appears to be much closer than that between the two accounts of the psalms. Apart from some minor variations in epithets (see notes to 4Q405 13), the primary difference between the two accounts is in the attribution of the blessings.

Whereas the blessings in the sixth Sabbath song are all attributed to the seven נשיאי רוש, 4Q405 13 4-5 reads הששי במשני [נשי]אי פלא, and 4Q405 13 7 reads השביעי [נשיאי מש]ני פלא. It is likely that, as in the sixth Sabbath song, the account of the blessings of the seven deputy princes brings the eighth Sabbath song to a close.

4Q403 2: Transcription

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|----|
|]א[| קודש קודש שים | .1 |
|]ים קרואי ר'ו[| ם רומים | .2 |
|]ש וההלי פלא | | .3 |
|]קודש בר[| | .4 |
|]ל[| | .5 |

4Q403 2: Translation

1. [...most ho]ly[.]°[...] 2. [...]°° dignitaries of the *hi*[gh]est heaven... 3. [...]° and wondrous psalms °[...] 4. [...]holiness in °[.]°[...] 5. [...]°[...]

4Q403 2: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Frgs. 2 and 3 probably come from the left-hand part of 4Q403 1 ii, but it is not possible to specify their precise location.

Line 2. קרואי ר'ו[ם רומים

The downstroke has been lost, but the traces are good for the head of *gop*. The angelic title קרואי רום רומים occurs in MasShirShabb i 12 at the beginning of the sixth Sabbath song. Cf. the BH phrase קרואי העדה in Num 1:16.

Line 4.]°[בר[

Either *dalet* or *resh* is materially possible. Perhaps restore בר[ב]י[ר].

4Q403 3: Transcription and Translation

- | | |
|---------------|----|
|]מ לך מרוממים | .1 |
| קי[דש קודש]ים | .2 |
|]°[| .3 |
1. [...K]ing of those who exalt[...] 2. [...mo]st ho[ly...] 3. [...]°[...]

4Q404: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q404: Material Description

The leather is brittle though not very thin. A bluish grey or brown in color, the leather becomes dark red when stained. The surface is smooth and sub-glossy, well preserved with few losses. The back is rough, with the same range of colors. No traces of lines, vertical or horizontal, can be made out. Space between lines: 6.8 mm. Height of average letter (e.g., *he, dalet*): 2.5-3.0 mm. Column width is irregular: frg. 1, ca. 68 ls.; frg. 2, ca. 65 ls.; frg. 4, ca. 44 ls.; frg. 5, ca. 34 ls. Photos: PAM 41.852; 42.470; 42.815; 42.973; 43.195; 43.505.

4Q404: Orthography

The pronominal suffixes are the forms standard in the MT (ו-, לו, יו-, יל-). Note, however, the phonetic orthography of קירוֹתו in 4Q404 5 6. *Yod* is *mater lectionis* for long *i* and for *ê* from *ay*, but not for short *i*. Every vowel derived from *u*, whether long or short, accented or unaccented, is represented by *waw*. The phonetic spelling רוש (MT ראש) is typical of all manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot.

4Q404: Paleography

4Q404 is a formal hand from the late Hasmonean-early Herodian period. Somewhat more developed than 4Q400, it is to be dated ca. 25 B.C.

Alep appears to be made in the early Herodian fashion, with the oblique axis drawn upwards, overlapping with a continuous movement into the downstroke of the left leg (2 1: א[ל]; 5 3: פלא נפלא; 6 4: פלא; cf., however, 5 5: באור and 5 6: פלא, where the left leg may be penned separately). The left leg curls or bends to the right, and the right arm is often thickened at the top. *Bet* is similarly drawn in early Herodian manner, with the tick of the right shoulder tending to disappear (2 1: דברי; 2 9: שובועי), and the baseline being drawn from left to right, sometimes extending beyond the vertical downstroke on the right (2 3 and 2 6: וברך; 11 1: בשבעה, second *bet*). *Dalet* and medial *kap* continue to be made in the late Hasmonean

manner. *Dalet* is penned with a continuous stroke, rather than with the two strokes of the Herodian style. The gentle "s"-shaped curve of the downstroke is a semiformal feature found in many transitional hands (3 1: לחוד[ש; 4 7: דעה). Medial *kap* has a narrow, ticked head, a straight downstroke, and a slightly slanting baseline (2 6: לכול; 2 11: מברכיו; cf. 4QSam^a). Also typical of transitional hands are the size and stance of *ayin* (2 8: עולמים; 5 4: דעת; not quite so advanced as lQM) and the tendency of the left downstroke of *shin* to break through at the bottom (2 2: רוש; 5 1: קודש). *Waw* and *yod* are generally distinct, *yod* having a more shaded head and shorter tail than *waw* (2 3: פלאיו; 2 11: מברכיו; 5 2: עולמים). In many instances, however, the forms are quite close and may be indistinguishable when ligatured (6 3: רגליו).

4Q404: General Comments

The larger fragments of 4Q404 overlap with the better preserved text of 4Q403 1 i. See 4Q403 for translation and notes.

4Q404 1: Transcription

1. תהל[ת זמר כל[שון
2. נפלאו[ותיה וזמר]
3. ת[הלי ג'דל

4Q404: Comments

4Q404 overlaps 4Q403 1 i 6-8 (underlined in the transcription). Based on this overlap, the line length of 4Q404 1 can be calculated at ca. 68 ls.

4Q404 2: Transcription

1. [דברי פלא וברך לכול]
2. [רוש יברך בשם גבורו[ת] אל[ים ל]כ'ול
3. [פלאיו וברך לכול תמימ[י] דרך בשבע[ה]
4. [וברך לכול חוכי לו [בש]בעה דברי פ'לא
5. [ו[ש יברך ב'שם
6. [וברך לכול מ'רימי
7. [צד[ק מהללי]

לְ[שִׁלּוֹ]ם[עוֹלָמִים]	.8
ב[כֹּל שׁוֹבֹעֵי הָעוֹדוֹ]תם	.9
עוֹ[לָמִים הָ]ע']	.10
מ[בְּרִכּוֹ]	.11
לְ[	.12

4Q404 2: Notes on the Readings and Comments

4Q404 2 overlaps with 4Q403 1 i 20-28 (underlined in the transcription). The only discrepancy is the orthography of פִּלְאִיו (4Q404 2 3), which is spelled פִּלְאוּ in 4Q403 1 i 22. The line length of 4Q404 2 can be calculated at ca. 65 ls.

Line 3. תְּמִימָ[י. *Mem* is certain. See PAM 41.852.

Line 9. שׁוֹבֹעֵי. The reading שׁוֹבִיעֵי is materially somewhat better than שׁוֹבֹעֵי, but the word appears to be BH שְׁבֹעַ, "heptad." See notes to 4Q403 1 i 27 for further discussion.

Line 10. הָ[ע'. The first trace is not *zayin* but perhaps the right leg of *he*.

Line 12. The *lamed* in line 12 probably corresponds not to *lamed* in לְכוּל (4Q403 1 i 29) but to the *lamed* of עוֹלָה in 4Q403 1 i 30.

4Q404 3AB: Transcription

יִסְ[	.1
עש[ר לְחוּד]שׁ	.2
אֵלֶי[הֵם לְמַ]לֵךְ	.3

4Q404 3AB: Notes on the Readings and Comments

The two parts of 4Q404 3 overlap with 4Q403 1 i 29-31 (underlined).

Line 1. The traces are too slight to identify with certainty but perhaps overlap בְּרוּכִי in 4Q403 1 i 29.

4Q404 4: Transcription

	<u>פיה] ו' יִה' יו</u>	c	.1
	<u>ברצ] ו' [ד] עתו] כול מעשיו במשלחם [רננו]</u>	o	.2
	<u>ברו] נ' באל] והי</u>	l	.3
	<u>דע] ת רנות]</u>	u	.4
	<u>אלוהים לכו] ל</u>	m	.5
	<u>הודו כול אלי]</u>	n	.6
	<u>אי] ל' דעת וכו] ל</u>		.7
	]		.8
	<u>ש] לומם]</u>		.9
	<u>בשמחת]</u>		.10

4Q404 4: Notes on the Readings and Comments

The uninscribed leather to the right of *alep* and *he* in lines 5 and 6 and the regular margin apparent in the restored text indicates a column margin. 4Q404 4 overlaps with 4Q403 l i 35-40 (underlined in the transcription). The well preserved text of 4Q403 allows one to calculate the column width of 4Q404 4, a width which varies from 39 to 49 ls.

Line 7. אילי. The spelling of the supplement follows 4Q403 l i 38.

Line 9. ש] לומם. 4Q403 l i 39 reads שלומים, which seems preferable. The 3 m. pl. suffixes on דעתם and הודותם in the same line may have occasioned the error in 4Q404 4.

4Q404 5: Transcription

c	<u>רוח קודש קודשים]</u>	.1
o	<u>קודש עולמים ממעל]</u>	.2
l	<u>ע' פלא נפלא הוד]</u>	.3
u	<u>כ] בוד' באור אורותם דעת</u>	.4
m	<u>מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים]</u>	.5
n	<u>מלך אמת [ו] צדק כול קירונו]</u>	.6

[בקודש] [ה' כו'נ] [ור] .7

[תבני]ת .8

4Q404 5: Notes on the Readings and Comments

4Q404 5 overlaps with the combined text of 4Q403 1 i 44 ff. (solid underlining) and 4Q405 6 5-8 (broken underlining). The line length of 4Q404 5 can be calculated at ca. 33-37 ls.

Line 1. 4Q405 6 5 reads the plural רוחי.

Line 3. [ע' פלא] . The trace before פלא is ambiguous but good for *ayin*. Cf. *ayin* in עולמים in line 2 above. In 4Q405 6 6 the word before פלא is also broken, but the final letter is clearly *yod*. Perhaps here (as with רוחי/רוח above) 4Q404 5 preserves a singular form and 4Q405 6 a plural (e.g., רקיעי/רקיע).

Line 4. אורות. 4Q403 1 i 45 reads אורתם.

Line 6. קורותו. The dark spot to the upper right of *qop* is not ink but a small hole in the leather.

Line 7. Perhaps supplement א[ור].

4Q404 6: Transcription

[מתוך]° .1

[מלך כול] .2

[רגליו ג] .3

[פלא] .4

[תבני]ת .5

[°] .6

4Q404 6: Notes on the Readings and Comments

4Q404 6 overlaps with 4Q403 1 ii 1-3, which has a column width about twice that of 4Q404 6.

Line 6. The trace is not that of *lamed* but perhaps *taw*, *nun*, *zayin*, or *shin*.

4Q404 7: Transcription

]	°°°[	.1
]	ל סדרי°[	.2
]	ל ברך°[	.3

4Q404 7: Comments

Line 1. The word סדר is not otherwise attested in the Sabbath Shirot.

Line 2. Perhaps supplement ל ברך קו] as in 4Q403 1 ii 11. It is possible but not clearly demonstrable that the texts overlap.

4Q404 8: Transcription

c	°[	.1
o	צדק[	.2
1	אלי צדק°[	.3

4Q404 9: Transcription

]	ם[	ל°[	לו°[	.1
---	----	-----	------	----

4Q404 10: Transcription

]	הוי°[	.1
]	ול°[	.2

4Q404 11: Transcription

]	בשבעה[	.1
°[	בשובוע°[	.2
°[	לכבוד°[	.3
]	דעה°[	.4

4Q404 11: Comments

Judging from the occurrence of בשבעה and בשובוע] in frg. 11 probably comes from one of the sections of formulaic praise and blessing in the eighth Sabbath song. The only occurrence of שובועי in the similar material from the sixth Sabbath song is preserved in 4Q404 2.

4Q404 12: Transcription

]	לך וי°[	.1
]	ים[	.2

4Q404 13: Transcription

]	פלאו°[	.1
---	--------	----

4Q404 14: Transcription

]ות[.1
] ל[.2

4Q404 15: Transcription

] כול א[.1
] ת °[.2

4Q404 16: Transcription

] ° °[.1
] ב[ר[.2
] ש[בעה[.3
] עו[.4
] שבעה[.4

4Q404 17: Transcription

] ים ל[.1
] וכול[.2

4Q404 16: Comments

4Q404 16 probably preserves part of the formulaic blessings from the sixth or eighth Sabbath song.

4Q404 18: Transcription

] ש[.1
] רום[.2
] °[.3

4Q404 19: Transcription

] רתו מ[.1
] ש קדו[שים[.2

4Q404 20: Transcription

] ת א[די[.1
] הודות[.2

4Q404 21: Transcription

] כל ב[.1
] °°[.2

4Q404 20: Comments

הודות is the theme word of the formulaic praise of the fifth angelic prince in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs. See 4Q403 1 i 34; ii 38.

4Q404 22: Transcription

] ב[ש[.1
] ב[.2

4Q404 23: Transcription

] °[.1
] ד[.2
] בתי[.3
] ד[.4

4Q404 24: Transcription]פ[

4Q404 25: No decipherable letters.

4Q405: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q405: Material Description

Frgs. 1-10 are a light brown color, staining to dark brown or red. The surface is frequently covered by incrustations, through which the infra red photographs manage to copy the letters. The leather is somewhat thick, with a generally well preserved matt surface. The back is grey, staining to dark brown or red. Vertical and horizontal lines are clear, as are the *points jalons*. The writing (often larger than in the other fragments of 4Q405) is generally suspended from horizontal dry lines, though it is sometimes written with no apparent consideration for the lines. Among the smaller fragments frgs. 23-34 most closely resemble frgs. 1-10.

Frgs. 11-13, plus 35, form a group in which the leather is thinner but shrivelled. The surface peels frequently and is glossier, in color a reddish brown. The back is smooth and dark brown in color.

In frgs. 14-18 there is a tendency for the leather to wrinkle. There are occasional vertical dry lines at the ends of columns but they do not coincide with the *points jalons*. Among the smaller fragments frgs. 42-57 most closely resemble frgs. 14-18.

The leather of frgs. 19-23 is thinner than that of frgs. 1-10, and, except for frg. 19 is less wrinkled than that of frgs. 14-18. The *points jalons* do not correspond to the ends of dry lines but instead seem to form a substitute for vertical dry lines which otherwise cannot be made out. Among the smaller fragments frgs. 36-41 most closely resemble frgs. 19-23.

After frg. 58 fragments are grouped together which have a slightly thicker leather and a light brown color.

Space between columns: frg. 3 (measured from dry lines), ca. 1.6 cm.; frg. 15 (measured from *points jalons*), ca. .9 cm.; frg. 20 (measured from *points jalons*), ca. 1.3 cm.; frg. 23 (measured from *points jalons*), ca. 1.6 cm. Space between lines: frg. 3, ca. 6-8 mm.; frg. 17, 6-9 mm.; frg. 20, ca. 8-9 mm.; frg. 22, 7-8 mm. Height of average letter (e.g., *bet*, *dalet*): frg. 3, ca. 3.0-3.5 mm.; frg. 20, ca. 2.5-3.0 mm.; frg. 22,

ca. 3 mm. Width of column: frg. 22, ca. 20 cm.; frg. 23i, 14.75 cm.; frg. 23ii, ca. 15 cm.

Photos: PAM 41.285; 41.346; 41.374; 41.397; 41.408; 41.505; 41.517; 41.518; 41.659; 41.666; 41.780; 41.821; 41.822; 41.859; 42.148; 42.149; 42.150; 42.557; 42.588; 42.812; 42.817; 42.917; 42.967; 42.968; 43.494; 43.497; 43.498; 43.500; 43.508; 43.510; 43.727.

4Q405: Orthography

The pronominal suffixes are the forms standard in MT (ו-, ה-, ת-, לו, י-, -ם, -יהם), plus the long forms כסאיכה (23i 3), בלכתמה (21 5; but cf. לכתם in 22 12) and במה (23i 10). Note משניו (11 3) for MT משנהו. The phonetic spelling ו- for MT יו- occurs in the forms נפלאותו (3ii 3, 9), חדטו (3ii 15), פנו (22 7).

Yod is *mater lectionis* for long *i* and for *ê* from *ay* but not for short *i*. For רוקמה (MT *riqmâ*) see notes to 4Q403 1 ii 1. *Ṣere* is not generally spelled with *yod*. For the spelling אילי (13 2) see the discussion of the angelic title אלים in the chapter on angelology in the introduction. The forms משני, מעשי, and מראי (13 4; 23ii 7, 8; etc.) are phonetic spellings for the singular construct forms (MT משנה, מעשה, and מראה).

There is less regularity in the representation of *u* and *o* vowels in 4Q405 than in other manuscripts of the Shiot. Generally speaking, most vowels derived from *u* are represented by *waw* whether they are long or short, accented or unaccented, as is *ô* from *aw*. Occasionally, however *o* from *u* is not so represented, and reduced *o* is indifferently spelled with or without *waw* (both קודש and קדש, קודשים and קדשים are attested). The 3d plural perfect verb with 3d singular masculine suffix is spelled defectively in one instance (19 2, ושנחו). The plene and defective spellings אולמי/אלמי (14-15i 3, 4) are both attested in MT.

While the phonetic spelling רוש is generally used, the compound spelling רואש is attested once (34 3). Other compound spellings in 4Q405 which are common in QL include לוא and כיא. Note the use of *alep* for *he* in עשרא (21 6). The quiescence of *he* may be reflected in the apparent confusion of טוהר and טהור. See notes to 19 4.

4Q405: Paleography

4Q405 is a late Hasmonean formal hand with strong semiformal influence. It is to be dated slightly later than 4Q400, perhaps ca. 50 B.C. Despite

the presence of certain archaic features (e.g., the inconstant size of letters, the small size and upright stance of *ayin* [3ii 14: עם; 10 3: שבע], and the large size of *taw* [22 10: בדמות; 23ii 11: ממלכות, 2d occurrence], there are no really early forms. Several letters reflect distinctly late Hasmonean traits. Though the right shoulder of *bet* is sharply angled or ticked, the base line is drawn as a separate left to right stroke (6 6: באור; 46 2: בכול). *Tet* is a typical late Hasmonean form with a broad, often flat base line (3ii 3: טהורי; 23ii 10 and 19 4: טוהר). The head of final *kap* is broad (3ii 5, 6: וברך; 24 3: מלך), though the tail is still rather long. Medial *mem* closely resembles that of the contemporary 4QDeut^c with its deeply ticked head. Note, however, the upward curve of the base stroke in 4Q405 (22 8: מרכבה; 22 10: מראי; 23i 8: לממשלתם, especially the first *mem*). The late Hasmonean final *mem* is a narrow letter with the left downstroke often beginning above the cross stroke of the head. The downstroke may be straight or may begin with an oblique stroke straightening to a vertical (3ii 6: נשם; 14-15i 7: קודשים; 22 14: פקודיהם). *Samek* is made with a single continuous line, beginning with the left upstroke, in typical Hasmonean fashion. *Samek* tends to be closed at the bottom, a feature which begins sporadically in late Hasmonean hands and becomes standard in early Herodian scripts (3ii 7: ליסודי; 19 1: מדרס; cf. 3ii 15: חסדו).

4Q405: Proposed Reconstruction

Several types of information allow one to reconstruct the relative positions of most of the significant fragments of 4Q405 as they originally appeared in the scroll. In some instances fragments were found in layered piles. In other cases, even though the fragments had been separated, observations of congruent shapes indicate the relative position of the fragments. Finally, some information about the sequence and location of fragments can be gleaned from the overlap of content between 4Q405 and other manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot. The following notes explain the bases for the positioning of the fragments in the accompanying reconstruction of the scroll.

Frg. 1 came from a layer underneath the fragment now forming part of 4Q405 3ii 2-4, frg. 2 from a layer underneath 4Q405 3ii 4-5 (ברך, בשבעת) (לכול). The precise positioning of the fragments relative to 4Q405 3 is hypothetical but should be approximately correct.

The relative position of frgs. 3 ii, 4-5, and 6 can be established by two independent criteria. The two fragments, 3 and 6, exhibit congruent shapes along lines of damage or break which indicate that they occupied adjacent layers in the rolled scroll. While this congruence can be partly indicated in the reconstruction, it is more clearly seen by superimposing photographs of the fragments. The relative position of the fragments 3 and 6 (as well as the location of 4-5) is confirmed by their overlap with the continuous text of 4Q403 1 i. This overlap also makes it possible to calculate the column widths of 3 ii, 4-5, and 6 and to estimate the column height of 4Q405 at approximately 25 lines.

The relatively even lower edge of the well preserved fragments in the latter part of the scroll makes it apparent that the scroll suffered its most extensive damage in the upper part, while the lower part of the scroll was preserved nearly to the bottom of the column. Consequently, for schematic purposes, I have treated the last line of frg. 3 ii, which is the lowest preserved line in the reconstructed scroll, as the bottom line of the column and assigned line numbers in the reconstructed scroll accordingly (see the accompanying chart).

Frgs. 7ABCD were found on top of 4Q405 6, 7A (בשנעת) superimposed on frg. 6 2 (למשא), 7B (רום מלכות) on frg. 6 3 (רקיע טהור), 7C (סביב) on frg. 6 6 (כבוד באור), and 7D on frg. 6 7 (למעון). The location of 7E is hypothetical, but its physical similarity to 7D and the congruence of its shape with the lower left part of frg. 6 makes its position here likely. Frg. 10 was the uppermost fragment in the pile consisting of 10, 7A, 6.

There is a congruence of shape between the right-hand part of frg. 11 and the lower right-hand portion of 6. In addition the overlap between frg. 11 and 4Q403 1 ii 27-29 confirms that frg. 11 should be located about two columns from 6, which overlaps with 4Q403 1 i 40ff. (See the chart.) Frg. 8-9 overlaps with 4Q403 1 ii 18-21. Its approximate location in the column can thus be calculated relative to the location of frg. 11.

Frg. 12 almost certainly overlaps with 4Q403 1 ii 33-34. Its right-hand margin was probably contiguous with the left-hand margin of frg. 9. Frgs. 64 and 67 contain material from the same formulaic passage as frg. 12 and should come about 3-4 lines below the last line of frg. 12.

Frg. 13 exhibits congruence of shape with frg. 12 and frg. 14 and should occupy the column between these fragments. Moreover, frg. 13 contains the

formulaic blessing which one expects to follow the preceding formulaic material represented by frg. 12 (see notes *ad loc*).

Frgs. 14, 15, and 16 were found in a layered pile, with 14 beneath and 16 above.

For the remainder of the scroll it is easier to discuss the evidence for the final columns first. The well preserved frgs. 22-23 display a series of parallel vertical cracks which indicate portions of the scroll which were superimposed when the scroll was rolled. The distance between corresponding points of damage in a scroll will increase in a strict arithmetic progression from the inner portion of the scroll to the outer portion. Calculating from the distance between the first pair of vertical cracks in 23ii to the last pair of vertical cracks in 22, one finds the following progression: 7.8 cm., 8.3 cm., 8.8 cm., 9.3 cm., 9.8 cm., a regular increase of .5 cm. between corresponding points of each "roll" of the scroll. (Measurements are taken from photographs. Measurements from the fragments may differ slightly, but it is the proportional relationship rather than the absolute value which is relevant.)

The space between successive marks of damage in 23ii, 7.8 cm., represents the circumference of the scroll at that point and indicates that 23ii came near the end of the scroll, since the diameter of the rolled scroll would have been slightly less than 2.5 cm. at that point. It becomes physically impossible for a scroll to be rolled with an interior diameter of much less than 2.0 cm. Consequently, one can reasonably assume that no more than one more column followed 23ii.

This judgment about the distance of fragments 22-23 from the end of the scroll is confirmed by the overlap of frgs. 20ii-21-22 with 11QShirShabb 3-4, a passage which preserves the end of the eleventh Sabbath song and the beginning of the twelfth.

Another group of 11Q fragments, j-d-g-p, overlaps the combination 4Q405 19ABCD. Given the similarity of frg. 19 to the shape of 22, 23i, and 23ii, it seems most likely that this combination preserves material from the column immediately to the right of frg. 22. The strong similarity in physical appearance between frg. 19 and frg. 18, coupled with the similarity of phraseology, suggests the placement of frg. 18 in the same column, though the placement cannot be demonstrated conclusively.

If the average length of a Sabbath song can be estimated, then it will be possible to estimate how much material remains unreconstructed between

the column containing frg. 15ii-16 on the right and the column containing frg. 19 on the left. The best preserved Sabbath songs are the sixth, seventh, and eighth, three songs which average about two columns of text apiece in 4Q405. It is possible, however, that these songs are longer than average. They contain extensive formulaic sections which could easily inflate the length of the compositions. Although the very end of the thirteenth Sabbath song is not preserved, it can be fairly well estimated from 4Q405 23 and 11Q 2-1-9 that the twelfth and thirteenth Sabbath songs together covered three columns of text in 4Q405. If one takes one and one half columns as the hypothetical length of an average Sabbath song not containing formulaic material, then there should be four and one half columns of text between the beginning of the ninth Sabbath song and the beginning of the twelfth. That would mean that only one column of text remains unreconstructed between frgs. 15ii-16 and 19. (If one assumed a longer average length for Sabbath songs, two columns might be reconstructed between 15ii-16 and 19, but on no account should one reconstruct more than two columns of text.) Although its placement can be no more than hypothetical, frg. 17 is similar in appearance and script to frg. 15ii-16 and perhaps comes from the column following that fragment.

Depending again on the calculation of the average length of the Sabbath songs as estimated above, the sixth Sabbath song should probably be estimated to begin near the top of the ninth or tenth column of the original scroll. The complete scroll of 4Q405 would thus have contained some twenty-two or twenty-three columns of text.

The following chart illustrates the relative positions of the fragments of 4Q405, as reconstructed, and the overlap between 4Q405 and other manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot. The double dotted line indicates actual textual overlap between manuscript fragments. Where material from these other manuscripts can be securely located in the reconstruction of 4Q405 but where no textual overlap is extant, the relationship is indicated with a single dotted line. Fragments whose position is conjectural or can be only generally specified are indicated with a question mark. Finally, the beginnings of individual Sabbath Songs are indicated in the columns where they occur or where they can reasonably be conjectured to have occurred.

COL. XVI	COL. XV	COL. XIV	COL. XIII	COL. XII	COL. XI	COL. X	LINE
<u>Song 9</u>	12	1 2 3 4 5	(lines 31-34)		4Q403 lii		1
							2
							3
							4
							5
							6
							7
							8
							9
							10
14-15i	13	1 2 3 4 5 6 7			MasShirShabb ii		11
							12
							13
							14
							15
							16
							17
							18
							19
							20
					4Q402 4		21
							22
							23
							24
							25

COL. XXIII	COL. XXII	COL. XXI	COL. XX	COL. XIX	COL. XVIII	COL. XVII	LINE
	<u>Song 13 ?</u>			<u>Song 11 ?</u>			1
11Q 2-1-9 ?	11Q 8-7 ?	11Q 5-6 ?					2
							3
							4
							5
							6
							7
							8
							9
					17 1 ?		10
							11
							12
							13
							14
							15
							16
							17
							18
							19
							20
							21
							22
							23
							24
							25

4Q405 1: Transcription

]אז̣ c	.1
]ה̣ 1	.2

4Q405 1: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Frg. 1 came from a layer underneath the fragment now forming part of 4Q405 3 ii 2-4.

Line 1.]אז̣. The second trace would be good for *zayin*, but could be the right leg of *he* or *het*.

Line 2.]ה̣. The surface is cracked, but *he* or *het* seems better than the combination *waw*, *kap* or *waw*, *bet*.

4Q405 2: Transcription

]ירֹוֹתוֹ ל̣]	.1
מ]עלה בכֹוֹ ל̣]	.2
]רֹום̣ °]	.3
]ל̣]	.4

4Q405 2: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Frg. 2 came from a layer underneath the fragment now forming part of 4Q405 3 ii 4-5 (ברך לכול, בשבעת).

Line 1.]ירֹוֹתוֹ ל̣]. The second trace is most easily read as *resh* or *dalet*. The last trace visible on the left is perhaps the crook of *lamed* or the head of *qop*.

4Q405 3 i: Transcription

[גדל̣]	.10
[וגדל̣]	.11
[לנשיאי רֹוש̣]	.12a
[ם אמתו̣]	.12
[בשבעה̣]	.13
[ממו̣ לאלוהי̣]	.14
[ש̣ בעה̣ בשבעה̣]	.15
[ש̣ בע̣ ג̣ בורות̣]	.16a

4Q405 3 i: Notes on the Readings

Line 10. ^oגדל. For the sharply curved tail of *lamed* cf. לו in 4Q405 3 ii 7.

Line 12. םאמתו[. The deletion of letters by crossing them out with a solid line occurs only here in 4Q405, though cf. notes to 4Q405 23 i 11. Otherwise deletions are indicated by dots above, or above and below, the letters to be deleted. Deletion by crossing through letters is found in other Qumran manuscripts, though normally several lines are drawn through the words or letters to be deleted. See M. Martin, *Scribal Character*, II, 424.

Lines 13-15. The writing in lines 13-15 is placed somewhat below the dry lines, rather than being suspended from them. Cf. the even more erratic spacing in 4Q405 3 ii 9-13.

Line 13. בשבעה. A trace of the base line of *bet* as well as a point of deletion is visible in some photographs. The points of deletion are not carefully placed above and below each letter, but judging from the dots below the two *bets*, the entire word and not just the last two letters was intended to be deleted.

Line 16a. ^oש[נע. These letters are small and appear to be written in the interlinear space between lines 15 and 16.

4Q405 3 i: Comments

Lines 10-11.

4Q403 1 preserves part of the formulaic account of the praise of the second and third chief princes from the beginning of the sixth Sabbath song. (See notes to MasShirShabb ii for restoration, translation, and comments on the content.) גדל and וגדל are from elements A and G, respectively, of the psalm of the second chief prince. See chart on p. 178 for restoration of the highly formulaic text.

Lines 12, 12a.

Because so little of col. i remains, it is difficult to define the nature of the error and correction in these lines, but perhaps it involved a haplography between רומם תהלת רומם (element A of the third psalm) and רומם אמתו (element D). The text of the psalm of the third prince should have read as follows (see notes to MasShirShabb ii for details of reconstruction):

E	D	C	B	A
למלך מלאכים	רומם אמנו	לנשיאי רוש	בלשון השלישי	והלת רומם

I	H	G	F
בשבעה רומי פלאיה	רומם	לאלוהי מלאכי רום	שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי פלא

If the scribe omitted all the material between the two occurrences of רומם in A and D, he might then have deleted אמנו (or רומם אמנו) and inserted the omitted material in the interlinear space.

Line 13. בשבעה (deleted)

There were apparently other errors in the text besides the haplography postulated above, but their nature is not clear. שבעה occurs regularly in elements F and I in the formulaic pattern.

Line 14. ממנו לאלוהי

It is impossible to identify these remains with anything in the psalm of the fourth chief prince. See chart on p. 179. If these words are to be identified with elements G-H of the third prince's psalm (רומם לאלוהי), then one would have to assume that most of line 13 was deleted, since a single line of text would adequately contain the material between לנשיאי רוש at the end of line 12a and לאלוהי at the end of line 14.

Line 15. שבעה בשבעה

If שבעה בשבעה is from element I of the third psalm, then one must assume that there were further disturbances in the text, since the material from לאלוהי in element H to שבעה בשבעה in element I is inadequate to fill a line. Attempts to identify the material in lines 14-15 with elements from the psalm of the fourth prince, however, are equally problematic.

Line 16a. שבעה ג

Perhaps the phrase is to be identified with element F of the psalm of the fourth prince (בשבע גבורות פלאה, preserved in 4Q403 1 i 2).

4Q405 3 ii: Transcription

1. ו[בם לידוע]
2. ד[ברי פלא וברך בשבעה דברי]
3. דברי כבוד נפלאותו לכול טהו[רי]
4. רום מלכותו לכול רומי דעת בשבעה ד[ברי רום ולכו]
5. ו[ברך בשבעה דברי פלא וברך לכול] נועדי צ[דק בשבעה]

6. בְּנִשְׁאִי רֹשׁ יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם הַיּוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ לְכוֹל הוּא ל[כִּי

7. וּבְרַךְ לִיסוּדֵי הַיּוֹד [וְ] בְּשִׁבְעָה

8. בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי צִדִּיק לְרוּחַ מִי

9. נִפְלְאוֹתָיו לְכוֹל יוֹדְעֵי רִזִּי °]

10. נִמְהָרֵי רְצוֹנוֹ בְּשִׁבְעָה]

11. הוֹד לְהוֹדֵי פֶלֶא הַשְּׁשִׁי °]

12. *vacat*

13. שֶׁכֶּל בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי

14. לְתַמִּיד עִם כּוֹל]

15. רַחֲמֵי חֲסִדּוֹ הַשְּׁשִׁי [בִּינֵי

16. דַּעַת בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי

17. לְמַגְנֵי עוֹז וּבְרַךְ

18. דְּבָרֵי פֶלֶא לְשִׁבְעָה לֹס

19. בְּכֹל [שְׁשִׁי] בִּדְעֵי

Overlap with 4Q403 1 i 11-27 is indicated with solid underlining.

The line length of 4Q405 3 ii can be calculated at approximately 60 ls.

4Q405 3 ii: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. The first two letters preserved are clearly בַּם[, though the coincidence with 4Q403 1 i 11 and the formulaic pattern lead one to expect בְּרַךְ. Apparently a ligatured *resh*, *kap* has been misread by the copyist as a final *mem*, Masada ii 26 also reads ם[וּב, suggesting that the error arose in an archetype common to the two manuscripts.

Line 2. בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי. The reading בְּשִׁבְעָה is clear on photo PAM 42.148 and is confirmed by the parallel in 4Q403 1 i 12.

Line 3. The *taw* in נִפְלְאוֹתָיו is almost completely destroyed by cracks and abrasion. There does not appear to be room to restore נִפְלְאוֹתָיו, however. 4Q405 regularly favors the phonetic spelling of the 3 masc. sg. suffix on plural nouns with *waw* alone rather than the *yod*, *waw* orthography characteristic of the MT. Cf., e.g., נִפְלְאוֹתָיו in line 9 below.

Line 7. הַיּוֹד. Most of the head of *he* is broken away at an angle. In PAM 42.966 enough of the head is preserved to rule out *het*. The following

trace is clearly the head of *dalet*, not that of final *mem*.

Line 9. The traces of the last letter before the break are ambiguous, perhaps *bet*, *pe*, or possibly *tet*.

Line 10. רצונו. The surface is abraded, but the reading is certain. See PAM 42.966.

Lines 12-13. The scribe has spaced the lines of text more widely than the dry lines, so that שכל בשבעה דב[רי is the only line of text written between lines 11 and 14.

Line 16. דעת בשבעה ד[ברי. A horizontal crack has displaced the tops of the letters slightly to the right, but the reading is clear.

Line 17. למגני. The left stroke of *gimel* is unusually high, but the letter is clearly *gimel*, not *yod*.

Line 18. דברי. A trace of the head of *dalet* is just visible on PAM 42.966.

Line 19. ב[כול[שׁו. Traces of *kap* are visible on early photographs. The traces identified as *shin* are ambiguous, but the reading is confirmed by the overlap with 4Q403.

4Q405 3 ii: Translation and Comments

See notes to 4Q403 1 i.

4Q405 4-5: Transcription

1. [ל]מרום אלוה[ים מאלי רום ואלוהות כבודו מעל]
2. [לכו]ל מרומי[רום כיא הוא אל אלים לכול רא]שי מרומים ומל[ך מלכים לכול
סודי עולמים לאמרי]
3. פיהו יהי[ו כול אלי רום למוצא שפתיו כול רוח]י עולמים ברצ[ון דעתו כול
מעשיו במשלחם]
4. רננו מר[נני דעת ברוך באלוהי פלא והגו כבודו בלשון כול הוגי דעת רנו
פלאו בפי כול]
5. ה[וגי בו]...

Overlap with 4Q403 1 i 33-37 is indicated with solid underlining.
The line length of 4Q405 4-5 can be reconstructed at approximately 80 ls.

4Q405 4-5: Notes on the Readings

Line 4. רנני מר^{oo}נני^{oo}. The first letter closely resembles *dalet*, but *resh* is required by the parallel texts of 4Q403 and 4Q404. The last two traces before the break are ambiguous but compatible with the reading suggested. See PAM 41.822.

4Q405 4-5: Translation and Comments

See notes to 4Q403 l i.

4Q405 6: Transcription

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| | פל ^o א בשמח ^o ת | .1 |
| | קודש ^o ים [עמודי] משא ^o [ל] זבול ^{oo} רו ^o ם [ס] רומ ^{oo} ים וכול פנו ^o ת | .2 |
| | [דעת ואור למשא יח ^o ד רקי ^o ע טוהר ^o] | .3 |
| | [° עולמי עולמים רקי ^o ע ר] אשי מרומ ^o ים | .4 |
| | [רוחי קוד ^o ש] ש [קדשים ^o] אלוהים ^o חיים ^o רו ^o חי [ק]ודש | .5 |
| c | [י פלא נפלא ^{oo}] הוד ^{oo} [] ופלא ^o ו ^o [כבוד באור | .6 |
| o | [ל מקדש ^o י] פלא רוחות אלוהים סביבה למעון | .7 |
| l | [°°° בקדש קדשים ^{oo}] °° סי | .8 |
| u | [ל] [°לאל] [° אפסי | .9 |
| m | [ח קול | .10 |
| n | [ישמיעו ^o | .11 |

Overlap with 4Q403 l i 40-45 is underlined in the transcription. Material in lines 7-11 would have occurred in 4Q403 l i 46-50 if that fragment had been preserved. The broken condition of 4Q403 l i 40-45 makes it difficult to calculate the line length of 4Q405 6 precisely, but 75 ls. should be fairly close. 4Q405 6 also overlaps 4Q404 5. See *ad loc.*

4Q405 6: Notes on the Readings

In general the readings are clearer on photo PAM 42.558, though individual fragments are not completely joined in that photograph.

Line 1. פל^oא. The inward curl of the legs of *alep* is clear. See PAM 42.558.

Line 2. זָבֹולֹ [ל] זָבֹולֹ. קודש] ים [עמודי] משא] [ל] זָבֹולֹ. The space available for the restoration of עמודי in the lacuna is very tight, but the word is clear in 4Q403 1 i 41. The alep in משא is almost completely abraded. Materially, זָבֹולֹ could also be וָבֹולֹ, but the reading is confirmed by 4Q403 1 i 41.

Ibid. פָּנוֹת פָּנוֹת. Materially, either פָּנוֹת or פָּנוֹת is possible. 4Q403 1 i 41 reads פָּנוֹת.

Line 3. רָקִי] ע. For *ayin* compare בִּשְׁבַּעַה in 4Q405 3 i 15.

Ibid. טוֹהֵר. The reading is clearer in PAM 42.558 and is confirmed by 4Q403 1 i 42. There may be a trace of an interlinear letter above *tet*, though the reading is difficult. Perhaps read טָהֵר.

Line 5. קודש] ש [קדשים. For the head of final *mem* cf. 4Q405 3 ii 1 (בם).

Ibid. אֱלֹהִים חִיִּים. Only a trace of *alep* in אֱלֹהִים remains. חִיִּים is written interlinearly. *Het* is damaged. The two *yods* are faded but certain. See PAM 42.558.

Line 6. וְפִלָּא וְ [] וְפִלָּא וְ [] כְּבוֹד. The overlapping text in 4Q404 5 3 reads וְפִלָּא וְ [] כְּבוֹד. In וְ [] כְּבוֹד there is room for only a single letter in the lacuna, perhaps either *he* or *bet*.

Line 7. Probably restore כֹּל מְקֹדֶשׁ [י] פִּלָּא. The trace at the end of סָבִיב is difficult, but early photographs favor *he*. See PAM 41.821.

Line 8. The letter before *samek* at the end of the line cannot be *peh*, ruling out the reading אֶפְסִי (which occurs in line 9).

4Q405 6: Translation and Comments

See notes to 4Q403 1 i 40-45.

4Q405 7ABCDE: Transcription

	(A)		
	מָּ	[	.1
	(B)	תְּ [קוֹדֶשׁ] שׁ	.2
	שׁ [מִשְׁבַּעַת מִי]	שׁ [מִלְכּוֹת]	.3
(D)	שׁ [בְּמַעֲמָד]	שׁ [רָא]	.4
	שׁ []	שׁ []	.5
	(C)	שׁ [וְלֹ סָבִיב]	.6
	שׁ [עַתְּ דְּבִירִי כְּהוֹנָן]		.7

(D) (C)	
][^{oo} הונתו וש]	.8
][^{oo} ל ^{oo}	.9
(E)	
][בו מעש]	.10
][דה שב]	.11
][^{oo} ל	.12

The relationship and configuration of these fragments is based on their physical relationship to 4Q405 6. See notes on the proposed reconstruction of 4Q405 above.

4Q405 7ABCDE: Notes on the Readings

Line 3.]^{oo}מלכות] . The readings are clearer on early photographs, e.g., PAM 42.558.

Line 4.]^{oo}במעמ^{oo}. See PAM 42.558. The traces after *ayin* are not good for shin (e.g., for במעשי) but are compatible with *mem*.

Line 6. סבי^{oo}. The first *bet* is certain. See PAM 41.505.

Line 7.]שנ[ע^{oo}ת דבירי^{oo} כהונו^{oo}]ת. Frgs. C and D are contiguous. Compare the corresponding fragments in 4Q405 6. *Dalet* and *bet* are preserved on frg. C. The readings of both letters are clearer on PAM 41.505. The first *yod* in דבירי could materially be *resh* (for דברי), but the context does not favor that reading. The sharply angled head of *resh* is just visible on the edge of frg. D. The last trace on frg. D could be *waw* or the right leg of *taw*.

Line 9. The surface is badly damaged, but לקודש is perhaps possible.

Line 11.]דה שב]ע . In the first group *dalet* or *resh* is materially possible. For the last letter before the break the baseline is materially better for *bet* than for *mem*.

4Q405 7ABCDE: Translation

- (1) [...] (2) [...] . . . hol[y...] (3) [...] in the seven
 kingdom [...] (4) [...] chi[efs...] in the standing places
 (5) [...] (6) [...] .. round about
 (7) [...] the se]ven debirim of the priesthood[s...] (8) [...] of His
 priesthood and [...] (9) [...] (10) [...] His work[s...]

(11) [...].. seve[n...] (12) [...]...[...]

4Q405 7ABCDE: Comments

Since 4Q405 7 is situated in the column following 4Q405 6 (= 4Q403 1 i 40-46), 4Q405 7 should overlap (approximately) 4Q403 1 ii 9-16, the end of the seventh Sabbath song. Unfortunately, the text of that column is poorly preserved and no definite overlap can be established. It is clear, however, that the phraseology of 4Q405 7 is very similar to that of 4Q403 1 ii 9-16 (קודש, שבעה, מלכות, ראשי, סביב, דבירי occur in both passages; כהונה occurs in 4Q405 7 and in 4Q403 1 ii 20 and 22). In 4Q403 the conclusion of the seventh Sabbath song describes the praise which occurs in the most holy part of the heavenly sanctuary and refers to multiple debirim with multiple markabot, cherubim, and ophanim. If the reading in 4Q405 7 7 is correct, then the text also explicitly says that there are seven debirim (cf. 4Q403 1 ii 11, לשבעה קודשי רום) and associates them with the seven angelic priesthoods (cf. 4Q403 1 ii 22, כוה[נות] שבע במקדש פלא, לשבעת סודי קודש).

4Q405 8-9: Transcription

	A	B
1.] למשכיל שיר עולת ה[שבת השמינ[ית בשלושה ועשרים לחודש השני]		
2. הללו לאלוהי כול מ] כו[ל קדושי] עולמים שניים בכוהני ק[וּר]ב ס[וּד]		
3. שני במעוני פלא ב[שבע]		
4. [ע]ולמים ורוממ[והו]		
5. [כהו]נת קורבו] ראש[י נשיאי		
6. [כ]ה'נ'ת פל[א] ש[ׁ]		
7.] [ל כוה[נות]		

Frg. 8 consists of two distantly joined fragments (A, B). Overlap with 4Q403 1 ii 28-22 is underlined in the transcription.

4Q405 8-9: Notes on the Readings and Comments

The surface of the fragments is lost in many places. Despite the overlap with 4Q403, it is not possible to reconstruct the column width of 4Q405 8-9 from that information alone. 4Q405 11, however, which comes from the same column as 4Q405 8-9, has a width of ca. 65-70 ls., and the same width can thus be assumed for 4Q405 8-9. See proposed reconstruction.

Line 2. לֹא־לֹוֹהִי^{...}. The tail of *lamed* is just visible meeting the right leg of *alep*. The bottom of the two legs of *alep* is visible, with the tail of the second *lamed* touching the left leg of *alep*.

Ibid. סוֹ[°]ר. The surface is abraded before the trace, which is good for the head of *dalet*.

Line 4. וְרוֹמֵם^{° °}וְהוֹ. The traces of the next to last letter before the break are ambiguous but compatible with *mem*. The reading is confirmed by 4Q403 1 ii 20.

Line 5. קוֹרְבוֹ. Enough leather is preserved before the break to indicate that no letter immediately follows *waw*.

Line 6. כּוֹהֲנוֹת [כ]. Two waws are written in the interlinear space. Since the first one is positioned squarely above the *he*, it is unclear whether the scribe intended to correct to כוֹהֲנוֹת or כוֹהֲנוֹת. Spellings deviating from BH כוֹהֲנוֹת are to be found in 4Q400 1 ii 19 (כוֹהֲנוֹת) and 4Q400 2 6 (כוֹהֲנוֹת), but cf. the normal spelling in 4Q405 7 7 and 8 (כוֹהֲנוֹת). The confusion in spelling is probably attributable to the quiescence of *he*. Cf. the variant spellings of נָאֵם in Qumran manuscripts.

4Q405 8-9: Comments

Line 2.

If the lacuna after לֹא־לֹוֹהִי כוֹל is restored with even a brief supplement, e.g., מְרוֹמִי רוֹם or מְרוֹמִים, it is likely that עוֹלָמִים should either follow immediately after קְדוּשִׁי or after a brief supplement, e.g., קְדוּשִׁי עוֹלָמִי עוֹלָמִים. See the estimate of the column width for frg. 8-9 in the notes above.

Lines 4-5.

Supplementing from 4Q403 1 ii, lines 4-5 read as follows:

(4) עוֹלָמִים וְרוֹמֵמוֹהוּ רָאשֵׁי נְשִׂאִים בְּמִנְה פְּלִאִיו הִלְלוּ ... שְׁבַע (5) כְּהוֹנֵנוּ קוֹרְבוֹ

Assuming 4Q405 8-9 to have a column width of 65-70 ls., there is room to supplement a divine epithet after הִלְלוּ, e.g., לֹא־לֹוֹהִי אֱלִים, לְמֶלֶךְ כְּבוֹד, etc. The phrase שְׁבַע כְּהוֹנֵנוּ קוֹרְבוֹ is best construed as the vocative with the imperative הִלְלוּ.

For translation and additional commentary see notes to 4Q403 1 ii.

1. רנה^o]
2. מ^o]
3. ש]

Line 1. ^oרנה. The third letter is better for *waw* or *he* than for *nun*.

[illegible]

See notes to 4Q403 1 ii.

4Q405 12: Transcription

1.] שׁוֹן []
 2. הפלא °
 3. וגדל °
 4. תהלת °
 5. ת[] °

4Q405 12: Translation

(1) [with the t]ongue [...] (2) wonder/wondrously °[...] (3) and he will magnify [...] (4) Psalm of °[...] (5) °°[]°[...]

4Q405 12: Comments

The language of 4Q405 12 strongly recalls the formulaic language of the psalms of praise of the tongues of the seven angelic princes, specifically that of the second prince (cf. גדל as the theme word for the psalm of the second prince). Such a passage occurs in the sixth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 i 1-9 = 4Q405 3 i = MasShirShabb i 1-23) and also in the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 32-40, unfortunately very poorly preserved). Since part of the psalm of the second chief prince from the sixth Sabbath song is preserved in 4Q405 3 i 10-11, then 4Q405 12 must come from the similar account in the eighth Sabbath song. Although very little of the parallel text is preserved in 4Q403 1 ii, 4Q405 12 probably corresponds to lines 32-34 of 4Q403 1 ii. For further comments see notes to 4Q403 1 ii.

4Q405 13: Transcription

1. [] °°[] ° []
 2. (vac) [פלא וברך ל] כֹּל אֵל [י... בי דעת אמתו בשבעה דב] רִי טוב לרחמי כבודו
 [החמי] שי בנש[יא]
 3. [משני] פֹּלֵא יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם [נפלאותו לכול ידועי רזי ...] טוהר בִּשְׁבַּע דברי רום
 טוהר [ו] בִּרְךְ לכול נמהרִי
 4. [רצו]ן אמתו בשבעה דב[רי פלא וברך לכול מודי] לֹו בִּשְׁבַּע דברי הוד כְּבוֹדוֹ
 הששי במשני
 5. [נשי]אֵי פלא יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם גִּב[וֹרוֹת אלים לכול ג] בֹּרִי שכל בדעת עולמים בשבעה
 דברי גבורות פלאו

6. [וב]רך לכול תמימי דרך^{ִּ}] בשבעה דברי ... פלא לת^{ִּ}] מיד עם כול הויי עולמים
[ובר]ך לכול ח^{ִּ}] וכי ל^{ִּ}] [בשב^{ִּ}]עה
7. [ד]בר^{ִּ}] פלא למשנ^{ִּ}]ב^{ִּ}] רחמי חסדו ... והשב^{ִּ}]עי^{ִּ}] ב^{ִּ}] נשיאי משנ^{ִּ}]ני פלא

4Q405 13: Notes on the Readings and Comments

The text of 4Q405 13 is a doublet of the description of the blessings of the angelic princes from the sixth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 i 17-23 = 4Q405 3 ii), the major deviation being that here in 4Q405 13 the blessings are attributed to the deputy rather than to the chief princes. There are in addition small expansions in the text of 4Q405 13 as compared with that found in the description of the blessings of the chief princes. The comparison with the content of the sixth Sabbath song suggests that frg. 13 should follow frg. 12, just as the account of the blessings of the chief princes follows the account of their psalms in 4Q403 1 i and 4Q405 3. In addition the congruent shapes of 4Q405 11 and 13 suggest that they came from adjacent layers in the scroll. See the notes on the proposed reconstruction of 4Q405 above.

Line 2. דב^{ִּ}]רי טוב. The doublet in 4Q403 1 i 18 (= 4Q405 3 ii 1) reads דברי צדק.

Lines 2-3. פלא^{ִּ}] [החמיש^{ִּ}]י. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 18-19 ([י] החמיש^{ִּ}] [בנש^{ִּ}]יאי משנ^{ִּ}] פלא^{ִּ}]. (בנש^{ִּ}]יאי רוש^{ִּ}].

Line 3. בשבעה ד^{ִּ}]ברי רום אמה^{ִּ}]ו. 4Q403 1 i 19-20 reads בשבעה דברי רום טוהר^{ִּ}. In 4Q405 13 3 רום is written above the line. The leather is split through the word טוהר, but the reading is certain.

Lines 3-4. לכול נמהרי^{ִּ}] רצו^{ִּ}]ן אמתו. 4Q403 1 i 20 (= 4Q405 3 ii 10) reads לכול נמהרי רצונו.

Line 4. בשבעה דברי הוד כבודו^{ִּ} הששי במשנ^{ִּ}. 4Q403 1 i 20-21 (= 4Q405 3 ii 11) reads בשבעה דב^{ִּ}]רי הוד [ל]הודי [פלא]. The letters after הוד in 4Q405 13 4 appear almost completely obliterated, though the reading is clearer in PAM 42.148. Similarly, the reading הששי במשנ^{ִּ} is clear in PAM 42.557 and PAM 42.968.

Line 5. ג^{ִּ}]בורי שכל בדעת עולמים. The initial traces of ג^{ִּ}]בורי are ambiguous. The reading is fairly certain, however, in the parallel text of 4Q403 1 i 21. Note, however, that 4Q403 1 i 21 has no parallel to בדעת עולמים.

Line 6. תמימי דרך. *Dalet* is certain. The reading is confirmed by the parallel in 4Q403 1 i 22.

Ibid. לת]מיד. The sequence *yod, dalet* are written close together and resemble final *mem*. The reading in 4Q403 1 i 22 is clear, however. The restoration of the end of line 6 follows 4Q403 1 i 23.

Line 7. ד[בר]י. The second trace looks good for the head of *resh*. 4Q405 13 must have had a slightly longer text than 4Q403 1 i 24. Restoring 4Q405 13 must have had a slightly longer text than 4Q403 1 i 24. Restoring דברי פלא למשוב רחמו השביעי, as in 4Q403, leaves approximately 15 ls. unrecovered before פלא נשיאי מש]ני in line 7. The account of the psalms of the seven deputy princes in the eighth Sabbath song also seems to have had a somewhat longer text than that of the seven chief princes. See notes to 4Q403 1 ii 23ff.

4Q405 14-15 i: Transcription

- [רוח כב]וד .1]
- [דמות פלא רוח קודש] קודשים מפותח ... ל שון ברך ומדמות .2]
- [אלוהים ק] ול ברך למלך מרוממים והלל פלאיהם לאל אלים] ... ° רוקמותם .3]
- ורננו
- [° אולמי מבואיהם רוחי קורב קודש קודשים ב] ... ° עולמים .4]
- [ודמו] ת אלוהים חיים מפותח באלמי מבואי מלך בדני רוח אורים] ... ° מ לך בדני .5]
- א[ור]י כבוד רוחי
- [פלא ב] תוך רוחי הדר מעשי רוקמות פלא בדני אלוהים חיים °] ... ° בד] בירי .6]
- כבוד מבנית
- [מקדש קו] דש קודשים בדבירי מלך בדני י א] ל ויהים ומ] דמות °] ... ° קודש .7]
- קודשים
- [° °] ° ° [ד ביר מל] .8]

Ellipsis points indicate the break between frags. 4Q405 14 and 15. They do not represent estimates of the actual amount of material missing between the two fragments. See comments below for approximate calculations.

4Q405 14-15 i: Notes on the Readings

The relative positions of frgs. 14-15-16 are certain, since they were discovered in a layered pile with frg. 14 beneath and frg. 16 above. There is, in addition, a congruency of shape between frg. 14 and frg. 13 which strongly suggests the placement of frg. 14 in the column following frg. 13. If that placement is correct, then frg. 14-15 i will have come from the ninth Sabbath song. Line 5 of frg. 14-15 i has over 70 ls. preserved. It seems likely that only a single word is required to fill out the text to the right hand column margin (e.g., ודמו[ת]. Plausible supplements of similar length can be made for lines 3, 6, and 7. If one assumes that only a single word is missing between מלך בדני and רוח אורים, then all of line 5 can be reconstructed with a length of ca. 80 ls., about average for this part of the scroll. Cf. the well-preserved 4Q405 22, in which the line length is slightly longer, and 4Q405 23 i and ii in which the lines are slightly shorter.

Line 2. ^{ooo .ooo} דמות פלא. The first letter could materially be either *dalet* or *resh*. *Mem* is clear, with the downstroke of *waw/yod* touching the oblique. The next two traces are compatible with *taw*, but not with *het* or *he*. The first trace of the next word is better for *pe* than for *bet*. Only a small trace remains of *lamed*, but the angle of the last two traces fits *alep* well.

Ibid. [.]רוח קוד[ש] קודשים. A trace of ink to the upper left of *het* could belong to a superscribed *yod* (e.g., for רוחי), though if *yod* were written, one would expect to see some trace of its head.

Ibid. ^{oo}מפותח. Not מטⁱ, though the ligatured *pe*, *waw* resembles *tet*. See מפותח (line 5). A trace of the following letter remains, touching the broken head of *waw*.

Line 4. ^oבן. *Mem* is also possible.

Line 5. באלמי. Although the leather is damaged around the *alep*, it is clear that no *waw* is written after *alep*. Contrast the *plene* spelling in line 4. Both full and defective orthography occurs in BH as well.

Ibid. ^oא[ור]. The traces are compatible with *alep* but are very slight. The restoration is conjectural.

Line 7. ^{oo}בדנ[י]י. *Dalet* is certain on early photographs, and traces compatible with *nun* are visible. See PAM 41.289 and 42.557.

4Q405 14-15 i: Translation

1. [...] glor[ious sp]irit[...]
2. [...] wondrous likeness of most holy spirit, engra[ved...to]ngue of blessing; and from the likeness of the
3. [*divine beings (comes)* a so]und of blessing for the King of those who exalt; and their wondrous praise (*is*) for the God of the angelic elim [...] their many-colored [...] And they sing joyfully
4. [...] o the vestibules of their entryways, spirits of the most holy inner sanctum o [...] eternal [...]
5. [*And the liken*]ess of living divine beings is engraved in the vestibules where the King enters, figures of luminous spirits, [...K]ing, figures of glorious li[ght, wondrous] spirits;
6. [*in*] the midst of the spirits of splendor (*is*) a work of wondrous colors, figures of the living divine beings o [...] in the] glorious debirim, the structure of the
7. [mo]st holy [*sanctuary*] in the debirim of the King, fig[ures of the di]vi[ne beings; and from] the likeness of o [...] of holiest holiness
8. [...] oo [...] ooo [...] de]bir of the Kin[g...]

4Q405 14-15 i: Comments

Line 1. רוח כב[ור]

Cf. 4Q405 23 ii 9 (ודמות רוח כבוד).

Line 2. דמות פלא רוח קוד[ש] קודשים מפותח

It is not clear whether דמות פלא is in apposition with the following phrase or whether all five words should be construed as a single construct phrase. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 1 (רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי[ם]). The interpretation of the singular רוח is difficult. The Sabbath Shirot very seldom speak of an individual angelic being (see only 4Q401 11, 22, 23), and it is most dubious that any of the occurrences of רוח in the singular refer to such an individual spirit. The contexts do not encourage such an interpretation. It seems more likely that in many if not all of its occurrences, רוח is used as a *nomen qualitatis*. Cf. e.g., 4Q400 1 i 4 (לכול מעשי רוח). Similarly, in many if not all of its occurrences, the phrase קודש קודשים seems best taken as a superlative genitive rather than a reference to the debir. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 1, cited above, and cf. 4Q405 23 ii 8 (צבעי אור) רוח קודש קודשים, a phrase which describes the vestments of the high

priestly angels as "dyed with a most holy spiritual light."

מפות] is restored according to line 5 below. See comments there.

If the length of the reconstruction suggested for line 5 below is accurate, the lacuna between מפותח and לושן should be about 5.5 cm. wide.

Lines 2-3. ומדמות [אלוהים ק] ול ברך למלך מרוממים והלל פלאיהם לאל אלים

Some term for heavenly beings should probably be restored in the lacuna at the beginning of line 3, e.g., אלוהים. Note the abc/b'c' parallelism of the line. The similarity of קול ברך and לשון ברך in line 2 suggests the possible presence of a larger rhetorical unit (cf. 4Q405 23 i 7-10), but it is not clear how to supplement line 2.

Line 3. °[רוקמותם

The lacuna between אלים and רוקמותם would be ca. 4 cm., according to the line length restored in line 5 below. רוקמותם is probably the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain. For similar constructions cf. מעשי רוקמותו פלא in line 6 below (and cf. 4Q405 19 3-4); רוחות רוקמה in 4Q405 23 ii 7; and בדני רוקמה and אבדני רוקמה in 1QM v 6, 9; and צורת רוקמה in 1QM v 14 and vii 11.

Lines 3-4. °[אולהי מבואיהם רוחי קורב קודש קודשים] ורננו

It appears that only about two words are missing in the lacuna at the beginning of line 4. It is not clear, however, how to supplement the line, whether to restore a subject or an object for ורננו, or how אולמי מבואיהם is to be syntactically related to what precedes. In line 5 below a preposition introduces אלמי מבואי מלך. Perhaps here אולמי מבואיהם is the *nomen rectum* of an extended construct phrase, e.g., ורננו [רוחי מבני] ת אולמי מבואיהם.

The suffix on מבואיהם could refer either to angels who enter through the vestibules or to the multiple sanctuaries to which the vestibules belong. The combination of אולם and מבוא recalls Ezekiel's designation of the vestibule of the gate is the place where the prince (נשיא) is to go in and out (44:3, מבוא הנשיא דרך אולם; 46:8, מדרך אולם השער יבוא ומדרכו יצא, 44:3; 46:2, 8). In Ezekiel the (השער) אלם (Ezek 40:7, 8, 9, 15; 44:3; 46:2, 8). Closely similar language is used to describe the going out and coming in of the angelic spirits through the gates, portals, and entrances in 4Q405 23 i 7-10.

Line 4. רוחי קורנ קודש קודשים

Elsewhere in the Shirot קרוב always appears as the *nomen rectum* of כוהני, כוהן, כוהונת, or קדושי. Those phrases refer to the angels of the presence who minister in the most holy part of the sanctuary. It is possible that רוחי קרוב is simply a synonym for כוהני קורב, but the context of the present passage suggests a different possibility. See notes to line 5. However רוחי קרוב is to be understood, perhaps it forms the subject of a sentence parallel to the preceding one, beginning in line 3 with ורננו.

Line 5. [ודמו] ת אלוהים חיים מפוחח באלמי מבואי מלך

Supplement probably ודמות at the beginning of line 5. See below for further discussion. In the Sabbath Shirot the phrase אלוהים חיים appears to be used as an angelic epithet, not an epithet for God, since the phrase often occurs in apparent apposition with other angelic designations. Cf. 4Q405 19 4-5 ([צ] ורות אלוהים חיים צורי רוחות מאירים). Cf. also 4Q403 1 i 44 (רוחי קוד[ש] קודשים אלוהים חיים רוחי קודש עולמים).

מפוחח is a pual participle from פתח. BH knows two such roots, both occurring in the piel, one meaning "to open," the other "to engrave." Although one might make a case for either verb, the closely similar text of 4Q405 19 gives grounds for preferring פתח, "to engrave." In 4Q405 19 5 one reads כדני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללכני כבודם ("figures of divine images engraved round about their glorious brickwork"). Both frg. 14-15 i and frg. 19 are apparently describing parts of the heavenly sanctuary, and both refer to something "engraved" on the gateways and on the brick facade. In frg. 19 the antecedent of מחוקקי, כדני צורות אלוהים, can scarcely be referring to "images of God" but rather images of divine creatures of some sort. Similarly, restoring דמות in line 5, it would be the likenesses of "living divine beings" which are carved on the entrances to the heavenly sanctuary. (Note that דמות is construed as masculine in Ezek 1: 16, דמות אחד, so that the agreement of דמות and מפוחח is not necessarily problematical.)

Although the notion may seem bizarre at first glance, it is quite easy to discover the derivation of the idea. 1 Kgs 6:29 describes how Solomon decorated the temple. "He carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim and palm trees and open flowers, in the inner and outer rooms" (trans. RSV). The entrance to the debir (פתח הדביר) was provided with doors of olivewood, similarly carved. "He covered the two doors of olivewood with carvings of cherubim, palm trees,

and open flowers; he overlaid them with gold, and spread gold upon the cherubim and upon the palm trees" (1 Kgs 6:32). The outer doors were similarly treated (1 Kgs 6:35). The Sabbath Shirot apparently describe in frgs. 14-15 i and 19 the corresponding ornamentation of the heavenly temple. In light of the heavy dependence of the Sabbath Shirot on Ezekiel 40-48, however, the immediate source of the description is probably Ezek 41:15-26 where the cherubim and palm trees carved on the walls and doors of the nave and vestibule of the ideal temple are described.

The notion that the temple itself praises when God enters is embodied in the ancient hymn, Ps 24 (שאו שערים ראשיכם והנשאו פתחי עולם ויבוא מלך הכבוד) (vv. 7, 9). The heavenly temple, being of an animate, spiritual, fiery substance (cf. 1 Enoch 14), is adorned with spirits who praise when the King enters (מבואי מלך). It is interesting that the author of the Shirot completely avoids the term cherubim for the creatures engraved on the walls and doors of the sanctuary, restricting that term to the beings who bear the merkabah.

Ibid. בדני רוח אורים

Apart from the Sabbath Shirot the term בדני occurs only in lQM v 9 and in the form אבדני in lQM v 6. The context in lQM v is a description of the richly ornamented weapons to be carried by Israel's eschatological army. In lQM v 5 the shield is described as decorated with צורת מחברת (Vermes, "inlaid ornament;" van der Ploeg, "*figures appliquées*"), worked in gold, silver, bronze, and precious stones. The whole of the ornamentation is further described as מעשה חרש מחשבת (Vermes, "a many-colored design worked by a craftsman;" van der Ploeg, "*ornementation multicolore, travail artistique d'artisan*"). In line 9 the decoration of the spear socket is similarly described. The inlaid pattern is composed of אבני חפץ בדני רוקמה מעשי חרש מחשבת. In his commentary Yadin discusses the form אבדני/בדני, noting that "the only possible cognate known to me is Arabic *badan*, 'short, sleeveless coat,' which Saadiah uses to translate *hoshen*....If the word meant such a garment in Hebrew, the connection with *riqmah* may prove it was usually brocaded, and thus could be compared with ajour work in metal" (*War Scroll*, 280). Similarly, van der Ploeg mentions Arabic *badanun* "qui peut signifier une sorte d'ornement que les femmes portent sur la poitrine" (*Guerre*, 93). van der Ploeg, however, expresses some doubt as to the relevance of his proposed Arabic cognate and observes that the expression צורת רוקמה appears to be parallel in lQM to the phrase

צורת רוקמה (lQM v 14 and vii 11) and suggests that בדני is best taken as a synonym of צורה, "figure, form."

In the Sabbath Shirot בדני occurs some sixteen times, eight times in fairly well preserved contexts:

4Q403 1 ii 9	ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה
(cf. 4Q405 15 ii-16 3, מראי להבי אש)	
4Q405 14-15 i 5	בדני רוח אורים...[מ]לך בדני א[ור] כבוד רוחי]
4Q405 14-15 i 6	מעשי רוקמות פלא בדני אלוהים חיים
4Q405 14-15 i 7	בדנירי מלך בדני א[ל]והים ומ[דמות]°]
4Q405 19 2	ושבחהו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק]
4Q405 19 5	רוקמה [ב]דני צורות אלוהים
4Q405 19 6-7	כול מעשיהם וצורות בדניהם מלאכי]

The occurrence of צורי/צורות in parallel expressions in 4Q405 19 4-5 (צורות כבוד), and in 4Q405 19 6 ([צ]ורות אלוהים חיים צורי רוחות מאירים), supports van der Ploeg's suggestion. One might object that the construct phrase [ב]דני צורות אלוהים in 4Q405 19 5 implies a distinction in meaning between צורות and בדני. But the fact that the two terms occur in reversed order in the construct phrase צורות בדניהם is best explained by assuming that the two words are in fact synonymous and that the author of the Shirot deliberately affects a pleonastic style. One can further compare the phrase בדני להבת אש, cited above from 4Q405 1 ii 9, with מראי להבי אש in 4Q405 15 ii 3. (The entire phrase cited from 4Q403 1 ii 9, ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה, appears to be paralleled in the preceding line, 4Q403 1 ii 8, by the phrase עו[להים] מראי, though the break in the line makes it impossible to be certain.) In sum, whatever the etymology of the word בדני, its approximate meaning can be discerned from its close association with the parallel terms מראי, דמות, and צורות.

Lines 5-6. [מ]לך בדני א[ור] כבוד רוחי [פלא]

The supplementing of a single word before מלך would produce a syntactically intelligible line of about average length. Perhaps supplement בהיכלי, or בדנירי as in lines 6 and 7 below, though לך רוחי or the like is also possible.

At the beginning of line 6 supplement perhaps [פלא] רוחי or [הוד] רוחי. Although one cannot rely entirely on the style of the Shirot for determining the best supplements, the restoration suggested for line 5 would provide

a repeating parallelism of the pattern abcd/a'b'd'/a'b'''/b'''.

D	C	B	A
באלמי מבואי מלך	מפותח	אלוהים חיים	ת[ודמו]
[בדבירי מלך]		רוח אורים	בדני
		א[ור] כבוד	בדני
		רוחי [פלא]	

Line 6. ב[תוך רוחי הדר מעשי רוקמות פלא בדני אלוהים חיים]

Although one cannot be certain how the present line is to be construed, perhaps ב[תוך רוחי הדר] introduces a nominal sentence, i.e., "in the midst of the spirits of splendor is/are" Cf. 4Q405 23 ii 8 for a similar construction. One could construe מעשי as "creatures" and interpret the sentence as referring to a profusion of heavenly beings ("in the midst of the spirits of splendor are creatures of wondrous colors..."). The following phrase might be an appositive or the beginning of a subsequent sentence. Alternatively, one might construe מעשי as phonetic spelling for BH מעשה and take the phrase מעשי רוקמות פלא as an adaptation of BH מעשה רקם. In BH מעשה רקם is used to describe the weaving technique for the curtains of the door of the tent of meeting (Exod 26:36; 36:37), the curtain of the gate of the tabernacle court (Exod 27:16; 38:18), and the sashes of the priestly garments (Exod 28:39; 39:29). Although the author of the Shirot does not appear to reproduce the terminology of the Priestly writer with technical accuracy (see notes to 4Q405 23 ii), perhaps the phrase מעשי רוקמות פלא refers to some such decorated structure or hanging beyond the animate engravings of the vestibules. It is not impossible that the phrase refers to the paroket veil, which is explicitly mentioned in the following column (4Q405 15 ii-16 2, 4).

Lines 6-7. כבוד מבנית [מקדש קו] דש קודשים

After מבנית, perhaps supplement מקדש or מקדשי. One could also read מבנית [ד, "His debir, the glory of the structure...." For מבנית in the Shirot see 4Q403 1 i 41, וכול פנות מבניתו, a phrase which also describes the heavenly sanctuary. Cf. Ezek 40:2, where Ezekiel sees הר גבה מאד ועליו כמבנה עיר.

Line 7. בדנ[י א] ל[לוהים ומ] דמות °]

There is not enough room to supplement דמות [לוהים חיים] א, but too much simply to restore דמות [לוהים] א.

4Q405 15 ii-16: Translation

1. fringed edge [...]
2. and rivers of light [...]◦[...]◦◦ ◦◦◦[...]◦[...]
3. the appearance of flames of fire [...*of b*]eauty upon the veil of the debir of the King ◦◦[...]
4. in the debir of *His* presence, the mingled colors of [...]◦ everything which is engraved upon the ◦◦[]◦◦, figures of hea[venly beings...]
5. of glory from both of their sides [...] the veils of the wondrous debirim. And they bless ◦[...]
6. their sides; they declare [...]◦ of wonder, behind the ◦◦◦◦◦ of the debir [...]
7. [...]◦◦◦ of wonder [..*give*] thanks to the King of glor[y] with a ringing cry [...]
8. [...]◦◦[]◦◦ all[...]

4Q405 15 ii-16: Comments

Since 4Q405 15 ii-16 came from the column following frg. 14-15i (which probably belongs to the ninth Sabbath song), it is plausible that frg. 15 ii-16 belongs to the beginning of the tenth Sabbath song. See the chart on p. 264.

Line 1. גדיל שפה

Only the plural גדלים occurs in BH, where it refers to tassels or fringe on a garment (Deut 22:12; cf. Num 15:38) and in a secondary sense to the architectural ornamentation of columns (1Kgs 7:17). The meaning "fringes" or "twisted threads" is common in MH. In lQM v 5, 8 shields and spear sockets are described as decorated with "a rim of cable work" (מעשי גדיל שפה; trans. Yadin). It is not apparent what is being described in 4Q405, however. In Exod 26 the hangings of the tabernacle have loops at the top edge by which they are attached to the golden clasps of the frame, though the phrase גדיל שפה is not used to describe them (ללא תכלת על שפת היריעה; Exod 26:4).

Line 2. ונהרי אור

Cf. נהר די-נור in Dan 7:10 and cf. שבולי אש in the Shirot in 4Q405 22 10. The river of fire becomes a standard part of the environs of the heavenly throne in descriptions of heaven from the time of 1 Enoch on. See 1 Enoch 14:19.

Line 3. מראי להבי אש

מראי is phonetic spelling for מראה. Cf. Qoh 11:9. For the phrase cf. 4Q403 1 ii 9 (בדני להבי אש סביבה). Perhaps here it is the paroket, or the images on it, which are referred to as having a luminous and fiery appearance.

Ibid. בפרוכת דביר המלך

The paroket or veil before the holy of holies becomes a specific subject of speculation in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic thought. See Hofius, *Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes*. Here, however, it appears to be mentioned merely as part of the celestial debir.

Line 4. בדביר פני רוקמת

For פנו = MT פניו see 4Q405 22 7. פנים is used as an epithet for God elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot in 4Q400 1 i 4 (משרתי פנים בדברי כבודו). In the present case, although one cannot distinguish materially between פנו and פני, it is difficult to see how the latter reading would be construed.

Ibid. כול מחקת ה"הי בדני אלו]הים

מחקה, the pual participle of חקה, occurs only three times in the OT, in each case describing images carved in relief on a wall or door. The closest parallel is 1 Kgs 6:35 where the term refers to the cherubim, palm trees, and flowers carved on the door of the temple and covered with gold (וקלע כרובים ותמרות ופטרי צצים וצפה זהב על-המחקה). In Ezek 8:10 מחקה describes the abominable images which Ezekiel sees in the defiled Jerusalem temple, while in Ezek 23:14 it refers to the images of Chaldean men which Oholibah looks at. The form, which Zimmerli identifies as a nominalized participle (*Ezekiel I*, p.219), is pointed מְחַקֶּה in BH. Here, however, the form appears to be a feminine singular construct.

Line 5. כבוד משני עבריהם[...] פרכות דבירי הפלא

משני may be the preposition מן plus the construct of שנים or else a phonetic spelling for the construct singular of משנה. In Exod 32:15 the tablets of the law are described as inscribed on both their sides (לחח כתבים משני עבריהם), though that can scarcely be the referent here. Presumably, the passage refers either to something in the heavenly temple which is decorated on both sides or to two sides of the sanctuary. Though one cannot be certain, perhaps the passage refers to the images which appear on both sides of the paroket veil. Note the occurrence of פרכות

after the lacuna. The priestly writer describes the construction of the paroket veil as *hošeb* workmanship. According to Haran, "the talmudic sages described *hošeb* workmanship as a combination of threads interwoven in such a way that different figures emerge on the two sides of the fabric" (*Temples*, 161, n. 26). The verbs of praise in lines 5 and 6 may describe the praise of the images on the veil, just as the images carved on the אולם are said to praise in frg. 14-15 i.

Note the use of the plural פרכות דבירי הפלא alongside the singular בפרוכת דביר המלך (line 2 above).

Line 6. עבריהם ישמיעו[...]^ו פלא מביתה ליק^הה הדביר

Cf. the phrase מבית לפרכת, "behind the veil," in Exod 26:33; Lev 16:2, 12, 15; Num 18:7. The same phrase occurs in Ben Sira 50:5, ובצאתו מבית הפרכת. In 4Q405 the *he* is perhaps locative, as in 1 Kgs 6:15. Unfortunately, the word following מביתה is badly damaged. Some form of יקר, "precious," is materially possible, but it is not clear what the syntax or the meaning would be. Before the articulated form הדביר, one might expect a noun in construct or a preposition. While one might materially read לוקדם (cf. the Syriac preposition meaning "before"), such a preposition is not Hebrew, and I do not know of its being used in contemporary Aramaic.

Line 7. הו[דו למלך הכבו[ד] בקול רנה]

In view of the other verbs of praise in lines 5 and 6, perhaps supplement הו[דו before למלך. For the phrase בקול רנה see 4Q405 23 i 7; Isa 48:20; Pss 42:5; 47:2; 118:15.

4Q405 17: Transcription

	] ^ו [	.1
c	[פִּלְאִים] הִי־כִי־וֹ	.2
o	[יֵהֶם רוּחִי דַעַת וּבִינָה אִמַּת	.3
l	[טוֹהַר מִלְאכִי כְבוֹד בַּגְבוּרָה	.4
u	נִפְלָאֹת מִלְאכִי הַפֶּאֶרֶת וְרוּחִי	.5
m	[קִשְׁטֵי־בִי קוֹדֵשׁ מוֹשְׁבִי	.6
n	[תִּמְעָשִׂי	.7
	כְּבוֹד	.8
	וֹ	.9

מלכותו (4Q405 20ii-21-22 2); ממלכות מושבי כבוד למרכבו]ת (4Q405 20ii-21-22 4); מושב כבודו (4Q405 20ii-21-22 9). It is not possible to determine whether מושבי here is a plural of majesty or whether multiple thrones are referred to. See 4Q403 1 ii 15, where a plurality of chariot thrones is clearly intended.

4Q405 18: Transcription

רוחות]	.1
לכלכל קדושים דביר מ°]	.2
קו]דשים ברוח דממת אלוהי]ם	.3
דביר ימהרו מקול הכבו]ד	.4
ת]הלי פלא בדממת קו]	.5
ל] המון °]	.6

4Q405 18: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. לכלכל. The initial trace might be either the left leg of *taw* (for *יתכלכל*) or *lamed* (for *לכלכל*). Although the leather is damaged after the last *lamed*, one would expect to see traces of the tail if a following *waw* had been written.

Ibid. דביר מ°. The last visible trace is a vertical descender, e.g., *dalet*, *waw/yod*, *zayin*, or *resh*.

Line 3. קו]דשים. The traces are better for the head of *dalet* than for *waw* (for *קדושים*). See PAM 41.659.

Line 6. המון. In the traces of the second letter the left downstroke and the short stroke of the head of *mem* are just visible. In the last trace the simple downstroke is good for the head of final *nun*.

4Q405 18: Translation

(1) [...] spirits [...] (2) [...] to support the holy ones. The debir of °°[...] (3) [...] hol]iness with the quiet spirit of the godlike being[s ...] (4) [...] debir, they make haste at the sound of the glor[y ...] (5) [...] wondrous [ps]alms with the quiet vo[ice ...] (6) [...] tumult [...]

4Q405 18: Comments

The placement of 4Q405 18 in the same column with 4Q405 19 is not certain, but the two fragments are quite similar in the physical appearance of the leather and the script. Moreover, the two occurrences of the word *דממה* in frg. 18 and the occurrence of the same word in frg. 19 could also point to a common context.

Line 2.]לכלכל קדושים בדביר מ°[

Since it does not appear possible to read the plural *יִתְכַלְכְּלוּ* (with *קדושים* as the subject), one might consider supplementing *יִתְכַלְכְּלוּ* [מי י], as a rhetorical question (see Ben Sira 43:3). However, since *יִתְכַלְכְּלוּ* is intransitive, such a construction would make it difficult to construe *קדושים*. It seems better to read the infinitive *לכלכל*, though the precise nuance of the verb and the syntactic role of *קדושים* (subject? object?) remain uncertain. Several supplements for the end of the line are possible, e.g., *דביר מרומי רום*, *דביר מושב*, *דביר מרכבה*, etc.

Line 3. ברוח דממה אלוהי]ם

Usually in the Sabbath Shirot *דממה* appears in the phrase *קול דממה* (4Q405 19 7; 4Q405 20ii-21-22 7, 8, 12; and cf. below in line 5, *בדממה קול*).

Line 4. ימהרו מקול הכבוד]

The verb *מהר* occurs elsewhere in the Shirot only in the phrase *נמהרי רצונו* (4Q403 1 i 20). In his note to 4Q405 20ii-21-22 7 (=4Q51 40 2) Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," p. 338) observes that *הכבוד*, "The Glory," "is the earliest attested of the 'substitutes' for the divine name." See, e.g., 1 Enoch 14:20; 102:3; T. Levi 3:4 where the epithet Great Glory occurs.

Line 5. ת]הלי פלא

Cf. 4Q400 2 4; 4Q403 1 ii 13, 31; 4Q403 2 3.

Line 6. המון

Cf. 4Q405 20ii-21-22 8 (*והמון רנה*) and 12 (*בהמון לכתם*), where the sound is associated with the movement of the creatures of the chariot throne. Cf. also 4Q403 1 ii 14, *דביר לדביר בקול המוני קודש*. Perhaps these expressions are inspired by Ezek 1:24 (*קול המלה כקול מחנה*).

4Q405 19ABCD: Transcription

D	C	B	A
			ם[] 1.
ד[ב[י]י] בְּדָנִי כְּבוֹד מִדְּרָם			2. וּשְׂבַחָהּ בְּדָנִי אֱלוֹהִים רוּחִי קְיָדְשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים
			3. דְּבִירִי פֶּלֶא רוּחִי אֵלִי עוֹלָמִים כּוֹלָן] ° ° [
			4. מִמּוֹלַח טוֹהַר]יז[חֵי דַעַת אִמְתָּא]י[צִדְקָא בְּקוֹדֶשׁ]ק[וְדֹשִׁים]צ[וּרְרוּת אֱלוֹהִים חַיִּים צוּרֵי רוּחוֹ
			5. מֵאִירִים כָּל]ו[לָא]מַעֲשֵׂי] הֵם קְיָדְשִׁי דְּבִקִּי פֶּלֶא]יז[חֵי]רִוְקָמָוּן] בְּ דָנִי צוּרֵי אֱלוֹהִים מַחֲוֹקִי
			6. סְבִיב לִלְבָנִי]כ[בּוֹדֵם צוּרֵי כְּבוֹד לַמַּעֲשֵׂי לָא]כנ[י הוּד וְהַדְרִי]אֱלוֹהִים חַיִּים כּוֹל מַעֲשִׂיהֶם
			7. וְצוּרֵי בְּדִנְיָהֶם מִלֵּאכִי קוֹדֶשׁ מִחַחָה לָד[בִּירִי] הַפֶּלֶא קוֹל דְּמַחַת שְׁקֵט אֵל]והי[מְרַכְּכִים
			8.] ° ° ° [הַמֶּלֶךְ]מַהֲלֵלִים תַּמִּיד [לָא]קִין[]לָא [אֱלוֹהִי]הי[ם
			9.] בְּמַשְׁנֵי
			10.] פֶּלֶא י הוּד וְהַדְרִי

4Q405 19ABCD: Notes on the Transcription

Overlap with the combination l1QShirShabb j-d-g-p is underlined. While this overlap establishes without any doubt the relationship of frgs. 19A, 19C, and 19D, the placement of 19B is not entirely certain. The issues are discussed in the comments below.

4Q405 19ABCD: Notes on the Readings

- Line 2.]רוחי ק. *Qop* is materially preferable to *sade*.
- Ibid.]ד[נ[י]רי. The reading is better preserved in PAM 42.148, where *yod* is certain and *resh* virtually certain.
- Line 3.]כול. The last trace is very slight. Either]כול or]כיא is materially possible.
- Ibid.]נ[נ. The first trace is the base of *bet* or *pe*. The second is a vertical descender, *dalet* or *resh*, *waw* or *yod*. Enough surface is preserved on the right to exclude the reading]נ[נו, but the traces fit]נ[נ.
- Line 5.]הם ק[וד]שי. A tiny trace of ink on the lower edge of the leather after final *mem* could be a remnant of the tail of *qop*, though that would make the tail somewhat longer than usual.
- Ibid.]רוקמנה. The last two letters are deleted by means of a line drawn through them. See 4Q405 3 i 12 where the same method of deletion is used. *He* is written in the interlinear space above *waw*.
- Ibid.]דנקי. The reading is produced by the join of frg. 19A with 19B. On 19B a small trace just touching the head of *qop* on the right appears to be the edge of the head of *bet*. The lower right corner of *bet* is preserved in 19A.
- Line 6.]למעשי ל. In the broken letter before the break, the angle of the trace is too steep for the right arm of *shin* but is not bad for the tail of *lamed*, which is often quite long in the script of 4Q405.
- Line 7.]מתחת לד. The head of the letter following *lamed* appears to be *dalet*, though the head is usually wider. Less likely, but materially not impossible, is the head of *mem* (see the second *mem* in ממולח in line 3 above).
- Ibid.]שקט. A small triangular piece of leather containing the rest of *tet* is preserved in PAM 41.408. A trace just to the left of *tet* in that photograph is probably the top of *lamed* from the line beneath.
- Ibid.]מברכים. The superscribed *mem* appears to be made by a second, distinct hand.
- Line 8.]ק. A trace of a letter, probably the head of *qop*, is preserved on a small bit of leather, directly beneath the *qop* of קול in line 7. See PAM 42.148.

Ibid. [◦]אלו[הי]ם. In PAM 41.408 and 42.148 a tiny trace of ink on the left-hand edge of the leather may preserve part of final *mem*.

4Q405 19ABCD: Translation

1. [...]◦[...]
2. And the figures of the divine beings praise Him, the m[ost holy] spirits [... de]b[i]rim of [... figures of] glory, the *treading place*
3. of the wondrous debirim; spirits of eternal angelic elim, all [...]◦◦◦ [] *fi*[gures of the de]bir of the King. The spi[ritual] creatures of the wondrous firmament (are)
4. *purely blended*, [spi]rits of the knowledge of truth and righteousness in the holy of [ho]lies, [the ima]ges of living divine beings, [ima]ges of
5. luminous spirits. All their construction (*is of*) h[oly] things of wondrous *tesserae*, [spirits] of mingled colors, [fi]gures of the shapes of divine beings, engraved
6. round about their [gl]orious brickwork, glorious images of the b[ric]kwork of splendor and majes[ty.] Living divine beings (are) all their *construction*
7. and the images of their figures (are) holy angels. From underneath the wondrous d[ebirim] (*comes*) the sound of quiet stillness, the heavenly beings blessing
8. []◦◦◦ the King ◦◦◦[praising continually]◦[...]◦◦[...]◦[...] G[o]d
9. [... in the two ...]
10. [... wonders of splendor and majesty ...]

4Q405 19ABCD: Comments

The text resulting from the combination of the readings in 4Q405 19ABCD and 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p contains six virtually complete lines, and yet the text is so extraordinarily obscure that one can scarcely specify with any confidence even the subject of the passage. The construction of the sentences and the interpretation of them offered here are quite tentative. Before commenting on specific words and phrases, some general observations are necessary.

4Q405 19 comes from the middle of the eleventh Sabbath song. Frgs. 20ii-21 preserve the very end of that song, and it is quite clear that the subject there is the divine chariot throne (or thrones) and the priestly

angels who attend it in the debir. That subject is explored in more detail in the beginning of the twelfth Sabbath song (frg. 22). It is quite likely, though it cannot be conclusively established, that in the 11Q manuscript the combination 11QShirShabb f-c-k came from the column immediately preceding j-d-g-p (the combination that overlaps 4Q405 19). If that is so, then f-c-k (which would have contained material from the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh Sabbath song) may also indicate something of the content of the passages preceding 4Q405 19. 11QShirShabb f-c-k contains references to the vestibules of the heavenly temple (line 2, אולמי מ]בואי and אול[מ]י and to brickwork or pavement (lines 3 and 4, ל]בני כבודם and ל]בני). Note the occurrence of ל]בני כבודם and ל]בני כבודם in 4Q405 19 6. Finally, in line 5 of the 11Q fragments there are references to thrones (אי פלא) and כסאי עולמים).

It is clear, both from the content of frg. 19 and from the content of the preceding and following passages, that the general subject of 4Q405 19 is the debir(im) and the chariot throne(s). What is not apparent, however, is whether particular phrases in frg. 19 are to be referred to the architectural features of the debir or whether it is specifically the throne itself which is being described. References to רקיע פלא in line 3 and ל]בני כבודם in line 6 could easily be taken as referring to the platform on which the throne rests (cf. Ezek 1:15 and Exod 24:10). The difficulty with this interpretation, however, concerns the larger phrase in which ל]בני כבודם occurs. Lines 5-6 speak of the "figures of divine beings engraved round about the glorious brickwork." There is no such tradition that I know of associated with the pavement under the throne; but the existence of images carved on the walls and doors of the temple, even in the debir, is attested in 1 Kgs 6, 2 Chr 3, and Ezek 40 (though in these instances it is the wooden panelling rather than the brickwork which is engraved). My assumption, then, is that it is primarily the appearance of the debir itself which is being described in 4Q405 19. Only at the end of the eleventh Sabbath song, in 4Q405 20ii-21-22, does the chariot throne itself seem to be the subject of extensive description.

Line 2. ושבחהו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק]ודש קודשים

ושבחהו is defective spelling for ושבחוהו, perhaps influenced by the quiescence of *he*. Similar spellings occur in other QL. See, e.g., 1QS v 11 לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו). ושבחהו is the subject of בדני אלוהים. For a

discussion of the meaning of כדני see notes to 4Q405 14-15 i. It is not clear whether the verb should be taken as indicative or imperative. For רוחי קודש קודשים see 4Q403 1 ii 7; 4Q405 6 5; 4Q405 22 10.

Lines 2-3. מדרס דבירי פלא

The reading is certain but the meaning is obscure. מדרס does not occur in BH. Jastrow attests a variety of meanings for MH--"shoe," "treading place," "basis," "seat"--and notes that it is frequently used as a term for a type of levitical uncleanness. Given the following phrase דבירי פלא, the meaning "treading place" is perhaps the least incongruous. Is the phrase perhaps an allusion to Ezek 43:7 (את-מקום כסאי ואת-מקום כפות רגלי)? With respect to the problem of singular and plural forms in the Shirot, note the alternation between the plural פלא דבירי and the singular יר מלך [דב] later in line 3.

Line 3. רוחי אלי עולמים

There is no precise parallel to this angelic title but cf. אלי עולמים (MasShirShabb i 10); רוחי עולמים (4Q403 1 i 35); and the frequent רוחות (4Q403 1 ii 8, 9; 4Q404 5 5; etc.). Cf. also לרוחות (1QH i 11). In 1 Enoch 15:6-7 the eternal life of the angelic spirits is stressed.

Ibid. דב[יר מלך]

Cf. 4Q405 14-15 i 7 (בדבירי מלך) and 4Q405 15 ii-16 2 (פרוכת דביר המלך).

Lines 3-4. מעשי רו[חות] רקיע פלא ממולח טוהר

Two supplements are possible, מעשי רו[חות] (cf. 4Q400 1 i 5, כול מעשי, רו) or מעשי רו[קמת] (cf. 4Q405 14-15 i 6, (מעשי רוקמות פלא). In all likelihood רוחות is the better supplement. רקיע seems incongruous as the *nomen rectum* of רוקמת. The רקיע may traditionally be described as like water or ice, crystal or lapis lazuli, but I do not know of its ever being described as multicolored. On the other hand, like everything else in the heavenly sphere, the רקיע may be associated with or even described as composed of spirits. It is not clear where one should break the sentence, whether after דביר מלך or after רקיע פלא. Since in other instances in the Sabbath Shirot the phrase ממולח טוהר appears to follow what it modifies (see 4Q405 22 11; 4Q405 23 ii 10), I have chosen to conclude the sentence with דביר מלך.

The phrase ממולח טוהר occurs in BH only in Exod 30:35 (קטרת רקח מעשה), a passage which describes the preparation of a very

special type of incense. This incense is not to be used in the censers but only in the inner parts of the temple, specifically *לפני העדה באהל מועד*. (See Haran, *Temples*, 241-45). The passage in Exod 30:35-36 follows an account concerning the preparation of a special fragrant holy oil which is to be used in anointing the tent of meeting, the ark, the table, the menorah, the altars, and the attending priests. The function of both the oil and the incense is to mark the objects to which they are applied as peculiarly holy. In the Sabbath Shirot, whatever the precise meaning of *ממולח טוהר*, the phrase is similarly connected only with peculiarly holy things in the heavenly sanctuary. The other three occurrences of the phrase all appear in the twelfth and thirteenth Sabbath songs, where the most holy aspects of the divine sanctuary are dealt with. In 4Q405 23 ii 10 and 11QShirShabb 8-7 5 the phrase appears to qualify a description of the high priestly vestments of the angels of the presence. In 4Q405 22 11 the phrase is used to describe the appearance of the Glory or the appearance of the angels who attend the merkabah. Although the Sabbath Shirot uses the form of the noun *טוהר* instead of the adjective *טהור*, as in Exod 30:35, the quiescence of *he* has apparently caused the two forms to fall together. Strugnell's interpretation of *ממולח* (literally "salted") as "blended" ("Angelic Liturgy," 341, n. 17) is supported not only by Sir 49:1 but by the targum to Exod 30:35, which renders *ממלח* by *מערב*, "mixed." (See also Haran, *Temples*, 242, n.23.) It appears that the phrase *ממולח טוהר* is used in the Sabbath Shirot as a frozen phrase and is not inflected for grammatical agreement with the word it qualifies. Cf. 4Q405 23 ii 10 (*וכול מחשביהם ממולח טוהר*). Similarly here, the phrase may qualify *רוחות* rather than *רקיע*.

Line 4. *רוחי דעת אמת וצדק בקודש [ק]ודשים*

The overlap of 11QShirShabb d with 4Q405 19 calls for the reading *וּצְדָק* after *אמת* in 4Q405 19A. The fragment identified here as 19B contains the reading *וּצְדָק בְּקוֹדֶשׁ [ו]*. The join is supported by the following word in 19C, which reads *[ק]וֹדֶשִׁים*, producing the phrase so common in the diction of the Shirot, *קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשִׁים*. The only hesitation I have about the join is that it results in the reading of an unusual word in the following line (*דְּבָקִי*, from 19A *דָּב* + 19B *פֶּלֶא*). But see notes to line 5 below. The phrase *קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשִׁים* here would seem to be a reference to the *debir*, though it is not impossible to translate "with/in holiest holiness" or the like.

Lines 4-5. [צ] ורוה אלוהים חיים צורי רווחת מאירים

The two phrases are apparently parallel, with corresponding masculine and feminine forms of צורי/צורה and corresponding angelic designations, רווחת and אלוהים חיים. Materially, one can read either רווחת מאירים or רווחת מאורים. For the hiphil participle see 4Q403 1 ii 35 (למאירי דעת) (בכול אלי אור), though there the referent of מאירי is lost in the lacuna. In 4Q405 23 ii 9-10 the vestments of the priestly angels are said to give off light like shining gold (כמעשי אופירים מאירי [או]ר). Alternatively, one could read רווחת מאורים, "spirits of the luminaries." For the masculine plural see Ezek 32:8, though מאורות is the more common plural in BH and QL. In a similar context in 1 Enoch 14:11 and 17, the ceiling of the heavenly temple is described as "like the path of the stars and the lightnings."

Ibid. כ[ו]ל [מעשי]הם

כול מעשיהם appears to begin a new sentence, but it is not clear what nuance the word should have or what the referent of the suffix should be. Conceivably, the suffix could refer to the angelic spirits, though it is perhaps more likely that this suffix and the suffix on the phrase לבני בורם in line 6 both refer to the debirim. If this is the correct interpretation, then מעשי probably means "manner of construction." (See Num 8:4; 1 Kgs 7:28; etc.)

Line 5. ק[וד]שי דבקי פלא

The join of frgs. 4Q405 19A and B suggested above appears materially sound, but it produces a somewhat unusual reading in line 5. Yet even if the word דבקי ("plates," "scales") is unusual, it recalls a conventional image in the description of the heavenly dwelling. In 1 Enoch 14:10b Enoch sees that "the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor (made of) crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal" (trans. Charles). Unfortunately, the passage is not extant in the Aramaic fragments of Enoch from Qumran. The Greek text reads *kaì hoî toîchoi toû oîkou hōs lithóplakes*. Moreover, Scholem (*Major Trends*, 52-53 and 361) quotes a later Hekalot text to the effect that "at the gate of the sixth palace it seemed as though hundreds of thousands of waves of water were storming against him, and yet there was not a drop of water, only the ethereal glitter of the marble plates with which the palace was tessellated" (אבני שיש טהור שהיו סלולות בהיכל). While the term דבקי would fit the general context, the phrase ק[וד]שי דבקי פלא still seems somewhat awkward. According to the usage of the Sabbath Shirot, one would more likely supplement the reading of 19A, ק[וד]שי דב[], with

ק[וד]שי דב[ירי] or the like. While the placement of frg. 19B must be taken seriously, the intriguing reading which it produces can by no means be taken as certain.

Lines 5-6. [רוחי] רוקמה [ב]דני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללבני כבודם

The join of 19ABC leaves a lacuna of about 4 ls. before רוקמה. Restore, probably, רוחי. One discrepancy occurs in the parallel reading of 11QShirShabb g, which reads מחוקק rather than מחוקקי. Since מחוקקי would seem to be in agreement with the phrase בדני צורות אלוהים, the plural מחוקקי is the better reading.

In the four or five occurrences of לבני in 11Q f-c-k and 4Q405 19 it seems clear that one should construe the word as a form of לבן, "brickwork," rather than the homograph לבן, "white." As the general comments to frg. 19 above suggest, the association of לבני with the phrase מחוקקי סביב makes it unlikely that the pavement under the throne is intended. Rather מחוקקי סביב ללבני כבודם perhaps refers to the images on the walls of the debir.

Line 6. צורות כבוד למעשי ל[בנ]י הוד והדר[ר]

The *lamed* of למעשי perhaps serves as periphrasis for the genitive between the two construct phrases. Restore, probably, ל[בנ]י. Cf. not only the phrase לבני כבודם earlier in line 6 but also the phrase מעשי לב[נ]י in 11QShirShabb f 1.

Lines 6-7. אלוהים חיים כול מעשיהם וצורות בדניהם מלאכי קודש

In the absence of more certain indicators, one can perhaps gain some sense of the sentence structure of this passage by noting the chiasmic parallelism between מלאכי קודש/אלוהים חיים and מעשיהם/צורות בדניהם. Although it is difficult to find a suitable English equivalent, מעשי here too probably means "manner of construction" and in this sense provides a good parallel for צורות, "pattern" (see Ezek 43:11). The מלאכי קודש are closely associated with the chariot throne in 4Q405 22 9 (בלכת האופנים). Cf. also 4Q405 23 i 8. (ישונו מלאכי קודש).

Ibid. מתחת לד[בירי] הפלא

Elsewhere in the Shirot מתחת precedes a word for the divine throne (מתחת מושב כבודו, 4Q405 22 9; מתחת כבודו, 4Q405 46 3). The parallel passage in 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p, which should fall in the lacuna here, reads [ירי]. Although the sense is somewhat elusive, the phrase should apparently be restored לד[בירי] הפלא. There is not room to restore

הפלא [ושבי דבירי] למ, even though one might conceivably read the letter before the lacuna as *mem* rather than *dalet*.

Ibid. קול דממת שקט אל[והי]ם מברכים

Similarly to the present passage, what comes from beneath the seat of the chariot throne in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9 is the praise of the cherubim, described there as קול דממת אלוהים. The phrase קול דממת שקט is a variant of the expression קול דממת דקה, which occurs in the theophany of 1 Kgs 19:12 to signify the presence of God. See notes to 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 for further discussion.

Line 8.

The 11Q fragments preserve phrases from three further lines. Shortly after אל[והי]ם מברכים, in what would be 4Q405 19 8, one should restore מהללים תמיד. The pair of participles מברכים ומהללים also occurs in 4Q405 23 i 9.

Lines 9-10.

Restored from 11QShirShabb g.

Additional comments

A final word should perhaps be said about the similarities between 4Q405 19 and 1 Enoch 14. It has often been remarked that the building which Enoch sees has the shape of a temple with an outer nave and an inner debir, each of which Enoch describes in turn as he enters. So too, it appears that the ninth through the eleventh Sabbath songs describe the heavenly temple, beginning with the entrance to the nave and proceeding to the debir and its chariot throne. 1 Enoch 14 describes floors, walls, and ceilings of the temple in language drawn not only from meteorological and astronomical categories but also apparently from the description of the רקיע in Ezek 1:22 (see Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 33). Although many of the references in 4Q405 19 are difficult to understand, the floors, walls, and ceilings of the celestial temple may also be described there (לבני כבודם, רקיע פלא, מדרס דבירי פלא). It is even possible that the tessellated walls of 1 Enoch 14:10 find their equivalent in the דנקי פלא of 4Q405 19 5. Finally, there is one other feature of 1 Enoch 14 which may be explicated by the description of the heavenly temple in the Shirot. In vv. 10b and 11a Enoch refers to the floor and the ceiling of the temple. He then says "and between them (*metazû*) were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water" (trans. Charles). These are not the cherubim

of the chariot throne, which are described later in v. 18. Since the cherubim of v. 11 are in the nave and apparently located between the floor and the ceiling of that structure, then perhaps 1 Enoch 14 is also describing the celestial counterpart to the cherubim which Solomon carved on the walls of the temple. In view of the serious obscurities which affect the text of 4Q405 19 2-7, one has to be rather cautious about the possible parallels between the two texts; but the similarities are intriguing and should be given further consideration.

4Q405 20 ii-21-22: Transcription

1. [לוא יתמהמהו בעומדם] דב[יִרִי כול כוהני קורב]
2. [בח[וק ית]כלכלו לשׁ] מושב כסא מלכותו ב[דבירי כבודו לוא ישבו
3. מרכבוֹ כבודו] כרובִי קודש אופני אוֹר בְּ[ביר יוחות אלוהי טוהר
4. קודש מעשי פנו[תו] ממלכות מושבי כבוד למרכבוֹ[ת] כנפי דעת גבורת פלא
5. אמת וצדק עולמי] מרכבות כבודו בלכומה ל[לוא יסבו לכול ישרו
6. למש[כיל שיר עולת]ה[ש]בוֹ שוגים עשרא[בעשרים ואחד לחודש השלישי הללו לאלוהי
7. [שני פ]לא ורוממ[ו]הוֹ הכבוד במשכֵּן[אלוהי] דעת יפולו לפנוֹ ה[כרי]בים וּב[י]כוֹ בהרומם קול דממוֹ אלוהים
8. [נשמע]והמוֹן רנה ברום כנפיהם קול[דמ]ת אלוהים וְגַבְיָנוּ כסא מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקייע הכרובים
9. [והוֹדִי רקייע האור יִרְנְנוּ מַמְחַת מושב כבודו וכלכת האופנים ישובוֹ מלאכי קודש יצא ומבין
10. [ג]לגלי כבודו כמראִי אש רוחות קודש קדשים סְכִיב מראי שבולי אש בדמות חשמל ומעשי
11. [ג]וגה ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממוּלח טוה רוחוֹג [א]לוהים חיים מוּנהלכים וְגַמִּיד עם כבוד מרכבות
12. [ה]פלא וקול דממת ברכ בהמוֹן לכתם והללוֹ קודש בהשיב דרכיהם בהרומם ירוממו פלא ובשוכוֹ
13. [יעמ]ודוֹ קול גילות רנה השקיט ודממ[ת] בְּרַךְ אלוהים בכול מחני אלוהים וְ[י]קול תשבח[ו]ת
14. [יִרְנְנוּ כול דגליה[ם] בעברִי]רננוֹ כול פקודיהם אחד אֶל־דִּם מעמדי[ו]

4Q405 20 ii-21-22: Notes on the Transcription

Overlap with llQShirShabb 3-4 is underlined in the transcription. The transcription of 4Q405 20 i is printed on the following page.

4Q405 20 i: Transcription

c	^{oo} צדק[	.1
o	^o פל[איהם	.2
1	[.] כבודם[	.3
	^{ooo} ם[	.4

4Q405 20 i: Notes on the Readings

Note the *points jalons*. Dry lines are visible but do not join with the *points jalons*.

Line 1. ^{oo}צדק[. The trace before *qop* is better for *dalet* than for *waw* (e.g., for חוק). The downstroke of *dalet* frequently curls to the left, whereas that of *waw* does not.

4Q405 20 ii-21-22: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. ^{..}קורב. More of *resh* and *dalet* is preserved in PAM 41.859.

Line 4. [.]למרכבו[ת. *Mem* seems to have been written over another letter, but it is not possible to determine what that letter was.

Line 6. ^{oo}ה[ש]בת שתיים. The traces before שתיים are materially ambiguous but compatible with the restoration proposed. Of the two traces immediately before שתיים, the right-hand trace shows the head of *bet* meeting *taw* where the cross-stroke of *taw* meets the right downstroke. The left-hand trace shows part of the left downstroke of *taw*.

Line 7. ^{oo}לא[פ. *Lamed* is clearly preserved in early photographs (see PAM 41.822). The following trace is ambiguous and might be *alep*, *waw/yod*, etc.

Ibid. ^{oo}ורוממ[ו]הו. The word is partly preserved on frg. 20 and partly on frg. 22. In frg. 20 ii the sequence *waw* (or *yod*), *resh*, *waw* is clear. Only the very tops of the two *mems* are preserved, but in each case the traces fit *mem* well. Before the join had been made Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 336) had read the traces on frg. 22 as ^{oo}הי[; but they are equally compatible with ^{oo}הו[. See the overlap with 11QShirShabb 3-4 9 which reads ורו[ממוהו. Of *he* all that remains is a small portion of the left leg. The last trace is a vertical descender compatible with *waw/yod*, *dalet*, or *resh*.

Ibid. ^{oo}כבוד. In the second word the base of *bet* is clear, as is the downstroke of *waw*. Only a trace of the head of *dalet* remains. The

preceding word is more difficult. The first trace might be the base-stroke of *bet*, *pe*, or *mem*. (*Kap* is unlikely.) The following trace might be the base of *bet* or *pe*, *kap* or *nun*. The final trace shows the tip of the head and the vertical descender of *waw* or *yod*. Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 336) suggested פני, but the context established by the join of 4Q405 22 with 20 ii makes that reading seem unlikely. It would be difficult but perhaps not impossible to read פני[ל].

Ibid. דעת [...] במשכ. The trace immediately before the break fits the outline of *kap* well. For the reading דעת compare דעת in 4Q405 23 i 8.

Ibid. יפול[ו]...[ו]כר. The letter identified as *pe* in יפולו could materially be *kap* or *bet*. Similarly, the letter identified as *kap* in וברכו could materially be *bet* or *pe*.

Line 9. והו[ד] רקיע. The first letter preserved is better for *dalet* than for *resh*. The downstroke of *dalet* frequently curves to the left, while that of *resh* does not. Cf. קודש in line 3 above. Restore, e.g., והוד or כבוד.

Ibid. ממחח. The first *mem* is marked as deleted. Perhaps the scribe started to write ממעל as in the previous stich.

Line 10. רוחי קודש. The scribe originally wrote קודש, then corrected to רוחות קודש by inserting *taw* slightly below the line between the two words and allowing *yod* to stand for *waw*.

Ibid. שכיב. The traces are better for *samek* (cf. כסא in line 8) than for *shin* (e.g., for שכיב, "flame"). The angle of the vertical with the right-hand stroke is too acute for *shin* and would leave insufficient room for the middle arm. Cf. שבולי and אש in the same line.

Line 12. ברכ. Medial *kap* in final position occurs frequently in semi-formal hands.

Line 13. ודממ[ת] ברכ אלוהים. Only a small spot of ink remains of the second *mem* in דממת and of the *alep* in אלוהים. The traces in between are ambiguous, but of the two suggestions made by Strugnell in the original edition, ברכ is preferable to מבין.

Line 14. אחר א[ח]ר. The traces are slight but compatible with *alep* and *dalet*.

4Q405 20-21-22: Translation

Column i

(1) [...] righteousness (2) [...] their [won]ders (3) [...] their glory (4) [...]ooo

Column ii

1. [*They do not delay when they arise...the deb*]irim of all the priests of the inner sanctum [...]
2. By [strict ordinance they] are steadfast in the ser[vice of...] a seat like His royal throne in [His glorious debirim. *They do not sit...*]
3. His glorious chariot(s) [...] holy cherubim, luminous ophanim *in the de*[bir...spirits of godlike beings...purity...]
4. of holiness, *the construction of* [its] cor[ners...] royal [...] the glorious seats of the chariot th[rone...wings of knowledge... wondrous powers...]
5. truth and righteousness, eternal [...] His glorious chariots as they move o[*...they do not turn to any side...they go straight...*]
6. By the Instr[uctor. Song of the sacrifice of] the twelfth [Sa]bbath [on the twenty-first of the third month. Praise the God of ...]
7. wondrous [...] and exalt Him ooo the Glory in the tabern[acle of the God of] knowledge. The cherubim fall before Him and bless. As they rise, the sound of divine stillness
8. [*is heard*], and *there is* a tumult of jubilation as their wings lift up, the sound of divine [stillnes]s. The image of the chariot throne do they bless (*which is*) above the firmament of the cherubim.
9. [*And the splendo*]r of the luminous firmament do they sing (*which is*) beneath His glorious seat. And when the wheels move, the holy angels return. They go out from between
10. its glorious [h]ubs. Like the appearance of fire (are) the most holy spirits round about, the appearance of streams of fire like hashmal. And *there is* a radiant substance
11. with glorious colors, wondrously hued, purely blended, the spirits of living godlike beings *which* move continuously with the glory of the wondrous chariot(s).
12. *There is* a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement. And they praise (*His*) holiness as they return on their paths.

- As they rise, they rise marvelously; and when they settle,
13. they [stand] still. The sound of glad rejoicing falls silent, and *there is* a stillness of divine blessing in all the camps of the godlike beings; [and] the sound of prais[es]
14. [...]°°[...]. from between all their divisions on *the[ir] si[des...* and] all their mustered troops rejoice, each o[n]e in [his] stat[ion].

4Q405 20-21-22: Comments

Overlap with 11QShirShabb 3-4 confirms the combination of fragments 4Q405 20-21-22 and permits their identification as the end of the eleventh Sabbath song and the beginning of the twelfth. The eleventh Sabbath song continues the description of the celestial debirim, concluding with an account of the (apparently) multiple chariot thrones in these debirim. A substantial part of the twelfth Sabbath song is preserved in three fragments: 4Q405 20 ii-21-22, 11QShirShabb 5-6, and 4Q405 23 i. The song begins in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 with an extended description of God's chariot throne and its praise. The end of frg. 22 contains the transition to an account of the praise of the assembled angels in their camps and units. The following passage in 11QShirShabb 5-6 is rather fragmentary, and it is not always clear whether the chariot throne or the praise of the angelic hosts around the temple is the subject. The latter part of the twelfth Sabbath song is preserved in 4Q405 23 i, which gives an account of the ceremonial worship of the angels in the heavenly sanctuary, an account modelled on Ezek 46.

Line 1. לוא יתמהמו בעומדם

Restored from 11QShirShabb 3-4 2. The restoration of לוא in 11Q is plausible but not certain. There is no apparent biblical background for the line, and the broken state of the text does not permit one to be certain how to translate. A fairly close parallel occurs in 4Q405 23 i 11 (the end of the twelfth Sabbath song), לוא ירוצו מדרך ולוא יתמהמו מגבולו. In that passage the subjects of the verbs are the worshipping angels who go in and out the gates and portals of the heavenly sanctuary, singing praise. For the liturgical use of עמד in QL see 1QM xiii 1; xiv 3; xv 4; xviii 5; 1QH iv 21; vii 31; etc. Cf. also 2 Kgs 5:11; 2 Chr 20:20.

Ibid. דב[ירי כול כוהני קורב]

One might also read דב[ירי, "His debir." The first Sabbath song (4Q400 1 i) preserves an account of the establishment of the priests of the

inner sanctum and their duties. The vestments of the high priestly angels and their sacrificial service are discussed in the thirteenth Sabbath song (see 4Q405 23 ii and 11QShirShabb 7-8).

Line 2. בח[וק ית]כלכלו לש[רת]

There are several references in the Sabbath Shirot to the regulation of the angelic priestly service by divine ordinance (see e.g., 4Q400 1 i 5, 9, and perhaps 15). Note also the statement in the twelfth Sabbath song, ואין במה דולג עלי חוק (4Q405 23 i 10). van der Woude's suggestion ("Fragmente," 322) that יתכלכלו has the sense of "be steadfast," "hold fast," as in Ben Sira 43:3 and 49:9, seems correct. Although שרת most frequently takes its object in the accusative in BH and QH, *lamed* can introduce the object (see esp. Num 4:9; 2 Chr 13:10; 22:8). van der Woude's reading of לו after שרת is plausible, but not certain. The *lamed* might introduce a longer divine epithet. It does not appear possible, however, to read לפ[ני] in 11QShirShabb 3-4 3. There is probably room for no more than two words before מושב in 4Q405 21 2, but it is not clear how one should restore the lacuna.

Ibid. [] מושב ככסא מלכותו ב[דבירי כבודו]

The syntax of this line and the division of the words into discrete sentences are not clear. Other constructions than the one reflected in the translation are certainly possible. It is difficult to see what the nature of the comparison implied by ככסא is. In lines 8-9 below כסא and מושב are parallel terms. The phrase כסא מלכות and synonymous phrases with ממלכה and מלוכה occur frequently in BH (Est 1:2; 5:1; 1 Chr 22:10; 2 Chr 7:18; etc.), though not with reference to God's throne. Both Ezekiel and Isaiah, however, make explicit reference to the appearance of the throne of God in their visions (see Isa 6:1; Ezek 1:26; 10:1). The throne of Glory becomes the subject of intense speculation in apocalyptic and merkabah literature.

Ibid. לוא ישבו

Restored from 11QShirShabb 3-4 3, where a break in the leather would permit either the singular ישב or the plural ישבו to be read. In view of the preceding negative, I prefer to restore the plural form and to take the angelic attendants as the subject of the sentence. There is a tradition that no one may sit in the presence of God (see b.Hag. 15a and 3 Enoch 16), but cf. the twenty-four elders seated before the throne in

Rev 4:4. It is not clear how to restore the remainder of the line. Probably some three or four words are missing before מרכבות כבודו.

Line 3. מרכבות כבודו [...] כרובי קודש אופני אור בד[ביר]

The plural of מרכבה is used consistently in the Sabbath Shiroṭ, except in the phrase תבנית כסא מרכבה in line 8 below. It is often difficult to determine whether a plural of majesty or a genuine plurality of chariot thrones is intended. See בלכתמה in line 5 below, however, which probably refers to the preceding מרכבות כבודו, implying a genuine plurality. Compare 4Q403 1 ii 15 (והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניהם). While the ophanim are clearly animate divine beings, they are in each instance closely associated with the markabot and do not seem to be merely a class of angels (cf. 1 Enoch 61:10 and 71:7 where such a transition appears to have taken place). At the break restore, perhaps בד[ביר] as in line 2 above.

Ibid. טוהר

Restored from 11QShirShabb 3-4 4. Perhaps supplement טוהר. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 42; 4Q405 23 i 6-7. After טוהר only one or two words are lost before קודש in line 4. In 11QShirShabb 3-4 4 טוהר is followed by the letters *bet*, *dalet*. Several restorations are possible for 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3-4, e.g., בד[ני רוחי] קודש; בד[מות רוחי] קודש; בד[בירי] קודש, etc.

Line 4. מעשי פנו[תו]

The reading in 11QShirShabb 3-4 5 is materially ambiguous and might be either פני תו] or פנותו]. Context favors פנות, "corners." See 4Q403 1 i 41 (וכול פנות מבניתו), where the praise of the parts of the heavenly temple is described. In this fragment, however, the preceding and following references to מרכבות suggest that it is the chariot throne itself which is being described here. Consequently, it is not clear precisely what the word "corners" refers to.

Ibid. כנפי דעת

Restored from 11QShirShabb 3-4 5. The phrase itself is unparalleled, but the wings of the cherubim are referred to below in line 8.

Ibid. גבורת פלא

Restored from 11QShirShabb 3-4 5. The reading is difficult. See notes *ad loc*. It is possible that פלא is to be reconstructed as the last word in line 4 of the 4Q405 manuscript or that only one more word follows.

Line 5. מרכבות כבודו בלכתמה

The plural suffix on בלכתמה would appear to refer to the "chariots of His glory" but conceivably could refer to an antecedent lost in the lacuna. In Ezek 1 the infinitive of הלך is frequently used to describe the movement of the living creatures and the wheels which bear the throne. See Ezek 1:17-21.

Ibid. לוא יסבו לכול

Restored, with conjectural supplement, from 11QShirShabb 3-4 6. It may be that Ezek 1 influences this phrase, too. Cf. לא יסבו בלכתן (Ezek 1:9, 12, 17). A further letter can be read after לכול in 11QShirShabb 3-4 6, perhaps ayin. If so, perhaps supplement לכול עברים, "they do not turn to any side" (cf. Isa 47:15, איש לעברו תעו).

Ibid. ישרו

Restored from 11QShirShabb 3-4 6. The broken condition of the fragment would permit a number of restorations, but if בלכתמה and יסבו are derived from Ezek 1, perhaps one should restore ישרו here. In Ezek 1:7 and 23 the legs and wings of the creatures are described as ישרות/ישרה, "straight," or "extended." The form ישרו would be verbal rather than adjectival as in Ezekiel, but perhaps ישרו is used as a complement to לוא יסבו ("they do not turn...they go straight"). The broken condition of the text renders all such suggestions speculative, but Ezekiel 1 and 10 are similarly used in lines 7-14 below.

Line 6. למש[כיל שיר עולת] ה[ש]בת שתיים עשרא [בעשרים ואחד לחודש השלישי]

Line 6 begins a new Sabbath song. The combination of frgs. 20 ii with 21 and their overlap with 11QShirShabb 3-4 8 allow one to reconstruct the heading of the twelfth Sabbath song with certainty. The use of alep instead of the expected he in ערשא is noteworthy. Although unique in 4Q405, other occurrences of alep as mater for ē in QL are cited by Qimron (§100.4). Note especially עשרא [א]חת in 6Q 9 1 1.

Lines 6-7.

Following the date heading, one can confidently restore הללו לאלוהי, according to the standard beginning of the other Sabbath songs (cf. 4Q400 1 i 1; 4Q401 1 2; 4Q403 1 i 30; 4Q405 8-9 2). 11QShirShabb 3-4 8 preserves]שני[, presumably part of the divine epithet which serves as the object of the imperative, הללו. It is not certain whether שני is a complete word or part of a longer word, e.g., משני. Although the restoration is quite

speculative, one could restore **הללו לאלוהי נשיאי** at the end of line 6 and complete the phrase **לא [משני פ]** at the beginning of line 7. The deputy princes may also be mentioned in the call to praise of the eighth Sabbath song (see 4Q403 1 ii 18-19 and parallels). There, however, the body of the song contains further references to the deputy princes, while there is no evidence of such further references in the twelfth Sabbath song.

Line 7.

The relationship between 11QShirShabb 3-4 9 and 4Q405 22 is established primarily by the overlap of **וּבְרָכוּ בְּהַרְוֹמָם** in frg. 22 with **בְּהַרְוֹמָם** in the 11Q fragment. That phrase is not attested elsewhere in the extant fragments of the Sabbath Shiroṭ. In addition, the overlap of 4Q405 22 and 11QShirShabb 3-4 would require an almost direct join between the second line of 4Q405 22 and 20 ii 7. The alignment of the right margin of the two fragments fits the proposed join well. Moreover, the first two traces visible in frg. 22, though slight, are compatible in position and shape with **הוּ**, **waw** for the combined text **וּרְוֹמָם[ו]**, a word which overlaps 11QShirShabb 3-4 9, **יְרוּ[מָמוֹהוּ]**.

4Q405 22 was published originally by J. Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 318-45) with the siglum 4Q51 40. K. G. Kuhn ("Nachträge," 164-66) has questioned whether the fragment actually preserves the full text of the column margin on the left and especially on the right-hand side, as maintained by Strugnell. The column width of 4Q405 22 is already greater than that of any other column in 4Q405, so that *a priori* it seems unlikely that any substantial portion of the column has been broken off.

That the left margin is fully preserved seems fairly certain. The lines end with complete words which show closer alignment than the final words of the fully preserved column in 4Q405 23 i. Furthermore, leather is preserved beyond the last word of line 12. Although the leather is discolored, there is no trace of any further letters, suggesting that the full line of text is preserved. In line 9 a mark following **וּמְבִין** is arguably compatible with the top of a **kap** (for, e.g., **כָּוֹל**). If the trace were part of **kap**, however, one would expect to see part of the downstroke on the undamaged leather. Thus it seems more probable that the trace is merely an accidental spot of ink.

The evidence is less clear regarding the right-hand margin. The beginning of each word is broken off, so that there is no blank leather preserved to give objective proof of the column edge, though the

ורוממ[ו] הוֹ... הכבוד במשכ[ן אלוהי] דעת Ibid.

The following phrase (במשכן [...] דעת) is locative. The heavenly sanctuary is referred to as a tabernacle elsewhere in the Shirot in 4Q403 1 ii 10 (ומשכן רוש רום). Here perhaps restore the divine epithet משכן אלוהי דעת (cf. 4Q400 2 8; 4Q405 23 ii 12). The phrase would be the equivalent of the biblical expression משכן יהוה (Lev 17:4; Num 16:9; 17:28; 1 Chr 16:39; etc.). Schiffman ("Merkavah Speculation," 36) notes that משכן is a synonym of מקדש in Ezek 37:26-27.

There are a variety of ways in which lines 7-8 might be interpreted, an ambiguity increased by the difficulty of distinguishing between *waw* and *yod* in many instances. One could, for instance, read יפול[ו] לפני and translate "let them prostrate themselves before the cherubim and bless...." Cf. generally Rev 4:9-10; Apoc. Ab. 17-18; 3 Enoch 39. While such a sentence need not mean that it is the cherubim who are being worshipped, the manner of expression seems rather odd. Moreover, such a construction creates syntactical difficulties, since it is not the angels but the cherubim and their wings which are the subjects of the

infinitive constructs in lines 7 and 8. (See further below.) It is better to take הכרובים as the subject of יפולו and to read לפניו ("before Him," a phonetic spelling for BH לפניו; cf. נפלאותו in 4Q405 3 ii 3 and see Qimron, §200.131). In later merkabah literature (Schäfer, §99) the throne itself is said to bow before God, inviting God to be seated on it. See Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 153-54.

The second ambiguity created by the waw/yod problem is the proper reading of the infinitive constructs. In line 7 one might read בהרימם (a suffixed hiphil inf. cs. from רום) or בהרומם (probably a niphil inf. cs. of רום). Similarly in line 8 one might read either ברים (hiphil inf. cs. with elision of quiescent he) or ברומ (qal inf. cs.). The syntax is fairly simple and the parallelism very close if one reads hiphil infinitive constructs in both parts. While one might question whether the angels or the cherubim are the subject of the first infinitive, it is clearly the cherubim who are referred to in the second instance. What this interpretation overlooks, however, is the probable dependency of these lines on Ezek 10:16-17a, where the co-ordination of movement between the cherubim and the wheels (ophanim) is described, using the qal and niphil infinitive constructs of רום:

ובשאת הכרובים את-כנפיהם לרום מעל הארץ לא-יסבו האופנים גם-הם מאצלם
בעמדם יעמדם וברומם ירומו אותם כי רוח החיה בהם

The allusions to Ezekiel 1 and 10 in the lines following and the extreme rarity of these forms in BH increase the likelihood that Ezek 10:16-17a is directly influencing lines 7-8.

The sound made by the movement of the cherubim is described three times in Ezekiel, in 1:24 (ואשמע את-קול כנפיהם כקול מים רבים כקול-שדי) and in 3:13 (וקול כנפי החיות משיקות אשה אל-אחותה), (בלכתם קול המלה כקול מחנה וקול כנפי הכרובים נשמע) and in 10:5 (וקול האופנים לעמתם וקול רעש גדול). In the Shirot the sound of the cherubim is קול דממה דקה, a phrase clearly modelled after קול דממת אולהים in 1 Kgs 19:12. In 1 Kgs 19 the phrase identifies the presence of God. It may be that it is Ezekiel's description of the sound of the cherubim as כקול אל-שדי which motivates the author of the Sabbath Shirot to make the connection between the two passages. If the sound made by the movement of the cherubim is understood to be like the voice of God, then one might translate קול דממת אלוהים (perhaps intentionally paradoxical) as "the sound of divine stillness." Whatever the nature of the sound produced

by the movement of the cherubim and their wings, it was clearly understood in Jewish tradition as a sound of blessing and adoration. See, e.g., the targum to Ezekiel 1:24-25. See also in lines 12 and 13 below the phrase קול דממת ברך and in 4Q405 19 7 the line מברכים אל[והי]ם.

The phrase קול דממה דקה continued to be a source of speculation and verbal play in later merkabah literature. See the numerous references collected by Schiffman ("Merkavah Speculation," 37).

At the beginning of line 8 only a single word is lost in the lacuna before בַּהֲמוֹן רִנָּה. Perhaps restore נִשְׁמַע (cf. Ezek 10:5, cited above). In the lacuna following קול one should probably restore [דממ]ת, following Strugnell's original suggestion, though the space is slightly larger than that required for דממת in lines 7 and 12. Alternatively, restore either קול גלילות or קול תשבחות as in line 13 below.

Lines 8-9. תבנית כסא מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים

[והו]ד רקיע האור ירננו ממתחת מושב כבודו

Whether one considers the cherubim or the angelic elohim to be the subject of מברכים and ירננו, the word הכרובים in line 8 should not be taken as the explicit subject of the verb but as a genitive after ממעל לרקיע, parallel to מתחת מושב כבודו. The first stich is based on Ezek 1:26a (וממעל לרקיע אשר על-ראשם כמראה אבן ספיר דמות כסא). In 4Q405 22 the second line of the couplet is a chiasitic elaboration of the first. In the first the throne is praised and its position "above the firmament of the cherubim" is specified. In the second the firmament is praised and its position "beneath His glorious throne" is stated.

Since the lines appear to be dependent on Ezek 1:26, the phrase תבנית כסא may be taken as a synonym for דמות כסא, though there may also be an allusion to 1 Chr 28:18 (תבנית המרכבה הכרובים). The ambiguity of תבנית ("structure," but also "likeness") cannot be readily rendered in English translation. Ezekiel does not actually use the term מרכבה, but 1 Chr 28:18 and Ben Sira 49:8 (וחזכאל ראה מראה ויגד זני מרכבה) are early witnesses to the interpretation of the cherubim in the temple and of Ezekiel's vision as a chariot throne. Although there is no precise parallel for the phrase רקיע האור, the luminous quality of the firmament under the throne of God is similarly described in Exod 24:10 (כעצם השמים) and in Ezek 1:22 (כעין הקרח). In the lacuna before רקיע האור perhaps restore מושב כבוד or והוד. The phrase מושב כבודו recalls the similar

phrases **מושב יקרו** and **כסא הכבוד**, common in merkabah literature. See Schiffman ("Merkavah Speculation," 38-39).

Lines 9-10. **ובלכת האופנים ישובו מלאכי קודש יצא ומבין גלגלי כבודו**

Emend **יצאו מבין** to **יצא ומבין**, in accordance with the suggestion of Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 340, n. 11). It is difficult to say how far the sentence beginning **ובלכת האופנים** extends. A general parallelism guides the division of these lines, especially the parallelism between **האופנים** and **גלגלי** (cf. Ezek 10:13) and that between the verbs **ישובו** and **יצאו**. The sentence probably concludes with **גלגלי כבודו**, though what follows could be taken as a series of appositives or as a new nominal sentence. The lines are closely dependent on Ezek 1:12-14. The verbs are drawn from a form of Ezek 1:14 like that underlying the LXX (**יצוא ושוב**; contrast MT **רצוא ושוב**). The infinitive **ובלכת** recalls the form **בלכתן** of Ezek 1:12. Similarly, the phrase **כמראי אש** recalls various phrases from Ezek 1:13 (**כמראה הלפידים, מראהם כגחלי אש**) and verse 14 (**כמראה הבזק**). These verses in Ezekiel are quite difficult but seem to describe not so much the appearance of the *Ḥayyot* as of the fiery substance which moves among them and flashes like lightning. See the comments of Zimmerli (*Ezekiel* 1, 121-22) and Greenberg (*Ezekiel* 1-20, 46). This fiery substance is to be associated with that of v. 4 and vv. 27-28, where it is identified with the Glory. In the Shirot the fieriness of the Glory is interpreted as the appearance of fiery angelic spirits. The allusion to Ezek 10:2 and 6 (**קח אש מבינות לגלגל מבינה לכרובים**) suggests that the reference to the angelic spirits is to be associated with "the man clothed in linen" referred to in those verses from Ezekiel, an angelic and possibly a priestly figure.

Line 10. **כמראי אש רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי אש בדמות חשמל**

There are few clear internal indications of sentence division in this portion of 4Q405 22. The relation of the material to Ezekiel 1:27-28, however, suggests that a pause is to be assumed before **וּמַעֲשֵׂי [נ] וְגַה**. See further discussion below.

Note the phonetic orthography of **כמראי** for BH **כמראה**. The phrase **שבולי אש** ("streams of fire") is somewhat unusual. In 1960 Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 340, n. 15) noted the lack of any clear parallel, citing only a *qedushta'* of Yannai where **שְׁבִילֵי אֵשׁ** is parallel to **מִים**. Now, however, see 4QEn^C 1 vii 1 (**שְׁבִילֵי דְ[י] נֹר**), referring to the streams of fire which come from beneath the divine throne (1 Enoch 14:19).

Although the fragment containing this phrase is very small, Milik's reading and placement of it seem justified (see Milik, *Enoch* 199 and pl. XIII). While Ezekiel 1 and 10 contain many references to fire, there is no explicit reference to *streams* of fire. The motif becomes common, however, in later apocalyptic descriptions of the throne of God. Cf., e.g., נהר די-נור in Dan 7:10. Elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot note the phrase נהרי אור (4Q405 15 ii 2).

For בדמות חשמל cf. כעין החשמל in Ezek 1:4, 27; 8:2. Greenberg (*Ezekiel* 1-20, 43) explains כעין as "like the color, appearance of," derived from עין, "color" (see Lev 13:5, 55; Num 11:7; Prov 23:31). He notes that in MH כעין becomes a simple word of comparison, "like." Although the exact significance of חשמל later became the subject of esoteric speculation, in the Shirot, as in Ezekiel, the word simply refers to the bright, shining quality of the glory of God. In 3 Enoch 36:2 the ministering angels cover themselves with cloaks of Hashmal.

Taken as a whole, line 10 appears to be an explication of Ezek 1:27a, the first part of the description of the visible Glory (וארא כעין חשמל) (כמראי-אש בית-לה סביב ממראה מתניו ולמעלה). There are also similarities with Ezek 1:4, but the relationship to 1:27 is closer. What the author of the Sabbath Shirot has added to Ezekiel's description, in addition to the mention of streams of fire, is the reference to "most holy spirits." A clue to the significance of this reference may be found in the Similitudes of Enoch where, according to D. Flusser ("Sanktus," 138-39), the כבוד of God is interpreted as רוחות, "spirits." The *geduššāh* of Isa 6:3 (קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל-הארץ כבודו) is rendered in 1 Enoch 39:12, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He fills the earth with spirits." In 4Q405 22 also the appearance of the Glory of God is not directly described but is experienced as a multitude of angelic spirits who appear to surround and move with the chariot throne.

Lines 10-11. ומעשי [נ] וגה ברקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוה רוחות [א] לווהים
חיים מההלכים המיד עם כבוד מרכבות [ה] פלא

The second part of the description of the visible Glory is given in Ezekiel 1:27b (וממראה מתניו ולמטה ראיתי כמראה-אש ונגה לו סביב), and it is this part of the description which the sentence beginning ומעשי נוגה explicates. Moreover, as C. Rowland has noted ("Visions," 143, n. 14), the color terms in this line (צבעי and רוקמת) are interpretations of the rainbow image which further describes the נוגה (the radiance of the Glory)

in Ezek 1:28 (כמראה הקשה אשר יהיה בענן ביום הגשם כן מראה הנגה סביב).

וברוקמת כבוד צנעי פלא. While the root רקם is frequently used to describe priestly garments and tabernacle fabrics by the Priestly writer in the OT (Exod 38:23; 26:36; 27:17; 28:39; etc.) and at Qumran (1QM vii 11), the pairing of רקמה and צנע occurs elsewhere only in Jud 5:30, the Song of Deborah. I know of no exegetical tradition which would suggest that this verse is being consciously connected with the description of the Glory.

ממולח טוהר should be emended to ממולח טוהר. See 4Q405 19 4; 23 ii 10; 11QShirShabb 7-8 4. Here *resh* has been lost by haplography before רוחות. For discussion of this phrase see notes to 4Q405 19 4. The effect of the language, taken from the Priestly writer's description of the tabernacle and its artifacts, is to add a cultic emphasis to the holiness which Ezekiel describes in his vision.

It is possible that the phrase רוחות אלוהים חיים begins a new and independent sentence. I think it more likely, however, that the reference to the spirits here qualifies the description of the מעשי נוגה, just as רוחות קודש קדשים qualifies the description of אשרי אש in the corresponding line above. For רוחות אלוהים חיים as "spirits of living godlike beings" rather than "spirits of the living God" see notes to 4Q405 14-15 i 5. While the biblical divine title seems to be the immediate source for the angelic epithet, one wonders if the חיות and the רוח החיה of Ezek 1 also influence the use of the phrase רוחות אלוהים חיים as an angelic designation. In the Sabbath Shirot, however, the actual bearers of the merkabah are always called כרובים, never חיות.

The hithpael participle מתהלכים recalls the phrase בין מלהלכת in Ezek 1:13, a phrase which describes the movement of the fiery substance seen among the Hayyot. This phrase too may be an explication of Ezekiel in which the fiery appearance of the Glory is interpreted as the appearance of fiery angelic spirits moving about the merkabah. Although it is possible that one could see in the phrase כבוד מרכבוה a reference to a plurality of chariot thrones, the form is here better taken as a plural of majesty. Cf. lines 8-9 above, which appear to describe a single throne.

Line 12. וקול דממת ברך בהמון לכתם

ברך, a masc. by-form of ברכה, is the standard form of the word "blessing" in the Sabbath Shirot. The term דממת appears in several other

passages where the praise of the angels is described. See, e.g., 4Q405 18 5 (קול דממת שקט אל[והי]ם מברכים) and 19 7 (ת[הלי פלא בדממת ק]ול) 18 5. Moreover, there is a close correspondence between this sentence and line 8 above where it is the movement of the cherubim and of their wings that produces a sound of divine blessing. For לכתם cf. Ezek 1:24 where the sound of the movement of the Hayyot is described as בלכתם קול המלה כקול מחנה.

Ibid. והללו קודש בהשיב דרכיהם

This sentence is parallel to the preceding one. The verbs שוב and הלך recall the pair שוב and יצא used to describe the back-and-forth movement of the angels in line 9 above. It is not clear how קודש is to be understood, whether as an epithet for God (one would expect הקדוש), as an accusative of manner ("with holiness") or as a locative ("in the sanctuary," as in Ps 134:2). Or perhaps "holiness" is simply to be understood as the attribute of God which the angels praise (cf. Exod 15:11; Am 4:2; Ps 89:36). A similar phrase occurs in 4Q401 16 5 (והללוהו קודש), though unfortunately in a broken context.

Lines 12-13. בהרומם ירוממו פלא ובשוכן [יעמ]ודו

The words recall Ezek 10:17 (בעומדם יעמדו וברומם ירוממו אותם), which describes the coordination of movement between the wheels and the cherubim. In the Shirot neither the meaning nor the grammar is unambiguous. In Ezek 10:17 the phrase ברומם ירוממו is pointed by the Masoretes as a gal infinitive construct with suffix (from רום) plus a niph'al imperfect of רומם. In the Sabbath Shirot, as Strugnell has already noted ("Angelic Liturgy," 341-42, n. 22), בהרומם is apparently taken as a suffixed niph'al infinitive construct (from רומם). ירוממו is apparently construed by the author as a polal. The verbs may both refer to the spirits or one of them to the spirits and the other to the chariot(s).

The phrase ובשוכן [יעמ]ודו poses several problems. Strugnell's original restoration of ודו [יעמ] seems well founded, both materially and in terms of context. The author appears to be drawing on Ezek 10:17 (בעומדם יעמדו וברומם ירוממו אותם). Instead of the initial בעומדם, however, the Shirot reads ובשוכן. The form of the word is unparalleled, and it is not clear whether one should construe it as an error for the infinitive construct (ובשוכנ or ובשוכן) or to take the form as a previously unattested noun. The source of the allusion is perhaps easier to specify. The author of the Shirot is probably combining Ezek 10:17 with an allusion

to Ps 68:17-19, a passage which describes Yahweh ascending from Sinai with his myriad chariotry (רכב אלהים) to settle forever (אף-יהוה ישכן לנצח); (עלית במרום; בקדש) on high in his sanctuary (לשכן יה אלהים). According to D. Halperin ("Ezekiel's Merkabah," 271), there is evidence that synagogue homilies for Shabu^cot linked the Torah reading (Exod 19-20) with the prophetic lection (Ezek 1) by means of allusions to Ps 68, which contains references both to Sinai and to the chariots of God. The Sabbath Shirot perhaps provides evidence for the early exegetical association of the merkabah visions of Ezekiel with Psalm 68.

One difference between Ezek 1 and 10 and the Sabbath Shirot should be noted. Whereas the verbs in Ezekiel 1:21 and 10:17 refer to the cherubim and the wheels, those in the Sabbath Shirot appear to refer to angelic figures, the רוחות אלוהים חיים. A similar image occurs in Hekalot Rabbati (Shäfer, §98-99).

Line 13. קול גילות רנה השקיט

The reading השקיט appears on a fragment joined to the text after the photograph was taken. See Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 342, n. 24. When the angels cease to move ([יעמ] ודו), "the sound of glad rejoicing falls silent." The author is drawing on Ezek 1:24-25, which describes the coming to rest of the Ḥayyot, although there the wings are said to be "let down" (תרפינה כנפיהם) rather than "silent." Cf., however, the targum to Ezek 1:24 where the sound of the wings of the Ḥayyot is "like the sound of the camps of the angels of heaven. When they stood still their wings were silent" (כקל משריה מלאכי מרומא במקמהון משתקן גפיהון). In 4Q405 22 12-13 the noise and the silence are referred to the angels rather than to the cherubim. The hiphil השקיט often has an intransitive meaning in BH (cf. Isa 7:4; 57:20; Jer 49:23; Job 37:17). Note that whereas in BH and MH the verb means "to be at ease, calm, at rest," in the Sabbath Shirot it takes on the nuance of verbal silence.

Lines 13-14. ודממ[ת] ברך אלוהים בכול מחני אלוהים [ו]קול תשבוח[ות]
[]°[] [] מנין כול דגליה[ם] בעב[]

In Ezek 1:24-25 the cessation of movement by the cherubim is followed by a divine voice or sound from above the רקיע. If one can construe ברך אלוהים as "a blessing given by God," then perhaps this line attempts to explicate Ezek 1:25. It is perhaps simpler not to try to relate this line of the Shirot too closely to Ezek 1:25, however, but simply to understand

the two parallel lines of the Shirot as describing the acclamation and praise with which the hosts of angels respond when the chariot comes to rest. It is not clear whether to take אלוהים as a *nomen qualitatis* ("divine blessing"), as an objective genitive ("blessing of God"), or as a subjective genitive ("the blessing of the godlike beings").

At the end of line 13 Strugnell ("Angelic Liturgy," 337) read תשבוה, since one would expect to see traces of the final תaw if the scribe had written תשבוות. Although masculine by-forms of feminine nouns are common in the Shirot, without further attestation of the form תשבוה, I prefer to assume that the surface is slightly abraded at the end of line 13 and that the traces of the last two letters have been lost. The condition of the leather is not decisive for either reading.

The organization of the angels into camps (מחני אלוהים) and units (דגליהם) applies to the angels in heaven the military organization of the eschatological troops described in the War Scroll (cf. 1QM iii 5, במחני קדשיו, and iii 6, דגלי אל). The word דגל in BH is found exclusively (with the exception of Cant 2:4) in the Priestly writer's description of the organization of the Israelites during their wilderness journey (e.g., Num 2 and 10, *passim*). Rabbinic tradition frequently applied this military terminology to the angels. Cf. the targum to Ezek 1:24-25, cited above, and Num. Rab. 2. In Cant. Rab. 6 it is even said that the organization of the Israelites in the desert is modelled on the military organization of the angelic hosts. In Qumran literature, apart from the Shirot, the terms מחמה and דגל are never clearly used to refer to the organization of the angels. In two texts recently published by M. Baillet in DJD VII (4Q502 27 3; 4Q503 iv 4; viii 11, 19; 10 1) the phrases דגלי לילה, דגלי אור, and דגלי ירחים may refer to the angels who have charge over astronomical and calendrical phenomena, but unfortunately in each case the context is badly broken. In 4QEn^a 1 ii 2, 3 and 4QEnastr^b 28 1 the word refers to constellations. See the discussion of the military/celestial range of דגל in B. Levine, "Aramaic Enoch Fragments." It is curious that the Sabbath Shirot do not use צבאות, the common BH term for the heavenly armies.

Line 14.] בעבס

Perhaps restore a form of עבר, referring to the sides of the angelic camp from which the praise comes. It is less likely, given the orthographic practices of the scribe of 4Q405 that one should restore an infinitive construct. In that case one would expect בעוברם. עבר ("side") occurs

elsewhere in the Shirot in 4Q405 15 ii 5 (משני עבריהם) and 6 (עבריהם) (ישמיעו). The fragment describes the heavenly sanctuary but is so damaged that the referent of עבריהם cannot be determined. If עבר is to be restored here, perhaps supplement [י מחני קדושים] בעבר or the like in the lacuna.

Ibid. אחד א[ח]ד במעמ[דו]

The repetition of the numeral for the distributive sense is standard in BH and MH, though for the sense "each one," BH prefers איש אחד איש אחד (Num 13:2; Jos 3:12).

4Q405 23 i: Transcription

- [משׁאִיָּהּ] .1]
 [בעומדִם] שבת] .2]
 [כסאיִכָּה בֹדִד מַלְכוּתוֹ וְכוּל עֲדַת מִשְׁרָתִי] .3]
 [פֶּלֶא בֵל יִמּוּטוֹ לְעוֹלָמִים אֱלֹהִי] .4]
 [לִכְלֵם מִשְׁאִי כֹל כִּיֵּא אֱלֹהִי כִלְיוֹ] .5]
 [כִּלְיוֹ הַלְלוּהוּ אֱלֹהֵי־יָם] נְתַה לַת עוֹמֵדִם וְכוּל רִי־קִי־עֵי] .6]
 .7 הַטְוֵהָרְ יִגְלִילוּ בְכַבּוּדוֹ וְקוֹל בְּרַךְ מְכֹל מַפְלִגִיו מִסְפֶּרָה רַקִּיעֵי כְבוֹדוֹ וּמַהֲלֵלִים שְׁעָרָיו
 .8 בְּקוֹל רִנָּה בְּמִבּוֹאֵי אֱלִי דַעַת בִּפְתָּחִי כְבוֹד וְכוּל מוֹצֵאֵי מִלְּאֲכֵי קוֹדֶשׁ לְמַמְשִׁלָּתָם
 .9 פִּתְחֵי מִבּוֹאֵי וְשַׁעֲרֵי מוֹצֵאֵי מִשְׁמִיעִים כְּבוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ מִבְּרִכִּים וּמַהֲלֵלִים כֹּל רוּחֹת
 .10 אֱלֹהִים בְּצֵאתָ וּבְמִבּוֹאֵי בְּשַׁעֲרֵי־יָם קוֹדֶשׁ וְאִין בְּמַה דּוֹלֵגְ עַל חֹק וְלוֹא עַל אִמְרֵי
 .11 מֶלֶךְ בְּלִי יַחְכוּ-נֹ לֹא יִרְצוּ מִדְּרַךְ וְלוֹא יִתְמַהֲמַהוּ מִגְּבֻלוֹ לֹא יִרְוּ מִמְשִׁלָּתוֹ
 .12 לֹא יִשְׁפֹּל־יָם] כִּי־אֵי יִרְחַם בְּמַמְשִׁלָּת עֲבֵרַת כָּל־חַיִּי] נֹ לֹא יִשְׁפּוּט בְּמוֹשְׁבֵי אִפְּ כְבוֹדוֹ
 .13 מוֹרֵא מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים נוֹרֵא עַל] כִּי־לֵאֱלֹהִים] וְיִי־צִיֵּאִם] לְכוֹל מִשְׁלַחוֹתוֹ בַּתְכוּן אִמְּוֹ וְהִלְכוּ
 .14] לֵלֵ] לֵלֵ] לֵלֵ]

4Q405 23 i: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. מִשְׁאִיָּהּ[ם]. The base stroke and left oblique of *mem* are certain. Cf. מַפְלָגִיו in line 7. *He* is not certain but is better than *kap* or *taw*.

Line 4. בִּל יִמוֹט. Although *mem* is damaged, the lower right corner of the downstroke and the short stroke of the head are visible.

Line 5. כִּיא. The legs and upper right arm of *alep* are visible.

Line 6. כָּלִילֹ. The tails of the *lameds* are certain. For the last letter the end of the downstroke and a bit of the head of *waw/yod* are visible.

Ibid. הִלְלוּהוּ אֱלֹהֵי[ם]. The tail of the first *lamed* and the tail and a portion of the crook of the second are visible in הִלְלוּהוּ. In אֱלֹהֵי[ם] the traces after *waw* are good for the legs of *he*. The base line and left downstroke of final *mem* are certain.

Ibid. וְכֹל רִקִּי[ע] י. Either וְכֹל or וְכֹל is materially possible. *Resh* in רִקִּי[ע] is conjectural. In רִקִּי[ע] the last visible trace is the head of *yod*, not the left arm of *ayin*.

Line 9. מוֹצֵא. *Waw* is clear in early photos (see PAM 42.817). The following traces fit the right arm and base line of *ṣade* well. The last visible trace appears to be the left leg of *alep*.

Line 10. בִּשְׁעָרֵי. For the slanting lower leg of *ayin* cf. מִשְׁמִיעִים in line 9 above.

Ibid. דּוּלֵג. The left-hand portion of *gimel* is partially obscured by a crack in the leather. The reading is clearer in PAM 42.817.

Line 11. בִּלִּי יִתְכוּ-נֹ. Only a trace remains of the letter after בִּלִּי. *Taw* and *kap* are fairly clear. After them comes a trace which appears to be the head of *waw* or *yod*, although it is rather high. Then comes a thick horizontal line, slightly larger than the width of a letter. The horizontal line cannot be construed as a letter. It may be simply a blot of ink or perhaps a mark of deletion, although no letter is visible under the mark.

Ibid. יִרְצֹ. *Resh* and *waw* are preserved more clearly on PAM 41.408.

Line 12. אֶ[י]כּ. Materially either אֶ[י]כּ or אֶ[ו]כּ is possible.

4Q405 23 i: Translation

1. [...*their*] utterances[...]
2. [...] when they stand [...]ooo[...]
3. [...] His glorious royal throne(s) and all the assembly of those who serve
4. [...]o wondrously. The [*wondrous*] godlike beings will not be shaken forever.
5. [...*in order that*] they be steadfast in *the tasks* of all things; for the godlike beings (*in charge*) of His whole offering
6. [...]o His whole offering. The godlike beings praise Him [*when they fi*]rst arise, and all the s[*pirits*] of the pure firmame[nt]s
7. rejoice in His glory; and there is a sound of blessing from all *its* divisions, which tells of His glorious firmaments; and *its* gates praise
8. with a voice of song. Whenever the elim of knowledge enter by the portals of glory, and whenever the holy angels go out to their dominion,
9. the portals of entrance and the gates of exit make known the glory of the King, blessing and praising all the spirits of
10. God at (their) going out and at (their) coming in by the ga[t]es of holiness. There is none among them who *omits* a law; and never against the commands
11. of the King *do they set themselves*. They do not run from the way or tarry away from His territory. They are not too exalted for His missions;
12. they are not too lowly. S[ure]ly He will show compassion (even) in the dominion of the fury of His [*annihilating wr*]ath. He will not judge while His glorious anger abides.
13. The fearfulness of the King of the godlike ones is fearful to [al]l the godlike beings. [*He sends them forth*] for all His missions according to *His cer*[ta]in order. And they go
14. [.]o[...]o[...]oo[.]o[...]oo[.]o[...]

4Q405 23 i: Comments

4Q405 23 i almost certainly contains the last part of the twelfth Sabbath song. Although its relationship to 11QShirShabb 5-6 (which also contains part of the same song) cannot be precisely specified, it appears probable that that fragment contains material from the lines just preceding 4Q405 23 i. See notes to the reconstruction of 4Q405 and 11QShirShabb.

Line 1. מִשְׁאִיָּהּ]

Without context one cannot determine the nuance of this word. See notes to line 5 below, and see notes to 11QShirShabb 5-6 5.

Line 2.] בְּעוֹמְדִים] שְׁבַח]

Approximately 2 letter spaces are lost in the lacuna after בְּעוֹמְדִים, which could be supplemented in a number of ways, e.g., with שְׁבַח[מַח], with some form of the verb יִשָּׁב, or the verb שָׁבַח.

Line 3.] כְּסָאִיכָּה כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ וְכוּל עֵדָת מִשְׁרָתִי]

The scribe originally wrote כְּסָאִיכָּה בּוֹד, then corrected to כְּסָאִי כְבוֹד, implying an aural misinterpretation of כְּסָא כְבוֹד or of a masculine plural homonym, כְּסָאִי כְבוֹד. In BH the plural form is always כְּסָאוֹת, but the Sabbath Shirot not infrequently display a preference for masculine plural forms of nouns where BH knows only the feminine plural. Cf. e.g., מַחֲשַׁבִּיהֶם in 4Q405 23 ii 10.

Despite the tempting parallel in the rest of line 3 ("and all the congregation of those who serve..."), there is no evidence elsewhere in the Shirot that "thrones" is an angelic title as it is in 1 Col 1:16; T. Levi 3:8; 2 Enoch 20:1; etc. It is unclear, however, whether the plural here is simply a plural of majesty or denotes an actual plurality of thrones. Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 14 and 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3-5 where there does seem to be a plurality of chariots. In 11QShirShabb f-c-k 5 the phrases כְּסָאִי פִּלָּא and כְּסָאִי עוֹלָמִים occur, unfortunately in broken contexts.

For כְּסָאִי כְבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ cf. Jer 14:21 (כְּסָא כְבוֹדֶךָ) and 17:12 (כְּסָא כְבוֹד), referring to Jerusalem and the temple. כְּסָא מַלְכוּת is the expression for "royal throne" in the Chronicler and Esther (1 Chr 22:10; 28:5; 2 Chr 7:18; Est 1:2; 5:1) in distinction to מַמְלָכוֹת, which is found in Deuteronomy, Samuel-Kings, and Haggai (Deut 17:18; 2 Sam 7:13; 1 Kgs 9:5; Hag 2:22).

For מִשְׁרָתִי פָּנִים בְּדַבִּיר כְּבוֹדוֹ (עֵדָה) cf. 4Q400 1 i 4 (מִשְׁרָתִי פָּנִים בְּדַבִּיר כְּבוֹדוֹ) and 4Q403 1 ii 24 (וְרָאִשִׁי עֵדָת הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּקֶהֶל] (לְכוּל אֱלִי]). Cf. also 1QM i 10

(עדת בני שמים) and 1QH iii 22 (עדת משרתי). After משרתי restore probably some form of פְּנִיִּים, as in 4Q400 1 i 4. Cf. also 4Q400 1 i 8 (משרתי פני מלך).

Line 4.] בל ימוטו לעולמים אלוהי]

Since the אלוהי, "godlike beings," appear to be the subject, the verb is perhaps best taken as niph'al, "they will not be moved." For the combination בל מוט cf. Pss 15:5; 62:3, 7; 112:6; 1QH vii 7. After אלוהי supplement, e.g., פלא as in 4Q403 1 i 36.

Line 5. לכ]לכלם משאי כול

For לכ]לכלם probably read a form of the pilpel verb כלכל rather than לכלם, "for all of them." In view of the plural verb forms in lines 4 and 6, restore the infinitive construct לכ]לכלם rather than a singular finite form. The verb also occurs in 4Q400 1 i 14; 4Q402 4 6; 4Q405 13 2 and 20 ii 1. The noun משא does not occur in the plural in BH. Jastrow lists only משאות as a plural.

The clause לכ]לכלם משאי כול is obscure. Both כלכל and משא have a variety of possible meanings: "sustain, contain, be steadfast," etc. for כלכל and "burden, task, uplifting, utterance" for משא. It is not clear which combination of nuances is intended here. There is an intriguing similarity between lines 4 and 5 and Ps 112:5b-6a (יכלכל דבריו במשפט) (כי-לעולם לא-ימוט). If this biblical description of the righteous person is being applied to the angels, then one might translate משאי as "tasks," corresponding to דבריו, "his affairs." The resemblance between the two passages might be fortuitous, however, and one should keep in mind the use of משא as "utterance of praise" in 11QShirShabb 5-6 5. There is, of course, always the possibility of a double meaning, since the tasks of "the congregation of those who serve" include the offering of praise.

כול is used nominally in BH (Gen 16:12; Jer 10:16; Ps 14:3; Qoh 1:2; etc.) and in post-biblical Hebrew (Ben Sira 42:23; 43:27; 11QPs^a 151:7).

Ibid. כיא אלוהי כלילו

Materially, כלילו could also be read as the plural construct, כלילי. The only other occurrence of the word in the Shirot is in line 6 below. There the word is immediately followed by a verb, excluding the plural construct in that case. Probably both occurrences are to be read as a suffixed singular noun, כלילו. The rendering "godlike beings of His crown" seems awkward, though crowns become a common part of angelic dress in apocalyptic and merkabah literature. Also cf. the description of the

rewards of "those who walk in truth" in lQS iv 7 where "a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in eternal light" (כליל כבוד עם מדה הדר באור) (עולמים) suggests a common lot with the angels. Alternatively, one can construe כליל as the nominalized adjective, "whole, entire," which is used as a synonym for עולה (see Deut 33:10; Ps 51:21; 1 Sam 7:9; cf. Lev 6:15). With this interpretation of the word translate "godlike beings of His whole offering," i.e., the angels who have charge of the heavenly cult. References to the sacrificial service occur in 11QShirShabb 7-8 (from the thirteenth Sabbath song).

Line 6. הללוהו אלוה[י]ם [בתה] לת עומדם

The verb הללוהו may be construed either as an imperative or as a perfect. The 3 masc. pl. suffix on עומדם makes an imperative unlikely, though one might expect a converted perfect if הללוהו is to be taken as descriptive. Perhaps a waw has been omitted by haplography after כלילו. As one takes עומדם to be an infinitive construct or a noun, the reconstruction of the preceding word may be temporal (e.g., בתה[לת עומדם, "when they first arise;" cf. lQpH viii 9) or local (e.g., בגבו[לת עומדם, "in the territory of their station").

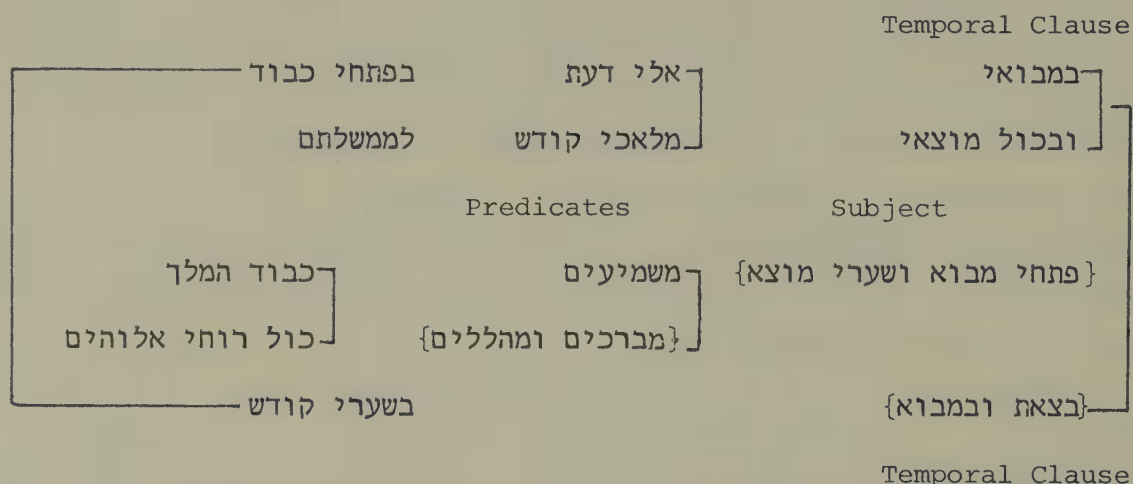
Lines 6-7. וכול ר[וחי] רקי[ע] י הטוהר יגילו כבודו

וכול appears to introduce the subject of יגילו. Since the lacuna after וכול is only 3-4 ls. wide, restore ר[וחי], parallel to אלוה[י]ם. For רקי[ע] י הטוהר cf. 4Q403 1 i 42 (רקיע טוהר טהורים) and notes there.

Lines 7-10.

After the two verbal clauses in lines 6-7 (הללוהו and יגילו), a long passage follows in which the verb forms are participial (from קול ברך in line 7 to בשערי קודש in line 10). The division of these lines into sentences admits of a variety of alternatives, no one of which is conclusively superior. The construction of the lines is complicated by the anomalous form מספרה. The form is apparently a feminine piel participle, but there is no feminine noun in the passage to provide the subject of the participle. It would appear either (1) that the author construed קול as feminine (a shift in gender I am unable to attest elsewhere and which runs counter to the preference for masculine nouns in the Shirot); or (2) that מספרה is a scribal error for מספר (with קול as the subject) or for מספרים (with מפלגיו or, *ad sensum*, the angels as the subject).

The parallelism of lines 8-10 is especially pronounced and is probably the best guide to the construction of these lines. As the diagram below indicates, there is both grammatical parallelism in a chiasmic pattern (temporal clause, subject, predicate, predicate, temporal clause) and lexical parallelism of a rather intricate nature. In the diagram compound parallel terms (e.g., **מברכים ומהללים**) are indicated with curved brackets. Parallels between terms in separate hemistichs are indicated with square brackets. Note that in the first two hemistichs the terms **בפתחי כבוד** and **לממשלתם** are not parallel. The anticipated parallel to **בפתחי כבוד** does not occur until the last phrase of the passage, **בשערי קודש**, forming an *inclusio*.



Similar complex patterns of parallelism in the *Hodayot* are analyzed by B. Kittel in *The Hymns of Qumran*.

The language of 4Q405 23 i 7-10 is closely dependent on Ezekiel 46. See the introduction for further discussion. Comments on particular words and phrases in lines 7-10 follow below.

Line 7. קול ברך מכול מפלגיו

For the masculine plural **מפלגיו** (BH attests only **מפלגות**) see 1QS iv 15, 16; 1QM x 12, and perhaps 1QH xii 23. The word may refer either to groupings of persons (as in 1QS iv 15, 16; 1QH xii 23; and in 2 Chr 35:12), and thus here to angels, or it may refer to divisions of a territorial sort (as in 1QM x 12, **מפלגיה**, **והבורא ארץ וחוקי מפלגיה**), and thus here to areas within the heavenly sanctuary. (Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 21: **שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו**). The 3d masculine singular suffix could refer to God or to the heavenly sanctuary as a whole. The same is true of the suffixes on **רקיע כבודו** and **שעריו** in the same line.

Line 8. במבואי אלי דעה...ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש

Both מבוא and מוצא can mean the act or place of coming in/going forth, but the verbal nuance is clearly preferable here. See line 10 where מבוא is parallel to an infinitive construct, בצאה. For the movement of the angels in and out of the sanctuary cf. especially 1 Enoch 71:8b ("And Michael and Raphael and Gabriel and Phanuel, and all the holy angels who are above the heavens go in and out of that house"; trans. Charles). Cf. also 2 Enoch 20:3-4.

Ibid. לממשלתם

It is a common notion in early Judaism that the angels have executive responsibilities in the universe (Jub 2:2; 1 Enoch 60:12-13) and in the affairs of humankind (Tob 3:17; 12:15; Dan 10:13). At Qumran cf. 1QM x 12 (למלאכי [...] לרוחות עולם בממשלותם) and 1QH i 11 (ומשא רוחות וממשלת קדושים).

Line 9. פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים כבוד המלך

After the temporal clauses, the main sentence begins in line 9. The portals and gates are apparently the subjects of משמיעים. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 41-44 and ii 13-15 where the various parts of the sanctuary and its furnishings, the chariots, etc. all join in praising God. The idea of the singing of the gates and portals is perhaps dependent on Ps 24:7 and 9. Though there are no close parallels in intertestamental literature, in the merkabah hymns the throne and chariots are frequently said to sing and praise. Cf. Hekalot Rabbati 25.1 (Schäfer §260); Ma'aseh Merkabah 6 (Schäfer §554-55). The last letter of the second word in line 9 is ambiguous and could be read as waw or yod. If מבוא is read, the singular suffix could refer to God ("the portals of His entry"; cf. 4Q405 14 5, (באלמי מבואי מלך) or to the heavenly temple ("its entryways"; cf. line 7 above). Alternatively, since the parallel phrase ושערי מוצא has no suffix, the waw could be simple dittography from ושערי. If מבואי is read, the form should be taken as a combined historical/phonetic orthography (BH מבוא; MH מבוי). This seems the simplest solution.

Lines 9-10. מברכים ומהללים כול רוחות אלוהים

In the second part of line 9 the gates and portals are probably subjects of מברכים ומהללים as well, with כול רוחות אלוהים as the object parallel to כבוד המלך, although it is not impossible that the רוחות אלוהים are the subjects. The apparent parallelism of רוחות אלוהים and כבוד המלך recalls the observation of D. Flusser (discussed in connection with

4Q405 22 above) that in 1 Enoch 39:12 the glory of God is interpreted as רוחות ("Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits. He fills the earth with spirits").

Line 10. ואין במה דולג עלי חוק

Note the long form of the suffix on במה. The verb דלג ("to skip, leap over") is not used in an extended or metaphorical sense in BH, but in MH the meaning "to skip over" in the sense of omitting or changing the sequence (such as the reading of passages) is attested (see Jastrow). Here, presumably, the sense is that of omitting or failing to observe certain laws. Cf. the semantic development of עבר from a verb of motion to the meaning "transgress." The phrase עלי-חוק occurs only once in BH (Ps 94:20) in a description of the wicked person who misuses the law (יצר עמל עלי-חוק). The sense is different there, however.

Lines 10-11. ולוא על אמרי מלך בלי יתכונו

See the notes on the readings for the difficulties connected with בלי יתכונו. Since בלי יתכונו is unlikely to be an independent sentence, ולוא...בלי יתכונו appears to be a double negative construction. In BH double negatives do occur, but are never separated from each other (e.g., במלך אשר לא, המבלי אין, בטרם לא). See GKC §152y. In MH, however, there is more extensive use of the double negative and greater variety of construction. See Segal §473, especially the example which he cites from Pes. 89b: לא עשה ולא כלום.

Line 11. לוא ירוצו מדרך ולוא יתמהמהו מגבולו

The antecedent of the suffix on מגבולו is probably מלך. See ממשלוחתו in the following sentence. Alternatively, the suffix could refer to דרך or, *ad sensum*, to the heavenly temple.

Lines 11-12. לוא ירומו ממשלוחתו לוא ישפל[ו]

Since [ו]ישפל is qal, read ירומו rather than ירימי. The concern for keeping one's proper place in the divine order is similarly expressed in 1QS ii 23 (ולוא ישפול איש מבית מעמדו ולוא ירום ממקום גורלו). The form ממשלוחתו is very difficult. None of the dictionaries attest such a form. In view of משלוחתו in line 13 below, one might be inclined to think that משלוחתו is simply a scribal error for משלוחתו. A similar form, however, occurs in 4Q511 16 2 (כול משלוחותיו). Cf. 1Q40 8 1 (מ[ש]לוחות). These forms are probably different vocalizations of the same word, as with תשבוה and תשבחה. See the comments of Baillet, DJD VII, 230. The word occurs

only twice in BH (Ps 78:49 and Qoh 8:8) but continues in use in MH. The sense of "missions" or "delegations" seems most appropriate here. One expects a phrase parallel to משלוחתו after לוא ישפל[ו], but perhaps משלוחתו is to be understood as the term of comparison after ישפל[ו] as well as after ירומו.

Line 12. כ[י] א ירחם בממשלה עברה כל[ת הרו]נו לוא ישפוט במושביו אפ כבודו

Materially, either א[ו]ל or כ[י]א is possible. Thus two opposite meanings are possible for the line. The first, reading כיא: "Surely He will show compassion (even) in the dominion of the fury of His [annihilating wr]ath. He will not judge while His glorious anger abides." In view of the preceding references to angelic obedience and to the following allusions to the awesome qualities of God, however, one might expect the motif of God's jealous wrath, rather than an affirmation of God's merciful self control. Thus one could read לוא and take the second hemistich as a rhetorical question, "He will not show compassion...Will He not judge...?"

The lacuna in נו[] כל is approximately 5 ls. wide. כל should not be taken as *kōl* ("all"), since that word is normally spelled כול in 4Q405. Perhaps restore נו כל[ת הרו], "His annihilating wrath." For מושב expressing the time or duration of dwelling or sitting see Exod 12:40. The plural with this meaning is otherwise unattested.

Line 13. לכול משלוחתו בתכון א[מ]תו והלכו]

The lacuna before לכול is approximately 6-7 ls. wide. Perhaps restore some parallel to the following והלכו, e.g., ויצאו ("and they go forth") or ויוציאם ("and He sends them forth"). The vacat after בתכון should not be taken as indicating a break between clauses. If one attempts to take the vacat in that manner, the first sentence would be read, "And He sends them forth on His missions in order." The next sentence would begin with א[]ו, so that one would have to read the following verb as an imperfect, יהלכו. Although יהלך is occasionally found in BH as the imperfect of הלך, הלך is by far the more common form, as it is in QH. Thus the verb in line 13 should be read והלכו, opening a new clause, and א[]ו taken as the conclusion to the previous clause. Restore, probably, בתכון א[מ]תו, "His certain order."

1. [] ם תפארת לפתוחי []

2. °° בו מלכ בשרתם לפ[ני]

3. מלך וחרת כבודוה"ה]

4. קדוש מקדש כול]

5. אפודיהם יפריש]ו

[illegible]

7. קדושים vac במעמד פלאיהם רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג פתוחי צורות הדר

8. בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור רוח קודש קדשים מחזקות מעמד קודשם לפני []

9. [מ]לכ רוחי צבעי[טוהר] בתוך מראי חור ודמות רוח כבוד כמעשי אופירים מאירי[]

10. [או]רִי וכול מחשביהם ממולח טוהר חשב כמעשי אורגִי אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרתִי]]

11. ראשי ממלכות ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש בכול מרומי מקדשי מלכות

12. כְּבוֹדוֹ vac בראשי תרומות לשוני דעו: [ו] ברכו לאלוהי דעת בכול מעשי כבודו

13. [וחו] קֹת מִסְרֵיָּהֶם בְּכוֹל [דְּבִי] רִ' [י] קוֹדֵשׁ [שׁ חַרַּת ב] דַּעַת בִּינְתוֹ וּבִשְׁכָּל [כַּב] וְדוֹ []

Line 2. מלכ^{oo}. There are traces of two narrow or one wide letter at the beginning of the line. The last letter of the first word could be read either as *waw* or *yod*. See comments below for further discussion. The medial *kap* in final position is a feature frequent in semiformal hands.

Line 3. כבודוהּ. Four dots surrounding *he* mark it as deleted. The letter before *he* (which is materially better for *waw* than *yod*) does not appear to be deleted. The traces of the letter after the deleted *he* also seem good for *he*. Without more context the nature of the error and the intended correction remain obscure.

Line 8.    The head of the *bet* in  is broken off, but the downstroke and a portion of the base line are preserved. *Shin* in  is certain. The branching of the middle arm from the left downstroke is clear.

Line 9. לַכּ [מ]. Note again the medial *kap* in final position. There is not enough room to restore לַכּ [המ].

Ibid. וְדָמוֹת רוּחַ כְּבוֹד. The head of the first *waw* is clear in וְדָמוֹת. Though slight, the traces of the following letter fit the head of *dalet* well. Following that letter a trace of the oblique stroke and of the tick of *mem* are visible.

Lines 9-10. מְאִירִי [אוֹר]. Although the leather is damaged at the end of line 9, it is unlikely that the final word is מְאִירִי [ת]. One would expect to see some traces of *taw* in that case. The broken letter at the beginning of line 10 is better read as *resh* than as *dalet*, so restore [אוֹר] in preference to [הוֹר].

Line 10. לְשִׁרְתָּ. Only the descender of the next to last letter is preserved. *Dalet*, *waw*, *yod*, and *resh* are all materially possible. The trace of the last letter is not good for final *nun* (cf. וּמִבֵּין in 4Q405 22 9 and בְּשׁוֹכֵן in 4Q405 22 12) but fits *taw* well (cf. דַּעַת below in line 12). The break at the end of the line makes it impossible to tell if another letter followed *taw*, e.g., *waw*.

Line 13. [וְחוֹ] קוֹת מִסְרוֹתָם בְּכוֹל [דְּבִי] קוֹדֵשׁ. The first trace preserved is the head of *qop*, not the top of *taw*. For the following word read מִסְרוֹתָם. *Waw* is written above the line. The following letter is broken, but the remains are best read as *taw*. The first trace visible after בְּכוֹל is better for *resh* than for *dalet*, *bet*, or *kap*.

4Q405 23 ii: Translation

1. [] the beauty of the engravings of [...]
2. oooo the King, when they serve be[fore...]
3. King, and He inscribed *His* glory o[...]
4. holiness, the sanctuary of all [...]
5. their ephodim; [they] spread out [...]
6. holy ones, good favor [..]o[.]ooo[.]o[.]ooo[...].o[.]o[.] spirits of the ho[ly ones...]
7. their holy places. vac In their wondrous stations are spirits (clothed with) many colors, like woven work, engraved with figures of splendor.
8. In the midst of the glorious appearance of scarlet, the colors of most holy spiritual light, they stand firm in their holy station before the
9. [K]ing, spirits in garments of [purest] color in the midst of the appearance of whiteness. And this glorious spiritual substance is like fine gold work, shedding

10. [lig]ht. And all their crafted (garments) are purely blended, an *artistry* of woven work. These are the chiefs of those wondrously arrayed for service,
11. the chiefs of the realm of the holy ones of the King of holiness in all the heights of the sanctuaries of His glorious kingdom.
12. In the chiefs of praise-offering are tongues of knowledge; and they bless the God of knowledge together with all His glorious works.
13. [And the ordin]ances of their divisions in all the ho[ly debi]r[im He inscribed in] His insightful knowledge and in His [glo]rious wisdom [...]

4Q405 23 ii: Comments

4Q405 23 ii comes from the thirteenth and final Sabbath song. Material immediately preceding 4Q405 23 ii, and probably coming from the beginning of the thirteenth song, is preserved in 11QShirShabb 7-8. In lines 1-3 of the 11Q fragment there are references to the sacrificial cult (זבחי קדושים, ריח מנחותם, נסכיהם). In lines 4-5 the language so closely resembles that of 4Q405 23 ii that it is possible that lines 4-6 actually overlap with the first few broken lines of 4Q405 23 ii. 11QShirShabb 7-8 4-6 reads
 [...]אפוד[...]תצורו[...]לצורו[...]אפוד[...].
 ותבנית חשני[...]תפ[...]ארת[...]רוקמת[...]ממולח טוהר צבעי[...]לצורו[...]תצורו[...]אפוד[...].
 Material following 4Q405 23 ii and coming from the end of the thirteenth Sabbath song is preserved in 11Q ShirShabb 1-2-9.

Line 1.] תפארת לפתוחי

Cf. line 7 below (פתוחי צורות הדר). In addition to its use in architectural contexts, the word פתוח occurs in connection with clothing in BH in the phrase פתוחי חתם, referring to the engraved stones of the ephod and the gold plate worn by the high priests (Exod 28:11, 21, 36; 39:6, 14, 30). In view of the occurrence of אפוד in 11QShirShabb 7-8 6 and אפודיהם in line 5 below, it is likely that the ephodim of the angelic high priests are described here as well.

Line 2. יסבו מלכ

Since the letter before מלכ could be read as *yod* as easily as *waw*, one might restore either a plural verb which takes מלכ as its object, or a plural noun in construct with מלכ. In neither case, however, is a probable supplement evident. There is not room to restore קרבו, "they approach the King when they serve." While יסבו, "they go around the King," is not materially impossible, its meaning is obscure. One could restore

גובי מלך, "the lofty ones of the King" or צבי מלך, "the beauty of the King." Neither expression, however, is attested elsewhere in the Shirot or in QL in general.

Ibid. בשרתם לפ[ני

Although conjectural, לפ[ניו or לפ[ני would be appropriate after the infinitive construct בשרתם. Perhaps supplement further לפני מלך, as in lines 8-9 below.

Line 3. וחרת כבודו

חרת, whether a verb or a noun, is always connected with the inscribing of written material, both in QL (lQS x 6, 8, 11; lQM xii 3; lQH i 24; in the Sabbath Shirot 4Q400 l i 5, 15) and in its sole biblical attestation (Exod 32:16). The situation is similar in MH. Perhaps here the reference is to the gems of the ephod, or to the gold plate inscribed קדש ליהוה and fastened to the front of the high priest's turban (Exod 28:36). The crown of Metatron in 3 Enoch 13 is inscribed with the mystical letters by which the world was created.

Line 4.] קודש מקדש כול

קודש is probably the noun "sanctuary," though the piel participle, "who sanctifies all..." is also possible. Cf. 4Q403 l i 31.

Line 5. אפודיהם יפריש]ו

The plural אפודיהם is noteworthy. Apparently high priestly dress is worn by a group of angels, not simply by a single angelic high priest.

Lines 7-9.

The division of lines 7-9 into discrete sentences is difficult. Although one cannot be certain that the vacat in line 7 is an intentional mark of division between sentences, the locative phrase following the vacat, במעמד פלאיהם, would be plausible as the beginning of a new sentence. Only with ודמות רוח כבוד in line 9, however, can one confidently identify the beginning of another sentence. Lacking any other obvious grammatical indicators of sentence structure in lines 7-9, one can at least be guided by indications of parallelism in lines 8-9. The clearest parallels are the phrases בתוך מראי חור and בתוך כבוד מראי שני in lines 8 and 9. One should also probably construe צבעי אור in line 8 as parallel to צבעי רוחי [טוהר] in line 9. Accordingly, line 7 appears to consist of a single nominal sentence. Although other constructions are certainly possible, a second long sentence may begin in line 8 with בתוך כבוד and conclude

with בתוך מראי חור in line 9.

Line 7. במעמד פלאיהם רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג פתוחי צורות הדר

For מעמד as the heavenly assembly before God see lQH iii 21 and xi 13. The phrase רוחות רוקמה may be an ellipsis for "spirits clothed with multicolored garments." Cf. אלה ראשי לבושי פלא in line 10 below. מעשי is probably phonetic orthography for מעשה. The phrase מעשה ארג occurs in BH only in Exod 28:32; 39:22, 27, where it refers to the robe of the ephod and the robes of Aaron's sons. The robes thus designated in the OT, however, are woven of plain blue, while the angelic garments are described here as multicolored (רוקמה).

The grammatical referent of פתוחי seems to be the feminine רוחות. In BH the singular רוח is sometimes construed as masculine, but the plural is construed as feminine. The apparent gender disagreement here may perhaps be explained as agreement *ad sensum* either with "angels" (elsewhere identified with the grammatically masculine terms רוחים, אלוהים, and מלאכים) or with the implicit לבושים, "garments."

For the association of the word פתוח with the ephod see notes to line 1 above. Here, however, צורות, "patterns, figures," and not names are said to be engraved. צורות, although poorly attested in BH (Ezek 43:11; Ps 49:15 Qere) is common in MH. The word occurs several times in lQM (v 5, 8, 14; vii 11). Cf. especially lQM vii 11, where the battle dress of a group of seven priests is described as צורות רוקמה מעשה חושב, "a brocaded pattern, cunningly wrought" (trans. Yadin).

Lines 8-9.

As noted above the basic structure of lines 8-9 depends on the chiasmic parallelism of the phrases בתוך מראי חור with כבוד מראי שני and צבעי אור with רוחי צבעי [טוהר].

Line 8. בתוך כבוד מראי שני

The apparent parallelism of this phrase with בתוך מראי חור in line 9 suggests that one should not translate "in the midst of the Glory (there is) an appearance of scarlet" but rather should take all four terms as forming a single construct chain.

Ibid. צבעי אור רוח קודש קדשים

This phrase is probably to be construed as an appositive to מראי שני, though it could also be taken as the subject of a nominal sentence which would have כבוד, etc. as its predicate. צבעי may be taken as "colors"

or as "colored, dyed garments." The singular רוח is problematic in view of the plurals רוחות and רוחי in lines 7 and 9. While one could assume רוח to be a scribal error for רוחות or רוחי, the recurrence of the singular in the phrase ודמות רוח כבוד (line 9) makes such a suggestion less plausible. The singular רוח also occurs in almost identical phrases in a similar context in 4Q405 14 i (רוח כב[וד] and 2 (דמות פלא רוח קוד[ש] קודשים). The solution may lie in taking the singular רוח not as a scribal error or as referring to a single angelic figure, but as denoting something like "spiritual substance," i.e., spiritual as opposed to material. While there is little evidence for this usage in other Qumran documents, in the Shiot one may compare 4Q400 1 i 5 (לכול מעשי רוח, "for all spiritual creatures"). Taking רוח in this manner, the following phrase קודש קדשים is best construed as a superlative genitive. The entire phrase qualifies the preceding word אור, "most holy, spiritual light," and describes the color or dyed garments (צבעי) of the angelic figures.

Lines 8-9. מחזקות מעמד קודשם לפני [מ]לך

The form מחזקות is to be construed as a feminine plural piel participle (or possibly a defectively spelled hiphil), modifying רוחות. The idiom "to hold fast to a standing place" can be paralleled in lQH iv 36; v 29; and lQSa ii 4, where, however, the hiphil, rather than the piel is used.

Line 9. רוחי צבעי [טוהר]

The lacuna after צבעי is too long for אור. Perhaps supplement טהור or the like. The choice of red (שני) and white (חור) to describe the angelic figures probably alludes to their appearance as fiery and shining light. It seems less likely that the colors are chosen because of their association with priestly garments. In that case one would expect a reference to all four priestly colors, including blue and purple.

Lines 9-10. ודמות רוח כבוד כמעשי אופירים מאירי [אור]

Here, as in line 8 above, רוח should probably be taken as "spiritual substance." For the phrase ודמות רוח כבוד cf. ודמות כבוד in Ezek 1:28. The form אופירים is anomalous. It must be related to אופיר, the land from which particularly fine gold was obtained (1 Kgs 9:28; Isa 13:12; Ps 45:10; Job 28:16; 1 Chr 29:4). In Job 22:24 אופיר occurs as a common noun for gold, parallel to בצר. The plural here may be taken as a plural of excellence. By analogy with such phrases in BH as כמעשה לבנת הספיר (Exod 24:10) and מעשה רשת נחשה (Exod 27:4), the expression מעשי אופירים

should mean "fine gold work." In the phrase מאירי [או]ר the plural מאירי is difficult to explain if מעשי is phonetic spelling for מעשה, though מאירי might be plural by attraction to אופיאים. Imagery of light and luminaries figures prominently in the description of both high priestly and angelic garments, from Ben Sira's description of Simon the Great (Ben Sira 50:5-7) to the account of Metatron's robe in 3 Enoch 12.

Line 10. וכול מחשביהם ממולח טוהר חשב כמעשי אורג

For the form and meaning of מחשביהם see notes to 4Q403 1 ii 13. In the present context the "skillfully worked things" must be garments. Perhaps the expression is intended as the equivalent of BH מעשה חשב. The phrase ממולח טוהר is discussed in the notes to 4Q405 19 4.

The orthographic practice of 4Q405 makes it more likely that one should construe חשב as *hēšeb* rather than *hōšēb*. In BH *hēšeb* always occurs in construct with אפוד (Exod 28:8, 27, 28; 39:5, 20, 21; Lev 8:7) and denotes the skillfully worked band or belt of the ephod. The *hēšeb* is said in Exod 28:8 and 39:5 to be of the same material as the ephod, i.e., מעשה חשב, in contrast to the qualifying phrase in the Shirot, מעשי אורג. M. Haran (*Temples*, 160-61), noting that images of cherubim usually occur in the descriptions of *hōšēb* workmanship, conjectures that "the distinguishing feature of this workmanship is that it contains figures," whereas מעשה ארג refers to simple weaving of a single color. It may well be, of course, that the Shirot do not attempt to reproduce with technical accuracy the stipulations for the human high priest's vestments. Despite the occurrence of אפודיהם in line 5 above, it does not seem likely from the immediate context of line 10 that the *hēšeb* band should be singled out for mention. What is expected is a concluding or summary phrase. I think it more likely that חשב is here being used non-technically as a synonym for מחשביהם and that one should translate, e.g., "an artistry of woven work."

The description of the appearance of the high priestly angels in their vestments is strikingly similar to the description of the Glory of God in 4Q405 22 10-11 (ומעשי [נ]וגה ברקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוהר). It might even be that these high priestly angels are the "living godlike spirits who move continually with the glory of the wondrous chariot" (4Q405 22 11). In any event H. Odeburg comments in his notes to 3 Enoch that "in early traditions the 'garments of glory' ('raiment of honor,' etc.) represents the light substance in which the inhabitants of the high heavens appear: the 'glory' is light, splendor, probably conceived of as a

reflection, outflow of the Divine Glory, the splendor of Shekinah" (Odeburg, 3 *Enoch*, 32). See, e.g., 3 *Enoch* 36:2 where the ministering angels put on cloaks of hashmal.

Lines 10-12.

There are a variety of ways in which lines 10-12 might be construed, depending on whether one takes לשרת as a noun or as an infinitive construct, whether one takes בכול as locative or conjunctive; etc. Similarly, the division of phrases and clauses admits of many alternatives. I have chosen to take the two construct chains beginning with ראשי as appositives and to take בכול as locative.

Line 10. [] אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרת

Because of the break at the end of the line, it would be possible to read לשרת[ו] and to translate, "these are the chiefs of those wondrously arrayed for [His] service. The suffix is not essential for the meaning, however.

Line 11. ראשי ממלכות מלכות קדושים למלך הקודש

The second ממלכות is probably a simple dittography, although repetition of a word may indicate a distributive sense ("every realm") or a superlative sense ("the highest realm"). See GKC §123c-d, 1331. The lamed of למלך is a circumlocution for the genitive, a construction common in MH when the *regens* and/or the *rectum* themselves consist of construct phrases. See Segal §385iii.

Line 12. בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת

The "tongues" are not independent creatures but are the tongues of the angelic princes. See 4Q403 1 i 1, 6 and cf. 4Q403 1 ii 27-29. Consequently, it seems probable that ראשי תרומות be taken as a title of the angelic princes, and the sentence translated, "in the chiefs of praise-offering are tongues of knowledge; [and] they bless...." תרומות may be translated as "praise-offering" rather than simply "offerings," assuming a word play in which תרומות is associated with various forms of רום and רומם, meaning "to exalt, extoll." Elsewhere in the Shirot תרומה is always associated with לשון (4Q403 1 ii 26, לשוניהם; 4Q400 3 7, תרומה לשון, (עפרנו). A masculine by-form, תרום (4Q405 14 3), unfortunately occurs in a broken context. For the title ראשי תרומות compare תושבחות ראשי in 4Q403 1 i 31. The association between knowledge and praise is similar to that expressed in 4Q400 2 3 (יספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם).

Line 13. [וחו]קות מסרותם בכול [דבי]ר[י] קוד[ש חרת ב]דעת בינתו ובשכל [כב]ודו

The term *מסורת* is rare and difficult. It occurs twice in the War Scroll (1QM iii 3, 13 as *מסורות*), where the meaning "military unit" or "division" seems fairly clear. Less obvious is the meaning of the word in 1QS x 3-4 (במבוא מועדים לימי חודש יחד תקופתם עם מסרותם זה לזה). Most translators seem to take *מסרותם* there as synonymous with *תקופתם* (e.g., Vermes, "when they succeed to one another"). Milik (*Enoch*, 187) argues that the passage refers to the movement of the constellations through the heavens and translates *מסרותם* as "their positions," i.e., the "relative position of a star in relation to others." Furthermore, Milik says, two passages from the Aramaic Enoch fragments preserve the word in similar contexts, 4QEn^c 1 i 19 = 1 Enoch 2:1 (במסורת [נה]וריהון; "in the stations of their light") and 4QEnastr^b 28 2 = 1 Enoch 82:10 (וכש[ל]טנהון לכל); *מסרתהון*; "and according to their authority with regard to all their stations"). The meaning seems clearer in this second passage which corresponds to the Ethiopic text ("in their periods of dominion, and in their positions" (trans. Charles). For further discussion of the term see the articles of Z. Ben-Hayyim and B. Levine, cited in the bibliography.

In the Sabbath Shirot either the meaning "divisions," synonymous with *מפלגה*, or "stations," synonymous with *מעמד*, would be plausible. On the basis of *מחזקות מעמד קודשם* in line 8 above, one might be tempted to supplement the beginning of line 13 as follows: *מחז]קות מסרותם בכול* [דבי]ר[י] קוד[ש]ו, and to translate "holding fast their stations in all His holy debirim." The difficulty, however, is that in line 8 the proximity of *רוחות* provides a feminine antecedent for the feminine ending of *מחזקות*. In lines 10-12, however, the angels have been consistently referred to with the grammatically masculine term *ראשי*.

Alternatively, one could supplement *וחו]קות* at the beginning of the line and *חרת* before *דעת*. In the first Sabbath song similar language is used to describe the laws which God established for the regulation of the heavenly temple and its priesthood (4Q400 1 i 5, 15). It would be suitable to have such a reprise of a theme from the first Sabbath song in the thirteenth and final song, but the evidence is not sufficient to establish this proposed reconstruction as more than plausible.

4Q405 24-105: General Observations

The remaining fragments of 4Q405 cannot be assigned definite places in the reconstruction of the scroll. In several instances, however, similarities of physical appearance or of content give some indication of the approximate original location of the fragment.

4Q405 24: Transcription

4Q405 25: Transcription

פלא מלכות]	.1	ו°]	.1
רוחי הוד והדר רא]שי	.2	ורנן ברוחי]	.2
מלכות כבוד מלך כול א]לוהים	.3	מהלכים]	.3
בו°]° אלוהים°]	.4		

4Q405 24 and 25: Notes on the Readings

The physical appearance of frgs. 24 and 25 is quite similar to that of frgs. 4-6.

4Q405 24. Line 1. Read פלא, not פלג. Cf. פלא in 4Q405 3 ii 18 and 6 6.

4Q405 24. Line 4.] בו° . The head of the letter identified as *bet* would not be good for *kap* (e.g., for כו[ל]). Perhaps read כבו]דו[.

4Q405 25. Line 3.] מהלכים° . Though only *lamed* is certain, all the traces are compatible with the reading suggested.

4Q405 24: Transcription

1. [...] wonder, kingdom [...]
2. [...] spirits of honor and majesty, *the chie[fs...]*
3. [...] the glorious kingdom *of* the King of all the g[odlike beings...]
4. [...] °[.]godlike beings °[.]°[...]

4Q405 24: Comments

Line 2. רוחי הוד והדר רא]שי

See notes to 4Q405 19 6.

Line 3. מלכות כבוד

This phrase and variations on it are common in liturgical Hebrew. Cf. Ps 145:11, 12; 1QM xii 7, and elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot, 4Q403 1 i 25; 4Q405 23 ii 11-12.

Ibid. מלך כול א]לוהים

Cf. 4Q400 1 ii 7; 4Q405 23 i 13; etc.

4Q405 25: Translation

- (1) * [...].o.[...] (2) [...] and he will cry out with the spirits of [...]
 (3) [...] *moving* [...]

4Q405 25: Comments

Line 2. ורנן

ורנן may be read as a verb. Although verbs of praise occur most commonly in the plural in the Shirot, singular forms may occur in the recounting of the praise of the seven angelic princes. See 4Q403 1 i 5. Alternatively, רנן may be taken as a verbal noun. Cf. תהלה רנן in 4Q403 1 i 4.

4Q405 26: Transcription

ש[קוד ^ו]°	.1
]° נות ^ו]	.2
]°°°]	.3

4Q405 27: Transcription

ח ^ו]	.1
ש ^ו קוד ^ו]	.2
ש ^ו °°°] [	.3

4Q405 28: Transcription

ם ^ו]	.1
לשש[י]שבע[	.2
ל[]ל[]ל[	.3

4Q405 27 and 28: Notes on the Readings

An early note by Strugnell indicates that frg. 27 and 28 may have come from a layered pile, with frg. 27 on top of 28.

4Q405 27. Line 1. קוד^וש. The first trace is good for the tail of *qop*, which usually curves to the left. Final *kap* is here made with two strokes, resembling an oversized *dalet*. Cf. final *kap* in וברך (4Q405 3 ii 7). The *kap* has been deleted and *shin* written in the interlinear space.

4Q405 28. Line 2. Restore perhaps לשש[י], but not לשבע[. The trace to the immediate right of שבע is part of the broken right arm of *shin*.

4Q405 27 and 28: Comments

Materially, frgs. 27 and 28 resemble 4Q405 8-9, which contains the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song. The reference to "seven" and perhaps to "the sixth" in frg. 28 would be compatible with the content of that

passage where there are several references to the number seven as well as a reference to "the second council."

4Q405 29: Transcription

וּבְרִיךְ [.1
אֱלֹהִים לְהַיְיָ [.2

4Q405 30: Transcription

]° [.1
° אֱלֹהִים [.2
]° לְפָאֵר [.3

4Q405 29 and 30: Translation

4Q405 29. (1) [...]° and he will ble[ss...] (2) [...] Go]d °°°[...]

4Q405 30. (1) [...]°[...] (2) [...] God [...] (3) [...]°° His wonderful [...]

4Q405 29 and 30: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Frg. 29 was found in a layer beneath frg. 30 and so came before it in the scroll. The frgs. somewhat resemble 4Q405 12 and 13 in appearance, and it is possible that frg. 29 comes from the formulaic blessings partially preserved by frg. 13.

4Q405 31: Transcription

]° קוּ [.1
פִּי לֹא רוּחִי כִּי [.2
] מִמַּעַלָּה [.3
] וְיִלֵּל [.4

4Q405 32: Transcription

] וּשְׁבַּע [.1
קוּדִישִׁי רוּם [.2
]° הָרוּם [.3

4Q405 31 and 32: Translation

4Q405 31. (1) [...]°° °°[...] (2) [...wo]nder, spirits of °[...]
(3) [...] above [...] (4) [...]°° °°[...]

4Q405 32. (1) [...] and sev[en...] (2) [...] lofty [holy] places [...]
(3) [...]° offering [...]

4Q405 31 and 32: Notes on the Readings and Comments

4Q405 31. Line 2. The reading לֹא [is clearer in photo PAM 42.558

4Q405 32. Line 1. וּשְׁבַּע [°]. Traces of *bet* are preserved in PAM 41.285.

4Q405 32. Line 3. קוּדִישִׁי רוּם. Perhaps supplement קוּדִישִׁי or מְקֻדָּשִׁי. Cf.

4Q403 1 ii 11: לְשַׁבְּעָה קוּדִישִׁי רוּם.

4Q405 32. Line 3. תרום. Attested only here, תרום may be another instance of the creation of a masculine noun equivalent to a BH feminine, like נרך and זמר. The feminine תרומה occurs in 4Q400 2 7; 4Q403 1 ii 26; 4Q405 23 ii 12.

4Q405 33: Transcription

וּ בִשְׁבַע[עֵה] .1
לְכוּל מַעֲשֵׂי[י] .2
דְּבָרֵי[] .3

4Q405 34: Transcription

הָ[] .1
לְשַׁבְּעָתָה[] .2
רֹאשׁ פְּנִי[] .3

4Q405 33 and 34: Notes on the Readings

The appearance and content of frgs. 33 and 34 resemble that of 4Q405 11-13, the fragments which contain the formulaic praise and blessing of the angelic princes in the eighth Sabbath song.

4Q405 33. The readings given here are from an early photo, PAM 41.859.

4Q405 34. Line 2. לְשַׁבְּעָתָה. The second *taw* appears to be on a second layer of leather stuck to the surface of 4Q403 34 2.

4Q405 34. Line 3. רֹאשׁ. In 4Q405 the word for chief is normally spelled phonetically (רוש).

4Q405 33 and 34: Translation

4Q405 33. (1) [...]° with sev[en...] (2) [...] all the *creatures/works* [...] (3) [...] chief °°°[...]

4Q405 35: Transcription

הַ רוּחִי[] .1
תְּכַבֹּדִי תָ[] .2
אֱלֹהִים לֹאִי[] .3
לְכוּתָּ[מ] .4

4Q405 35: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. The reading לְכוּתָּ[מ] is clearer in PAM 42.812.

4Q405 35: Translation

(1) [...]° spirits of [...] (2) [...]° His glory °[...]
°°[...] (3) [...] God
°°[...] (4) [...]kingdom [...]

4Q405 36: Transcription

יִם יַחַדְּ] .1
 בְּרוֹשׁ] .2

4Q405 37: Transcription

מַרְכָּבוֹת] .1
 מַעַדְעִיָּה] .2
]° .3

4Q405 36 and 37: Translation

4Q405 36 (1) [...] together [...] (2) [...] with the chief [...]

4Q405 37 (1) [...cha]riots [...] (2) [...th]eir stat[ions...] (3) [...] °[...]

4Q405 36 and 37: Notes on the Readings and Comments

The appearance of the leather and script of frgs. 36 and 37 (as well as of frgs. 38-41) is very much like that of 4Q405 23, which contains parts of the twelfth and thirteenth Sabbath songs. The word מעמד occurs four times in these two Sabbath songs (4Q405 22 14; 23 ii 7, 8; 11QShirShabb 5-6 9). The only other possible occurrences of the word in the Shirot are doubtful readings (4Q403 1 i 12; 4Q405 7 4; 11QShirShabb i 2). Similarly, the occurrences of מרכבות/מרכבה (all plural except one) are concentrated in the eleventh-thirteenth Sabbath songs (4Q405 20 ii 3; 21 4, 5; 22 8, 11; 11QShirShabb 1-2-9 6; 3-4 4). One further occurrence comes from the seventh Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 15), and one cannot be placed (4Q405 47 1).

4Q405 38: Transcription

בְּדִבְרֵי] .1
 בְּדִנִי] .2

4Q405 39: Transcription

]° .1
 רַ' כּוֹ] .2
]°° .3

4Q405 38: Translation

(1) [...] in the debirim of [...] (2) [...] the form of [...]

4Q405 38 and 39: Notes on the Readings and Comments

4Q405 38. The traces following *resh* in line 1 must be part of the same word, so perhaps read either בְּדִבְרֵי or בְּדִבְרֵיו. The term בְּדִנִי is discussed in the notes to 4Q405 14-15 i 5.

4Q405 39. In line 2 read either רַ' כּוֹ or כִּי אֵל.

4Q405 40: Transcription

וּמִי־ם	.1
וּכְוִי־וּכְוִי	.2
וּכְוִי־וּכְוִי	.3
וּכְוִי־וּכְוִי	.4

4Q405 40: Translation

(1) [...]ooo ooo[...] (2) [...] they lift up and o[...] (3) [...] their wings o[...] (4) [...] not oo[...]

4Q405 40: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Line 1. For the first word perhaps read either וּכְוִי or וּכְוִי. The last visible trace of the second word may be *ayin* (e.g., for מעשי, מעמד, etc.).

Lines 2-3. The word כְּוִי would refer to the wings of the cherubim. Cf. 4Q405 22 8. The root כְּוִי is used in various forms to describe the movement of the wings there.

Line 4. וּכְוִי. The head of final *nun* is certain. Materially וּכְוִי is better than וּכְוִי, which is not, however, impossible.

4Q405 41: Transcription

וּכְוִי־וּכְוִי	.1
וּכְוִי־וּכְוִי	.2
וּכְוִי־וּכְוִי	.3

4Q405 41: Translation

(1) [...]o sanctuary [...] (2) [...wonder], the breastplates of o[...] (3) [...mo]st [h]oly[...]

4Q405 41: Notes on the Readings and Comments

A fragment now lost preserved a possible join and the reading וּכְוִי. An old photograph of this fragment is shown with the photograph of frg. 41.

Line 2. וּכְוִי. The first letter is damaged, but seems better for *het* than for *he*. Cf. 11QShirShabb 7-8 4, from the beginning of the thirteenth

Sabbath song ([פלא ותבנית חשני]). The context of the 11Q fragments concerns the description of angelic high priestly garments, and the word חשני is certainly to be identified with BH *hōṣen*, the breastplate of the high priestly vestments. It is perhaps surprising that the plene spelling חושני is not used either in 4Q405 or in the 11Q fragment, but compare the spellings קדשים/קודש, attested in 4Q405.

4Q405 42: Transcription

- | | |
|-----------|----|
|] בלשון [| .1 |
|]° [| .2 |

4Q405 42: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot the phrase בלשון occurs most frequently in the formulaic account of the praise of the seven angelic princes (see MasShirShabb ii and its parallel in 4Q403 l i 1-10) and in the litany of the seven tongues in 4Q405 11.

4Q405 43: Transcription

- | | |
|----------------|----|
|]° [| .1 |
|] ם רוח מרוח [| .2 |
|] הם מחוק [| .3 |
|] קודש [| .4 |

4Q405 44: Transcription

- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| שב] עת גבולי קו] דש | .1 |
|]° ול ירום ומד [| .2 |
|]° [אלוהים °] | .3 |

4Q405 43 and 44: Translation

4Q405 43. (1) [...]°[...] (2) [...]° spirit from spirit [...] (3) [...]°° by statute [...] (4) [...] hol[y...]

4Q405 44. (1) [...se]ven ho[ly] precincts [...] (2) [...]°°° lifts up and °°[...] (3) [...]°[.] God °°[...]

4Q405 43 and 44: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Strugnell's early notes on the fragments indicate that frgs. 43 and 44 share a common left-hand margin. See PAM 40.587.

Line 2. רוח מרוח. Without further context it is not possible to clarify the syntax and meaning of the phrase. The use of the singular רוח is unusual in the Shirot (4Q400 l ii 4; 4Q403 l i 40; 4Q404 5 l; 4Q405 14 l; 23 ii 8, 9). This particular phrase cannot be paralleled elsewhere.

Line 3. מחוק]. Either מחוק]קי ("inscribed," cf. 4Q405 19 5) or מחוק] ("by statute") is possible.

4Q405 44. Line 1. שב]עת גבולי קו]דש. It is possible that this line overlaps 4Q403 1 ii 27: לשבעת גבולי קוד]ש (cf. 4Q403 1 ii 21). If so, the fragment would come from the eighth Sabbath song.

4Q405 44. Line 2. ירום. *Yod* is materially preferable to *waw* (ורום), though the latter reading is not impossible.

4Q405 45: Transcription

- .1] פ°[
.2] קדושל°[

4Q405 46: Transcription

- .1] כבוד°[פ°[ל°מ]
.2] אלוהי אורים בכול גור°ל
.3] הו° מוחת כבודו [בכו]ל]

4Q405 45 and 46: Translation

4Q405 45. (1) [...]°°[...] (2) [...]° holy ones [...]

4Q405 46. (1) [...] *glory* [.]°[.]°°[...] (2) [...] godlike beings of light in all the lo[t...] (3) [...]° *Him* from under His glory [in al]l[...]

4Q405 46: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Line 1.] כבוד°. One could also read] כבות[מר]. Note the phrase מתחת כבודו in line 3. Cf. 4Q405 22 8-9 where וּבְנִיָּה כְּסָא מְרֻכָּבָה is parallel to מתחת מושב כבודו.

Line 2.] אלוהי אורים בכול גור°ל. Cf. 4Q405 14 5 (בדני רוח אורים). The last trace is better for *resh* than *dalet*, which tends to curve to the left at the end of the downstroke. The word גורל, however, does not otherwise occur in the extant fragments of the Sabbath Shirot.

Line 3.] הו° מוחת כבודו. The trace preceding *he*, *waw* is perhaps *bet* or *kap* (e.g., for יברכהו). Cf. 4Q405 22 9 (יברכהו מושב כבודו).

4Q405 47: Transcription

- .1] מרכבו[מ

4Q405 48: Transcription

- .1] מ°שפט עמ°
.2] כות[

4Q405 47 and 48: Translation

4Q405 47. [...]ch]ario[ts...]

4Q405 48. (1) [...]j]udgment °°[...] (2) [...]°°°[...]

4Q405 49: Transcription

]ה[.1
]כל צבע[.2
]מלאכי[.3

4Q405 50: Transcription

]ים[.1
]הכבוד[.2
]מס[.3
]ל[.4

4Q405 49 and 50: Translation

4Q405 49. (1) [...]°[...] (2) [...]°° dyed [...] (3) [...] angels [...]

4Q405 50. (1) [...]°°°°[...] (2) [...] the glory [...] (3) [...]°°°{...]
 (4) [...]°[...]

4Q405 49 and 50: Comments

4Q405 49. Elsewhere in the Shirot the word צבע occurs only in the twelfth and thirteenth Sabbath songs (4Q405 22 11; 23 ii 8, 9; 11QShirShabb 7-8 5).

4Q405 50. The physical appearance of frg. 50 is strikingly similar to that of frg. 17 and probably comes from its immediate vicinity.

4Q405 51: Transcription

]חִיךְ בת[.1
]ר משקד[.2

4Q405 52: Transcription

]° °[.1
]במה[.2

4Q405 51 and 52: Comments

4Q405 51. In line 2 perhaps restore משקד]ים, a pual participle meaning "shaped like almond blossoms." The term appears only in the Priestly writer's description of the cultic lampstand in Exod 25:33 and 37:19, 20.

4Q405 52. The fragment is now lost.

4Q405 53: Transcription

]ש[.1
]מתר[.2

4Q405 54: Transcription

]ר °[.1

4Q405 55: Transcription

]ג בולם[.1
]ש °[.2

4Q405 56: Transcription

]ש המלך[.1

4Q405 57		4Q405 58		4Q405 59	
[רוחי]	.1	[ק ^ו]	.1	[ולוא]	.1
[ה ^ו]	.2	[נורא]	.2	[פנים]	.2
				[^ו]	.3

4Q405 57, 58, and 59: Translation

Because the remaining fragments of 4Q405 are so small, only lines with complete or virtually complete words will be recorded in the translation.

4Q405 57. (1) [...] spirits of [...]

4Q405 58. (2) [...] dreadful [...]

4Q405 59. (1) [...]° and not [...] (2) [...] Presence [...]

4Q405 60		4Q405 61		4Q405 62	
[מ ^ו]	.1	[מעש ^ו]	.1	[ת ^ו]	.1
Bottom of Col.?		[°°°°]	.2		

4Q405 61: Translation

(1) [...] works [...]

4Q405 63		4Q405 64		4Q405 65	
ק[	.1	[ש ^ו °]	.1	[^ו]	.1
1 °[	.2	[תהלי גד ^ו]	.2	[^ו ה ^ו]	.2
		[שב ^ו ע]	.3	[^ו]	.3

4Q405 64: Translation

(2) [...]° psalms of magnifica[tion...] (2) [...] seven [...]

4Q405 64: Comments

Frg. 64 appears to contain part of the summary of the formulaic praise of the seven angelic princes, which one finds in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs. Although it is not possible to determine from content whether frg. 64 belongs to the sixth or eighth Sabbath song, the appearance of the leather and the script more closely resemble that of 4Q405 12 than that of 4Q405 3. Consequently, frg. 64 should probably be placed a few lines below 4Q405 12 in the reconstruction. Cf. also 4Q403 1 ii 31-41.

4Q405 66: Transcription

1. ת בשבעה^ו]
 2.] וכבדו^ו]
 3. שג] עת עולמי^ו]
 4.]ל[ל ה^ום]

4Q405 67: Transcription

1. פל] או זמרה ע]וז
 2.] בשבעה זמל^ו]
 3.] שבע^ו]
 4.]ל[ל ה^ום]

4Q405 66 and 67: Translation

4Q405 66. (1) [...]° with seven [...] (2) [...] and they honor °[...] (3) [...se]ven eternal [...]

4Q405 67. (1) [...] His [won]der, a mi[ghty] song [...] (3) [...] seven [...]

4Q405 66 and 67: Comments

Frg. 67 appears to contain part of the formulaic praise of the seventh angelic prince from the eighth Sabbath song. Slight differences in formulae distinguish it from the similar passage in the sixth Sabbath song (e.g., פלאו instead of פלאה). Moreover, the physical appearance of the leather and of the script is closer to that of 4Q405 12 than to that of 4Q405 3. Consequently, frg. 67 should probably be placed just below 4Q405 12 in the reconstruction. See notes to 4Q405 12 and to 4Q403 1 i 31-41.

Although it is not quite so clear where frg. 66 is to be placed, it may also come from one of the formulaic sections in the eighth Sabbath song. Concerning וכבדו or יכבדו in 4Q405 66 2, the orthographic practices of 4Q405 suggest that the form is verbal, not a defective spelling for וכבודו.

4Q405 68

1.] שבע^ו]
 2.]ם בחור^וש]

4Q405 69

1.] צדק]
 2.] מה^ו]

4Q405 70

1.] ° °]
 2.] י צד^וק]
 3.] ש ה]

4Q405 68, 69, and 70: Translation

4Q405 68. (1) [...] seven [...] (2) [...]° of the mont[h...]

4Q405 69. (1) [...] righteousness [...]

4Q405 70. (2) [...]° righteous[ness...]

4Q405 68: Notes on the Readings and Comments

Line 2. ^oש בחוד. The slightly curved descender visible just before the break would fit *dalet* well, but too little of the letter is preserved for positive identification. If the reading is correct, frg. 68 might preserve part of a date formula from the heading of a Sabbath song. In most other cases, however, חודש is introduced by the preposition -ל, not -ב.

4Q405 71	4Q405 72	4Q405 73
ש[בעה] .1	י צדק[.1	הדר[.1
	וצדק לנהי[.2	כבוד ב[.2
	ל[.3	

4Q405 71, 72, and 73: Translation

4Q405 71. (1) [...s]even [...]

4Q405 72. (1) [...]° righteousness [...] (2) [...] and righteousness
°°[...]

4Q405 73. (1) [...]°°°° majesty [...] (3) [...] glory °°[.]°[...]

4Q405 74	4Q405 75	4Q405 76
ע בשבע דעת[.1	לה[.1	אה ב[.1
יקדש ודעת מ[.2	עמ[.2	ל ה[.2
קודש[.3	ל[.3	

4Q405 74: Translation

(1) [...]° with seven *knowledge* [...] (2) [...] he will sanctify and
knowledge °[...] (3) [...]°° holiness [...]

4Q405 74: Comments

Although the readings are relatively clear, the syntax of the phrases is obscure. The phrase שבעה בשבעה דברי פלא and variations of that phrase occur frequently in the first part of the sixth Sabbath song, but there is no parallel for שבע בשבע דעת or the like.

4Q405 77: Transcription

רם[.1

Final *mem* seems to have been written over another letter.

4Q405 78		4Q405 79		4Q405 80	
[° ° מ]	.1	[בקול]	.1	[° °]	.1
[° ה]	.2	[ל]	.2	[עֲבִרְיָהֶם]	.2

4Q405 79 and 80: Translation

4Q405 79. (1) [...] with the sound of [...]

4Q405 80. (2) [...] their sides [...]

4Q405 80: Comments

The word עֲבִרְיָהֶם occurs in 4Q405 15 ii 5, 6 and is perhaps to be restored in 4Q405 22 14.

4Q405 81		4Q405 82		4Q405 83	
[רָאשֵׁי]	.1	[° לו]	.1	[° ה]	.1
[מלאכי זב] ול	.2	[° רי]	.2	[זמרי]	.2
[יָם לַמֶּשֶׁא]	.3	[° °]	.3	[ברומם]	.3
				[ל]	.4

4Q405 81 and 83: Translation

4Q405 81. (1) [...] chiefs [...] (2) [...] angels of the lof[ty dwelling ...] (3) [...] ° ° for an utterance [...]

4Q405 83. (2) [...] songs of [...] (3) [...] with prai[se...]

4Q405 84		4Q405 85		4Q405 86	
[כול רמ]	.1	[קודש קוֹ דְּשִׁים]	.1	[° °]	.1
[° °]	.2	[° מ]	.2	[ציד ה]	.2
4Q405 87		4Q405 88		4Q405 89	
[° ת ב]	.1	[בדבי]	.1	[וד]	.1
[°]	.2	[ל]	.2	[צֹדֵק ק]	.2

4Q405 84-89: Translation

4Q405 84. [...] all ° ° [...] 4Q405 85 1. [...hol]y of ho[lies...]

4Q405 88 1. [...] in the debi[r...] 4Q405 89 2. [...] righteousness ° [...]

4Q405 90		4Q405 91		4Q405 92	
]° ק°[	.1	ישמיע]ו	.1	] כבי[	.1
רו] ה° ס ק[	.2	] מה°[	.2	]°[	.2
4Q405 93		4Q405 94			
]רבעה[א	.1	]מה°[	.1		
]°[	.2	]הזבחים ע°[	.2		

4Q405 90-94: Translation

4Q405 91 1. [they] make known [...]

4Q405 93 1. [...f]our[...]

4Q405 94 2. [...] the sacrifices °[...]

4Q405 93 and 94: Comments

4Q405 93. If ארבעה is correctly read, frg. 93 might contain part of a date formula, e.g., for the eleventh Sabbath on the fourteenth of the third month. Also possible is]רבעת[א. Cf. 11QShirShabb 5-6 4-5 (מארבעה) (מוסדי רקיע הפלא), from the twelfth Sabbath song.

4Q405 94. The fragment is now lost. See PAM 42.969. Other sacrificial terminology occurs in 11QShirShabb 7-8, from the beginning of the thirteenth Sabbath song.

4Q405 95-105

Points jalons, a column margin, and traces of two or three illegible letters are visible on frg. 97. Traces of ink which may be *points jalons* are visible on frgs. 98 and 100. *Points jalons* are also visible on frg. 104. The fairly large uninscribed fragments with visible dry lines (frgs. 103-105) probably come from the lower part of the column on which the thirteenth Sabbath song concluded.

4Q406: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q406: Material Description

The leather of 4Q406 is fairly thick, smooth, and well prepared, a light brown in color. The back is roughly prepared, dark brown in color. There are horizontal dry lines visible. In many places the ink has eaten away the leather's uppermost layer, and the writing can only be made out by studying the shape of the holes. This phenomenon occurs elsewhere at Qumran, e.g., in 1QGenAp, 4QLev, 4QDan, and in the case of some smaller fragments which may have belonged to one of these manuscripts.

Dimensions. Space between lines: ca. 7 mm. Height of average letter: 3 mm. Photos: PAM 42.748; 43.500. Paleography: Although it is difficult to say much about the paleography of such damaged fragments, note that 4Q406 1 and 3 contain paleo-Hebrew characters, the only fragments of the Sabbath Shirot to do so.

4Q406 1: Transcription

]	[	.1
]	אֱלֹהִים	.2
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	.3
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	.4
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	.5
	וּמִמֶּנּוּ	.6

4Q405 1: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. Traces of ink are visible, but it is not possible to identify any discrete letters.

Line 2. אֱלֹהִים is written in paleo-Hebrew characters.

Line 4. The *vacat* in line 3 and the fairly clear reading of השבת in line 4 are the bases on which the formulaic heading is restored in line 4. The last trace before the break is very doubtful but not impossible for *shin*.

4Q406 1: Comments

That the fragment contains the beginning of a Sabbath song seems certain. Unfortunately, the identification of which Sabbath begins here is complicated by the fact that the text breaks off before the number of the Sabbath can be read. Some indirect evidence bearing on the identification of the Sabbath song can be gathered from 4Q406 3. That fragment contains language characteristic of formulaic passages found only in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs. If one assumes that all the fragments of 4Q406 came from the same general section of the original scroll, then the new song introduced in 4Q406 1 is probably either the sixth, seventh, eighth, or ninth.

The transition between the sixth and seventh Sabbath songs is well preserved in 4Q403 1 i 29-31, and does not appear to overlap the words preserved in 4Q406 1 2, 5. The transition between the fifth and sixth Sabbath songs is preserved in the Masada fragment and in 4Q402 4. The relevant lines are MasShirShabb i 5-7:

לא ישכילו כול [] ק מה יזום כיא ממעשי כבודו הם לפני היותם [] תו

At first the comparison looks promising. The words *כיא ממעשי* in MasShirShabb i 6 compares well with *כיא ממעס* in 4Q406 1 2. The lacuna and final *mem* preceding *כיא* could be compared with the phrase *מה יזום* in the Masada fragment. The trace identified as *qop* in MasShirShabb could be read as final *mem*, and the reading *ם*[אלוהי supplied in the lacuna. The difficulty, however, is that the word preceding the lacuna in the Masada fragment is *כול*, so that the phrase would have to be read "all the godlike beings," referring to the angels. In 4Q406 1 2, however, the word *אלוהים* is written in paleo-Hebrew characters, surely identifying the word as *אלוהים* = "God" and not *אלוהים* = "angels." Consequently, the identification of 4Q406 1 with the beginning of the sixth Sabbath song must be given up.

Since the fragment does not appear to contain the beginning of either the sixth or the seventh Sabbath song, it is probably to be identified with the beginning of the eighth or ninth song. If the reading ^{°°}השבת ^{°°°}הש is correct, then it would be the eighth Sabbath song which is introduced here (*השבת השמינית*). The fragmentary remains of the beginning of the eighth song in 4Q403 1 ii 18-19 and 4Q405 9-10, however, are not able to prove or disprove this identification.

4Q406 3: Transcription

1.1	[ט ° °]	1.1	[° ° ° ° °]
2.2	[° ° ° ° °]	2.2	[° ° ° ° °]
3.3	[° ° ° ° °]	3.3	[° ° ° ° °]

40406 2 and 3: Notes on the Readings and Comments

The readings are clearer in PAM 42.748 than in 43.500.

4Q406 2. The occurrence of שבעה and פלא recalls the vocabulary of the formulaic account of the praises of the angelic princes (MasShirShabb ii = 4Q403 1 i 1-9; 4Q403 1 ii 31-41) in the sixth and eighth Sabbath songs.

4Q406 3. Line 2. The trace before the break appears to be a *lamed* in paleo-Hebrew. If so, restore אֱלֹהִים^{oo}].

4Q406 3. Line 3. The expression בלשון הרביעי occurs in only two contexts in other extant fragments of the Sabbath Shirot. It occurs first in the enumeration of the praises of the seven chief princes (4Q403 l i 2) in the sixth Sabbath song and subsequently in the parallel account of the praises of the seven deputy princes in the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 l ii 36). It would also occur in the account of the litany of the tongues (4Q403 l ii 27-29 = 4Q405 11; eighth Sabbath song), if that highly formulaic section were more completely preserved.

4Q406 5: Transcription

]	°°°	°°°°	ם°[	.1		]	°[	.1
							°°°°	
		]	°°°	הם°°[	.2		ת° רוחות	°[
						]	°°	בס°
							°	
		]	°[	.3			ת°°	°[
								.3

4Q407: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

4Q407: Material Description

The leather of these fragments is of a medium thinness and brittle. In color they are between blue-grey and brown, with a light grey back. The surface is coarse and matt, poorly preserved. In many places the ink has flaked off. There is no trace of horizontal or vertical lines.

Space between lines: ca. 7 mm. Height of average letter: 3 mm. Bottom margin preserved to 13 mm. Photos: PAM 42.860; 43.485. The hand appears to be a late Hasmonean formal hand with semiformal traits, but too little material is preserved to undertake a full analysis.

4Q407 1: Transcription

c	א°[	.1
o	קודשיהם°[	.2
1	מלאכי קודש	.3
	בקרר]אי	.4
	בקודע°[	.5

4Q407 2: Transcription

]רנ°°[	.1
]קודש°[	.2
]קר°°[	.3
בקו°°°[	.4

Bottom of Col.

4Q407 1 and 2: Translation

4Q407 1. (1) [...]°° (2) [...] their holy places (3) [...] angels of holiness (4) [...] with the digni[taries of...] (5) with holiness (?) [...]

4Q407 2. (1) [...]° °°°[...] (2) [...] holiness [...] (3) [...] °° °°° [...] (4) [...] °°° [...]

4Q407 1 and 2: Comments

The identification of 4Q407 as a manuscript of the Sabbath Shirot is based on circumstantial evidence only. The vocabulary is typical of the language of the Shirot, and there is no expression which cannot be paralleled in other manuscripts of that document. On the other hand,

lacking the evidence of the formulaic introductory headings or of some of the most peculiar diction of the Sabbath songs, the identification cannot be considered certain.

4Q407 1. Line 2. מלאכי קודש

The same expression occurs in 4Q405 19 7; 22 9; 23 i 8. Elsewhere in QL see lQM vii 5; x 11; lQSa ii 8; and perhaps lQSb iii 6.

4Q407 1. Line 4. בקרו]אי

See notes to MasShirShabb i 12 (קרואי רום רומים).

4Q407 1. Line 5.]בקודע

The reading seems clear, but it is difficult to construe the word intended. Perhaps it is an error for בקודש. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 31, where קודעו seems almost certainly to have been written in error for קודש.

11QSHIRSHABB: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

11QShirShabb: Reconstruction

Eight large and fifteen small fragments of a manuscript of the Sabbath Shirot from Qumran Cave 11 were recently published by A. S. van der Woude, "Fragmente einer Rolle der Lieder für das Sabbatopfer aus Höhle XI vom Qumran (11QŠirŠabb)." Five additional small fragments of the text appear on PAM 43.488 but not on PAM 43.989-992, the series of photographs published by van der Woude. The remains of the scroll were discovered still rolled up (PAM 43.981), but unfortunately no record survives of the fragments as they were detached from the scroll, so that the reconstruction of the original order must rely on internal evidence and on certain overlaps with 4Q405. In addition to the fragments found still rolled up, one fragment of the work, frg. 9, was found separated from the scroll among other materials from Cave 11 (van der Woude, "Fragmente," 313).

The remains of a song heading and date formula in frgs. 3-4 and the overlap of those fragments with 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 indicate that the remains of the scroll contained the end of the composition rather than its beginning. While one would normally assume that a detached fragment came from the outside of the rolled scroll, it can be demonstrated that the detached frg. 9 came in fact from the very end of the scroll and was thus the innermost layer of the scroll. Perhaps it became detached by slipping out from the center of the damaged but still rolled up scroll.

The original order of the fragments of 11QShirShabb is as follows:

(exterior) j-d-g-p | 3-4 | 5-6 | 8-7 | 2-1-9 (interior)

Overlap with 4Q405 19 confirms the combination j-d-g-p, just as overlap with 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 confirms the join of 3-4, already established by van der Woude on internal grounds. In addition the overlap with 4Q405 identifies 3-4 as preserving the transition from the eleventh to the twelfth Sabbath songs. van der Woude was also able to establish the combination 5-6. Frg. 5 contains the dry line of the left-hand column margin, frg. 6 that of the right-hand margin. The coherency of the continuous text thus produced confirms the join (see lines 3-4, 5-7, 6-7,

7-8). Although frgs. 8 and 7 are less well preserved, van der Woude correctly identifies them as the remains of a single column following 5-6, with frg. 8 preserving the right-hand portion of the column and frg. 7 containing the left-hand portion, including the dry line of the left-hand column margin.

Going beyond van der Woude's observations, one can also establish the combination 2-1-9 as coming from a single column of text. Frg. 2 preserves the dry line of the right-hand column margin, frg. 9 that of the left. The continuous text thus produced confirms the join (see lines 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7).

The proper sequence of the columns is apparent at a glance. Frgs. 2-1-9 are the narrowest individual fragments and come from the most tightly rolled interior portion of the scroll. Frgs. 3-4 are the widest of the large fragments. They come from the exterior part of the scroll where the circumference of the scroll would have been larger. The placement of j-d-g-p can be determined by using j-d-g-p as the base text and supplementing from 4Q405 19 in order to determine the original physical disposition of these 11Q fragments. The configuration thus obtained for j-d-g-p resembles the shape of frgs. 3 and 4, not that of frgs. 2, 1, and 9. Consequently, the small fragments must have come from the exposed and badly damaged exterior of the scroll rather than from the interior. Moreover, the placement of j-d-g-p in the column immediately before 3-4 agrees with the results of the reconstruction of 4Q405 (where it appears that 4Q405 19 = 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p came from the column immediately preceding 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 = 11QShirShabb 3-4). The remaining small fragments of 11QShirShabb cannot be reconstructed with certainty, although suggestions for plausible groupings are discussed below.

For the two columns where the text can be completely restored or reasonably estimated, j-d-g-p contains about 75-80 characters and spaces per line, while 3-4 contains about 80-85. It is not possible to say with certainty how many lines were contained in each column of 11QShirShabb. The relationship between 4Q405 19 and 20 ii-21-22 and the corresponding text of j-d-g-p and 3-4 from 11QShirShabb suggests that a column of text from the 11Q manuscript contained about 30% less material than one from 4Q405. It should be noted, however, that 4Q405 19 and 20 ii-21-22 are significantly wider than other columns in 4Q405 (e.g., 4Q405 3 ii, 4-5, 6, 11, 13, 23 i and ii). Consequently, the amount of material contained in

an average column of 4Q405 and 11QShirShabb may have been more nearly equal than the comparison with 4Q405 19 and 20 ii-21-22 would suggest.

The importance of even these limited observations is apparent when one tries to determine where in the reconstruction of 4Q405 one would place the material preserved by 11QShirShabb but which does not actually overlap extant fragments of 4Q405 (see the chart of the reconstruction of 4Q405). This determination similarly affects one's judgment as to which Sabbath song the material in question comes from. It is certain that frg. 3-4 contains the end of the eleventh Sabbath song and the beginning of the twelfth. The combination 2-1-9 contains part of the thirteenth. In all probability 8-7 belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth (note its strong similarity to 4Q405 23 ii, which clearly belongs to the thirteenth), while 5-6 belongs to the middle or latter portion of the twelfth. Of the small fragments j-d-g-p would belong to the eleventh Sabbath song. The remaining small fragments probably belong to the tenth and ninth Sabbath songs. Certain small fragments containing language reminiscent of the formulaic description of angelic praise (frgs. h-i, o, q, r) probably come from the eighth Sabbath song, where 4Q403 and 4Q405 indicate that such an account occurred.

11QShirShabb: Paleography and Orthography

The hand of 11QShirShabb is a developed Herodian formal hand with strong semiformal traits (ca. 20-50 A.D.). Since I have not been able to examine the manuscript fragments themselves, I have not undertaken a complete paleographical analysis.

The pronominal suffixes are the forms standard in the MT (ו-, יו-, תיו-, -יה, -ם, -תם, -יהם). The phonetic spelling ו- for MT יו- occurs in תשבווחות (2-1-9 4; for a discussion of the unusual spelling of תשבווחות, see the introduction to 4Q400).

Yod is *mater lectionis* for long *i* and for *ê* from *ay*, but not for short *i*. As in the 4QShirShabb manuscripts, one should read רוקמה (see 8-7 5), not ריקמה. It appears that the *şere* of the construct form of third-he nouns is spelled with *yod* (see מעשי, 3-4 5).

Vowels originating from *u*, from *ā*, and from *aw* are regularly represented by *waw*. Although it is possible that חשני is to be understood as a defective spelling (for *hōšnê*), it must be considered whether the orthographic practices of 11QShirShabb do not rather reflect a different pronunciation (e.g., *hišnê*).

11QShirShabb j-d-g-p: Transcription

	p	g	d	j
c	][			
o				.1
l				.2
u				.3
m				.4
n				.5
				.6
				.7
				.8
				.9

Material preserved in 4Q405 19 is underlined in the transcription.

11QShirShabb j-d-g-p: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. The first letter visible in frg. j appears to be the downstroke of *dalet* or *resh*.

Line 3. מלֹךְ מעֹשִׁי. The first trace visible is the tail of final *kap* or of *qop*.

Line 6. לֹדֶבִּי יִרִי. The last two letters are materially better for the sequence *resh*, *yod* than for *dalet*, *waw*.

Line 9. פִּלְאוֹ or פִּלְאִי is possible.

11QShirShabb j-d-g-p: Translation and Comments

See notes to 4Q405 19.

IlqShirShabb 3-4: Transcription

3

1. [א פניו] vacat
2. [לוי] א יומהמהו בעומדם
3. [יִם בחוק יתכל] לו לשרת לו
4. [מרכבות] כבודו
5. [קודש מ] עשי פנותיו
6. [אמת ו] צדק עולמ
7. [vacat]
8. [למש] כיל שיר עולת השבת שתים עשר בעשרים ואחד לחודש השלישי [הללו לאלוהי
9. [ורו] ממהו ... הכבוד במשכן אלוהי דעת יפולו לפני הכרובים ו] ברכו בהרומם]

Material preserved in 4Q405 20 is underlined with a single line, that preserved in 4Q405 21 with a double line, and that preserved in 4Q405 22 with a dotted line.

llQshirShabb 3-4: Notes on the Readings

Line 1.]אב. The break makes it difficult to determine whether the singular אב or the plural אבם, אביהם, אבם, was written.

Line 2. לֵבָבִי לֵבָבִי . The two traces at the right fit the legs of *alep* well.

Line 3. ַלְשׁוֹ. The surface of the leather appears to be damaged along the break, so that either the singular or the plural of the verb is materially possible.

Line 5.] מַעְשֵׂי פְנוֹתוֹׁ. The first trace is materially ambiguous and might be *nun* as well as *ayin*, but the reading is confirmed by overlap with 4Q405 20 ii. In the second group of letters one might read either] פְּנוֹתוֹׁ or] פְּנִי תוֹׁ.

Line 6.] שְׂרִי. Materially שְׂרִי cannot be excluded.

A final, general remark needs to be made about the transcription. The precise distance of frgs. 3 and 4 from each other cannot be determined. The two fragments may be slightly closer or more distant from each other than they appear in the transcription.

11QShirShabb 3-4: Translation and Comments

See notes to 4Q405 20 ii-21-22.

11QShirShabb 5-6: Transcription

6	5	
c [אַרְקִיעִי פֶלֶא]	[פֶּלֶא דַעַת וּבִינָה]	.1
o [אַרְקִיעִי פֶלֶא]	[בָּאוֹר אֹרֶם הוֹד]	.2
l [אַרְקִיעִי פֶלֶא]	[אֱלֹהִים נוֹרָאֵי כּוֹחַ כּוֹל]	.3
[מֵאֲרֵבֶּעַת מוֹסְדֵי רְקִיעַ]	.4 [עוֹלָם] מִים וּמְרוֹמִים גְּבוּרֹת אֱלֹהִים]	
[קִיר מְבַרְכִּים וּמַהֲלִילִים לֵאלֹהִים]	.5 [הֶפְלֵא יֵשׁ] מִיַּעַן וּמִקּוֹל מִשְׁאֵל אֱלֹהִים]	
[לְמוֹסְדֵי פֶלֶא]	.6 [מְרוֹמִי] אֱלִים הַמּוֹׁ]	
[קוֹדֶשׁ]	.7 [לְמִשְׁאֵל מִ]	
[עוֹלָם]	.8 [קוֹדֶשׁ]	
[מְעַמְדִּי]	.9 [וְקִרְאִי]	

11QShirShabb 5-6: Notes on the Readings

The fragments should probably be situated somewhat more distantly from each other than it has been possible to display them on this page. The exact disposition of the fragments, however, cannot be determined.

Line 6. מוֹסְדֵי פֶלֶא. The darkening of the leather makes it difficult to say whether one should read מוֹסְדֵי or, with van der Woude, מִיֶּסְדֵי.

Line 8. [קוֹדֶשׁ] יֵשׁ. The reading [קוֹדֶשׁ] is not impossible.

11QShirShabb 5-6: Translation

1. [...] of wonder, knowledge and understand[ing...] wondr[ous] firmament
2. [...]◦ with the essence of light, a splendor of [...] every form of wondr[ous] spirits
3. [...] godlike beings, terrible in strength, all [...] their wondrous [won]ders with the strength of the God of
4. [e]ternity, and exalting the powerful acts of the Go[d of...] from the four foundations of the wondrous firmament
5. they de[cla]re at the sound of the uplifting (of praise) by the godlike beings [...]◦◦◦ blessing and praising the God of the
6. angels; the sou[nd of...] heights of [...]◦ King of glory [...] to the wondrous foundations
7. for an uplifting (of praise) ◦[...]◦◦ of the God of [...] and all their foundations [...] most
8. hol[y...]◦ with the lifting up [...] their wings ex[alting...over their] heads
9. and they cal[1...] the stations of [...]

11QShirShabb 5-6: Comments

Since 11QShirShabb 5-6 comes from the column following frg. 3-4 (= 4Q405 20 ii-21-22), it should contain material from the twelfth Sabbath song, following the text contained in 4Q405 22 but before that of 4Q405 23. The content of frg. 5-6 fits well with this reconstruction. The references to the praise arising from the four foundations of the firmament (lines 4-5) and the occurrence of the phrase "their wings" (line 8) implies a continuation of the description of the praise of the throne chariot begun earlier in the twelfth Sabbath song in 4Q405 22. Details of vocabulary and general content support the close relation of frg. 5-6 to the following passage in 4Q405 23 i. The relatively rare word מִשָּׁא (eleven occurrences in the Shirot) appears three times in frg. 5-6 and twice in 4Q405 23 i 1 and 5. Moreover, the reference to "their foundations" (אוֹשִׁיָּהֶם) in 11QShirShabb 5-6 7 goes well with the other terms for structures of the heavenly temple in 4Q405 23 i (e.g., gates, portals, exits, entrances).

Line 1. הַפְּלֵא דַעַת וּבִינָה

In the Shirot פְּלֵא almost always occurs as the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain. The pair דַּעַת and בִּינָה occurs also in 4Q403 1 i 23; 4Q405 23 ii 13; 4Q405 17 3.

Ibid. רקיעי פל]א

Since frg. 5-6 follows 4Q405 22 fairly closely in the text of the twelfth Sabbath song, it may be that the firmament referred to is that which separates the throne of God from the heads of the cherubim which bear it (see Ezek 1:22). If so, one may translate רקיעי as a plural of majesty.

Line 2. באור אורים

Although this precise phrase does not otherwise occur in the Shirot or in other published QL, cf. באור אורתם in 4Q403 1 i 45. Light is characteristic of the heavens (cf. רקיע האור, 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7), the divine chariot throne (אופני אור, 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3), and the angelic spirits (אלי אור, 4Q403 1 ii 35; אלוהי אורים, 4Q405 46 2).

Ibid. כול תבנית רוחי פל]א

The phrase seems to refer to the appearance of the angels ("every form of wondrous spirits"), though elsewhere in the Shirot the word תבנית occurs in descriptions of various structures in the heavenly temple (e.g., 4Q403 1 i 43-44, תבנית מעשי תבנית, and perhaps also 4Q403 1 ii 3, 16). Since the heavenly temple is composed of animate, spiritual substances, one could perhaps render the phrase here as "the whole structure of wondrous spirits."

Line 3. אלוהים נוראי כוח

Since נוראי is plural, אלוהים here probably refers to the angels rather than to God. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 41-42 (זמ[רו] אלו[הים] נ[ורא] כוח) where the phrase appears to refer to God.

Lines 3-4. בכוח אלוהי [עול]מים

One might translate either "the eternal God" or "the eternal godlike beings."

Lines 4-5. מארבעת מוסדי רקיע הפלא

Most probably the firmament mentioned is still that of the throne chariot rather than the cosmological רקיע, and the four foundations are to be associated with the four cherubim who bear the throne and sing praise. See Ezek 1:22-25; Apoc. Ab. 18:3-8.

van der Woude's suggestion ("Fragmente," 327) that הפלא be construed as a hiphil infinitive absolute used adverbially to modify the following verb is entirely possible, but the strong preference in the Shirot for using פלא as the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain makes it more likely that הפלא is simply an articulated noun governed by רקיע.

Line 5. יש[מיע] ו מקול משא אלוהים

The following references to praise make יש[מיע] ו a probable supplement. The meaning of the word משא is somewhat difficult. van der Woude ("Fragmente," 327) suggests "host" on the basis of the association of the phrase משא רוחות with צבא קדושים in 1QM x 12. In that passage the parallelism of the two expressions is disputable, and it appears more likely that משא רוחות is parallel to ממשלת קדושים. In that case its meaning would appear to be simply "task, responsibility," a sense already attested in BH. In the present case, however, the meaning "task, responsibility" does not fit well. Here the meaning of משא is better taken as "utterance," i.e., a lifting up of the voice, a meaning found especially in the prophetic books of the Bible in connection with oracles (e.g., Isa 13:1; Hab 1:1; Zech 9:1; 12:1; Mal 1:1; and frequently in Ezekiel). This sense of the word is clearly attested at Qumran in 1Q27 i 8 (נכון) (הדבר לבוא ואמת המשא). In the present passage the context would give משא more specifically the sense of "an utterance of praise" or "a lifting up of the voice in praise." Quite possibly the use of the word משא in this passage is influenced by the frequent use of various forms of the verb נשא to describe the movements of the cherubim in Ezekiel 1 (movements closely associated with praise and song in the early exegesis of Ezekiel's vision; see, e.g., the Targum to Ezek 1:24).

Lines 5-6. קיר מברכים ומהללים לאלוהי אלים

van der Woude's suggestion ("Fragmente," 327) that קיר, "wall," refers to the wall of the heavenly debir (as in 1 Enoch 14:10, 15) is appealing, both in view of other possible references to heavenly structures in this fragment (תבנית רוחי פלא, אושיהם, ארבעת מוסדי רקיע) and in view of the closely similar language in which other structures of the heavenly temple are described as praising God and the angels in the following part of the twelfth Sabbath song preserved in 4Q405 23 i (ושערי מוצא משמיעים) (כבוד המלך מברכים ומהללים כול רוחות אלוהים; lines 9-10). My only hesitation to this suggestion is that the overwhelming preference in the Shirot for plural forms makes the singular קיר seem peculiar. Since the word occurs at a break in the leather, one might as easily restore the word יקיר. Although this word is not characteristic of the vocabulary of the Shirot, יקר does occur in 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 2 and perhaps in 4Q405 16 6.

Line 6. המון

The supplement is schematic only, but cf. 4Q405 22 8.

Ibid. מלך הכבוד

Cf. Ps 24:7-10; 1QM xii 8; xix 1. Elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot cf. 4Q403 1 i 31; ii 25; 4Q405 16 7; 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 4-5.

Lines 6-7. למוסדי פלא

Although the reading of מוסדי is not entirely certain, the phrase מוסדי in line 4 above makes me prefer מוסדי to מיסדי here. If one did choose to read למיסדי פלא, then one might translate something like "for those who wondrously establish the utterance (of praise)...." Cf. 4Q403 1 i 24, ממיסדי דעת.

Line 7. וכול אושיהם

אוש, "foundation," is not attested in BH but occurs elsewhere in QL (1QH iii 13, 30, 35, אושי עולם; vii 9, אושי עולם; 1QSb iii 20; 1Q36 17 2, (רוחיה לגבר אושי) and in MH.

Lines 7-8. קודש קודשי]ם

The phrase could refer specifically to the heavenly debir as the "holy of holies" or be simply a superlative genitive, "most holy."

Line 8. במשא

In view of the following reference to "their wings," perhaps here one should think both of the act of raising the wings as well as of the sound of praise it produces. See notes to line 5 above.

Ibid. כ]נפיהם מר]וממים

After כנפיהם perhaps restore some form of רום or רומם. Cf. 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8 (ברום כנפיהם), with reference to the cherubim.

Ibid. על] רוש]ם

If the reading is correct, perhaps supplement על] רוש]ם, referring again to the רקיע. The reference to the wings of the cherubim and their praise further recalls Ezek 1:25 (ויהי-קול מעל לרקיע אשר על-ראשם) (בעמדם תרפינה כנפיהן).

11QShirShabb 8-7: Transcription

7	8	
c	ה רצון המ [°]	.1
o	לזבחי קדושים [°]	.2
l	לם ור [°] ח נסכיהם למס [°] פר	.3
u	עולמים ב [°] הודו [°] הדר [°] ל [°]	.4
m	תפ [°] ארת [°] רוקמה כמ [°] עשי אורג	.5
n	ל [°] לצורות [°]	.6
	מל [°]	.7

11QShirShabb 8-7: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. ריח מנחות[°]

The *yod* of ריח is ambiguous and might be *waw*. The choice of reading is determined by context.

Line 4. חשני. One might expect to see a trace of the right leg of *he* if the suffixed form, חשניהם, were to be read (as in אפודיהם in 4Q405 23 ii 5).

Line 5. כמ[°] עשי. After *kap* the following trace is good for the oblique base stroke of medial *mem*.

11QShirShabb 8-7: Translation

1. [...]° good favor °°°[...] all th[eir] works
2. [...]° for the sacrifices of the holy ones °[...] the odor of their offerings °°[...]
3. [...]°° and the o[do]r of their drink offerings according to the num[ber of...]° of purity with a spirit of holi[ness]
4. [...] eternity, sp[plendor and] majesty °°[...]° wonder and the form of the breastplates of
5. [...]be]auty [...] multicolored like wo[ven work...] purely blended, dyed garments
6. [...]°°[...]° figures[...]°° ephod
7. [...]°°°[...]°°°

11QShirShabb 8-7: Comments

According to the reconstruction of 11QShirShabb and 4Q405, frg. 8-7 almost certainly contains material from the beginning of the thirteenth

Sabbath song, shortly before that preserved in the closely similar text of 4Q405 23 ii. In fact it may be that the last few lines of 11QShirShabb 8-7 actually overlap the broken first lines of the 4Q fragment. Significantly, it is only in these fragments from the concluding song that explicitly sacrificial terminology and technical words for the high priestly garments occur. While there is no mention of the עולה in the extant fragments, the cultic calendar of Lev 23:37 lists the various burnt offerings as עלה ומנחה זבח ונסכים. Since three of the terms for offerings in frg. 8-7 are those found in Lev 23:37, it may be that an earlier reference to עולה has been lost in the lacunae. See also Ezek 45:17 (ועל-הנשיא יהיה העולות) (והמנחה והנסך בחגים ובחדשים ובשבתות), a passage which one would think would certainly be in the mind of the author of the Sabbath Shirot.

Line 1. ת רצון

Perhaps supplement either מנח[ת רצון] (cf. 1QS ix 5, כנדבת מנחת רצון; CD xi 21, ותפלת צדקם כמנחה רצון) or לעשו[ת רצון] (cf. 1QS ix 13, לעשות את רצון; 1QS ix 23, לעשות רצון בכול משלח כפים).

Line 2. לזבחי קדושים [...] ריח מנחותם

Explicit references to a heavenly sacrificial cult are less common than one might think. The longer recension of T. Levi 3 says that angels "minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous, offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering," but the shorter recension omits the reference to sacrifice. G. B. Gray notes that Jubilees implies a sacrificial cult in heaven when it says that the Feast of Weeks was celebrated in heaven until the time of Noah (6:18) and that Jubilees suggests "that the sacrifices in particular of the Feast of Weeks continued to be offered in heaven after the purpose of God that they should be offered on earth had been achieved" (Gray, *Sacrifice*, 158). In the book of Revelation there is reference to the heavenly altar of incense (8:3-5) and apparently also to an altar of burnt offering (6:9). In later Jewish tradition b.Hag. 12b reports that after the destruction of Jerusalem the archangel Michael offered sacrifice in heaven. For further discussion see H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 123-37.

Line 3. ור[י]ח נסכיהם למס[פר]

In the OT where ריח is used in connection with sacrifice, it always occurs in the stereotyped phrase ריח ניחוח. The Shirot seems intentionally

to vary biblical terminology relating to the technical matters of the cult, perhaps as a means of suggesting the difference as well as the correspondence between the heavenly and the earthly service.

van der Woude suggests the plausible though conjectural supplement למסך]פר. Alternatively, one might consider מסך, the screen before the tabernacle (Exod 26:36; 35:15; etc.).

Line 4.]והבנית חשני[

The reference to plural breastplates, like the plural אפודיהם in the following passage contained in 4Q405 23 ii 5, perhaps indicates that each of the seven angelic councils has its own priesthood, with one of the seven chief princes officiating as high priest.

Line 5. רוקמה כמ[עשי אורג...]] ממולח טוהר צבעי

All these terms occur in the description of the angelic priestly garments in 4Q405 23 ii. After רוקמה restore probably אורג כמעשי. Cf. 4Q405 23 ii 7 (במעמד פלאיהם רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג) and 23 ii 10 (וכול מחשביהם ממולח טוהר חשב כמעשי אורג). For discussion of the difficult phrase ממולח טוהר see notes to 4Q405 19 4.

11QShirShabb 2-1-9

The transcription of these fragments is on the following page. Notes on the reading are included here.

Line 4.]תשבוחותו. The mark over the second waw is probably not a mark of deletion. Elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot the plural form of this word is consistently used.

Line 6.]וליהדום. The head of the fourth letter is better for *dalet* than for *resh*. The following letter might materially be either *waw* or *yod*.

Line 7.]ולכול°. The letter before the break might be read either as *zayin* or, if the leather is flaked or abraded at the bottom of the letter, as *nun*.

11QShirShabb 2-1-9: Transcription

9

מִמָּוָה

1

כְּבֹדֹו בָאֵן

2

.1] מְרֹמֵי כִּבְדֹו

עֲדֻדֹותָיו

] רַחֲמָיו בִּיקָר ׀

.2] שְׁלֵלָה מִיּוֹ בְּמִשְׁפָּטָיו

מֶלֶךְ וּבִהְדָר

כְּבֹדֹו מַעֲשָׂיו וּבְאוֹן

.3] כָּל־כּוֹל בְּרוּכֹת שְׁלוֹמֵי

קִדְשֵׁי מֶלֶךְ

] אֵם אֹרֶךְ יָחִוּשׁ וּבְדִנָּי

.4] תִּשְׁבַּחוּתוֹ בְּכֹל רִקִּי

יִהְיֶהֱלֹו מִשְׁאֵי קֹדֶשׁ

] לְמַלְאכֵי הָדַעַת בְּכֹל מַלְ

.5] הַכְּבוֹד לְכֹל מַעֲשֵׂי אֱמֻנָה

הֶלֶךְ וּלְפִתְחֵי מִבְּוֵי

] כְּבוֹדֹו הָדָר וּלְדַבְרֵי קוֹל־דָּשִׁי

.6] לְכִסְאֵי כְבוֹדֹו וְלַהֲדוּם רִגְלָיו

] לְהִיכָלִי כְבוֹדֹו וְלִרְקִיעֵי

] פִּנְיוֹת מִבְּנֵי יֵהוּ וְלְכֹל זִכְרוֹנֵי

.7] [הַמַּלְאָךְ עִם כֹּל מוֹצֵאֵי

.8] לְכֹל דָּסִי

11QShirShabb 2-1-9: Translation

1. [...His] gl[orious] heights [...] His [gl]ory with ֹו[...].ֹו
2. His [rec]ompense with judgments of [...] His mercy with the honor ֹו[...]. His [pre]ordained (events)
3. [and] all the blessings of [His] peace [...gl]ory of His acts and with the lig[ht of...].ֹוֹֹֹֹ and with the splendor of
4. His praise in all the firmam[ents of...].ֹו light and darkness and the forms of [...ho]liness of the King of
5. Glory for all [His] faithful acts [...] for the angels of knowledge with all ֹו[...].ֹוֹֹֹֹ let them praise] Him (with) holy utterances
6. for His glorious thrones and for [His foot]stool [and for all] His majestic [ch]ariots and for [His] ho[ly] debirim [...] and for the portals of the entrance of
7. [the Kin]g together with all the exits of [...the cor]ners of its str[uc]ture and for all the dw[ellings...].ֹוֹֹֹֹ for His glorious temples and for the firmaments of
8. [...] for all ֹו[...].ֹו

11QShirShabb 2-1-9: Comments

The column of text represented by frg. 2-1-9 contains material from the latter part of the thirteenth Sabbath song, the first part of which is preserved in 11QShirShabb 8-7 and 4Q405 23 ii. With the end of the thirteenth Sabbath song the entire collection of Sabbath Shirot concludes.

Line 1. מרומי כ[בודו

The phrase probably refers to the heavens, as in the similar expression בשערי מרומי רוֹם in 4Q400 1 ii 4.

Ibid.]כו[דו בא°

The second word is perhaps to be supplemented בא]ור or בא]מה.

Line 2.]רחמיו ביקר °

רחמים occurs twice in the Shirot (4Q403 1 i 18, 23 and parallels) to describe the consequences of the blessings of the angelic chief princes (see also 4Q400 1 i 18). Note the occurrence of כול ברכות שלום]ו in the following line. van der Woude observes ("Fragmente," 318) that כבוד and יקר are associated with God and named among the eschatological gifts of the righteous (see e.g., 1 Enoch 50:1; 108:12; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; Rev 4:9-11; 5:12-13; etc.). In fact, the entire vocabulary of these lines, with their references to judgment, light, peace, blessing, compassion, glory, and honor is that of the description of the enjoyment of eschatological rewards in the presence of God.

Line 3. ו[כול ברכות שלום]ו

לשלום עולמים are the concluding words of the account of the blessings of the chief princes in the sixth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 i 16). For the association of blessing and peace elsewhere in QL see, e.g., 1QM i 9; xvii 7.

Lines 3-4. ובהדר תשכוחותו

The variant spellings of תשכוחותו in the manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot are collected in the notes on the orthography of 4Q400. The phonetic spelling of the masculine singular suffix on a feminine plural noun also occurs in 4Q405 in the form נפלאותו (4Q405 3 ii 3, 9). The phrase בהדר תשכוחות occurs also in 4Q403 1 i 32.

Line 4. בכול רקי[עי...ם אור וחושך ובדני]

Here רקיע appears to refer to the expanse of the heavens where the angels praise God rather than to the רקיע of the chariot throne. Although

אור occurs several times in the Shirot, only here is the pair אור וחושך to be found. Unfortunately, the broken state of the text makes it impossible to determine whether the phrase has a cosmological reference (cf. the preceding reference to רקיע) or whether it has dualistic overtones (as does, e.g., רוחות אור וחושך in lQS iii 25). For discussion of the term בדי see notes to 4Q405 14-15 i 5.

Line 5. לכול מעשי אמת]ו

Cf. lQS i 19; x 17; lQM xiii 1, 2, 9; xiv 12; lQH i 30; etc.

Ibid. למלאכי הדעת בכול מל]

Although the precise phrase מלאכי הדעת is not otherwise attested in the Shirot, דעת figures prominently in other angelic epithets. Several supplements are possible after מל]. van der Woude ("Fragmente," 317) suggests מלאכותם. Alternatively, one could restore another angelic epithet (e.g., מלאכי קודש) or perhaps a phrase such as מלכות כבודו, "in all His glorious realm" (see 4Q405 23 ii 11-12 from the earlier part of the thirteenth Sabbath song).

Ibid. יהללו]הו משאי קודש

Probably supplement a verb of praise, e.g., יהללוהו or ישבחוהו, with קודש specifying the means or manner of praise. Whether the verb should be construed as jussive or indicative is uncertain.

Lines 6-8.

One of the most notable features of the last three lines of the fragment is the large number of noun phrases (all referring to structures and objects from the heavenly temple) which are introduced by *lamed*. Moreover, the items which can be identified form a sequence which begins with what is nearest to God and then moves outward. Most of the terms are plural in form, though it is not clear whether they are to be construed as genuine plurals or as plurals of majesty. It is the sequence, however, which is noteworthy. It begins first with the throne and footstool; then the chariots; the debirim, their passages for entering and exiting; the (outer?) structures of the sanctuaries; the temples as a whole; and finally, the firmaments that contain the heavenly temples. If the series continues in line 8, however, it is no longer possible to determine what was named there. Although one cannot be quite certain about the precise nuance of the *lameds*, they may specify the grounds for which praise is offered. Thus, the conclusion of the thirteenth Sabbath song appears to

contain a final invocation to praise God followed by a systematically organized list of all the manifestations of God's holiness in the objects and structures of the heavenly temple which have been described in the preceding songs. One might also compare passages such as Psalm 148, 150:1-2, and the Song of the Three Youths (Dan 3:28-68; LXX) in which the various categories of heavenly and earthly creatures are called upon in a hierarchical order to praise God.

Line 6. לכסאי כבודו ולהדום ר]גליו

The only terms in the sequence which might be construed as singular forms are הדום רגליו and כסאי (if כסאי is understood as mixed phonetic and historical orthography for MT כסא). It is possible that the throne of the Glory is understood as singular but that all the other phenomena of the heavenly temples occur in sevenfold groupings. Just how the heavenly realm is conceived of in the Sabbath Shirot remains elusive. The phrase הדום רגליו occurs elsewhere in the Shirot in the description of the divine throne in the seventh Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 2).

Ibid. מר]כבות הדרו ולדבירי קו]דשו

For the apparently genuine plurality of markabot in several debirim see the notes to 4Q403 1 ii 13-15.

Lines 6-7. ולפתחי מבואי [המל]ך עם כול מוצאי]

References to the passages of entrance and exit occur in the ninth Sabbath song (4Q405 14-15 i) and in the twelfth Sabbath song (4Q405 23 i, בצאת ובמבוא, line 9; ושערי מוצא, line 8; ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש לממשלתם, line 10). (בשע[ר]י קודש, line 10).

Line 7. פנ]ות מב]נ]יתו ולכול ז]בול

Probably restore פנות מבניתו as in 4Q403 1 i 41. van der Woude's suggestion, to supplement a form of זבול parallel to מבנית, is attractive. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 41 (עמודי משא לזבול רום רומים), where זבול is mentioned in a description of the praises of the animate temple, immediately before the phrase פנות מבניתו.

Ibid. להיכלי כבודו

The word היכל is rare in the Shirot but occurs in the first Sabbath song (4Q400 1 i 13, בהיכלי מלך) in a discussion of the angelic priesthood. There seems little doubt that it carries primarily the nuance of "temple" rather than "palace" in the Shirot.

11QShirShabb f-c-k: Reconstruction

While there are no explicit textual overlaps with 4Q405 which can confirm combinations of small fragments apart from that of j-d-g-p, at least one additional column of text can be reconstructed with a high degree of probability. Based on considerations of the physical shape of the fragments and the content of their text, it appears that frgs. c and f represent the left and right "legs," respectively, of an arch-shaped fragment like frg. 3. Frg. f, moreover, preserves the right-hand column margin. It is also likely that frg. k comes from the same column of text and forms the right "leg" of the arch shape following frg. c. If the combination is correct, the three fragments should contain material from virtually the entire column of text, since they would come from an exterior position in the scroll where the circumference of the scroll was larger and the angle of the surviving fragments less acute. (Compare the relationship between frgs. 3-4 and 2-1-9.) Based on the strong similarity of language between frg. f-c-k and j-d-g-p (= 4Q405 19), it can be plausibly suggested that frg. f-c-k came from the preceding column, probably from the middle of the tenth Sabbath song.

11QShirShabb f-c-k: Transcription

k	c	f	
דבֿיר [ֹ]]	אל]והי אלי]ם		.1
מנ]צא אול]מי	אולמי מ]בואי	נ [ֹ]]י	.2
אלוהים] [	ם לבני] [	כ]מעשי לב [ֹ]]ני	.3
ם ישמיעו [ֹ]] [	י טוה [ֹ]]ר	ל]בני כבודם]	.4
כסאי עולמים]	בד [ֹ]] [	כס]אי פלא כ [ֹ]]ל	.5
יהם כבו [ֹ]]ד] [		בהוד תשב [ֹ]]חות	.6
מוסדי] [ה [ֹ]]י		אלוהים]	.7
		ל [ֹ]] [	.8

11QShirShabb f-c-k: Notes on the Readings

The vertical dry line of the right-hand margin is just visible in lines 5-6 of frg. f.

Line 2. אֹלָמִי[. The first trace is not good for *ayin* (compare עֹלָמִים in frg. d, line 2) but fits *alep* well.

Line 7. מוֹסְדִי. The ligatured letter following *mem* might be either *waw* or *yod*.

11QShirShabb f-c-k: Translation

(1) [...Go]d of the angel[s...] debir [...] (2) [...]°°[...] vestibules of the en[try of...the ex]it of the vesti[bules of...] (3) [like] bri[ck]work [...]° the brickwork of [...] godlike beings [...] (4) their glorious [br]ickwork [...]°° of puri[ty...]° they make known [...] (5) wondrous [thr]ones ° [...]°°° [...] eternal thrones [...] (6) with splendid pra[ises...] their ° [...] glo[ry]°°°° [...] (7) godlike beings [...] foundations of [...] (8) [.]°°°° [...]

11QShirShabb f-c-k: Comments

Line 2. אֹלָמִי מ]בּוֹאִי

Compare 4Q405 14-15 i 4 (אֹלָמִי מְבּוֹאִיָּהֶם) and 5 (מְפֹתָח בְּאֹלָמִי מְבּוֹאִי מֶלֶךְ).

Lines 3-4. ...]מַעֲשֵׂי לֵב[נִי]°°[...אֱלֹהִים[...לְבָנִי כְבוֹדָם]

The reference to architectural features in the immediate context makes it more likely that לְבָנִי is the plural of לִבְנָה ("brick, tile, pavement") rather than a nominalized form of the adjective לָבֵן ("white"). The only other place in the Sabbath Shirot where a similar expression occurs is in 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p (= 4Q405 19), [ב]דְּנִי צוֹרוֹת אֱלֹהִים, מחוקקי סִבִּיב לְלִבְנִי [כ]בוֹדָם. That passage is extremely difficult to construe, but the reference to something inscribed (מחוקקי) makes it plausible that there too the reference is to something like a brick or tile facing for some architectural feature of the heavenly temple. In his notes to frg. f van der Woude has suggested supplementing מַעֲשֵׂי לֵב[נִי] סִפִּיר ("pavement of lapis lazuli"), citing Exod 24:10.

Line 5. כֶּסֶף אִי פֶלֶא

Only two or three letters are missing before *alep*. Restore either מְבּוֹאִי or כֶּסֶף. While נְשִׂאִי is materially possible, it seems unlikely in this context.

Line 6. תִּשְׁבּוּחֹת

Cf. שְׁבוּחֹת הוֹד in 4Q403 1 i 32.

11QShirShabb h-i-o: Reconstruction

There are three additional fragments (frgs. h, i, and o) which preserve material from one of the columns preceding f-c-k. van der Woude had already indicated a probable join between frgs. h and i on the basis of the broken *lamed* which appears in the sixth line of frg. h and in כול in the first line of frg. i. The two fragments together form the right side of an arch shape. The occurrence of שבעה and תהלי in frg. h identifies this fragment as coming from a formulaic description of psalms of praise of the angelic princes, a passage which occurs in the eighth Sabbath song (see the reconstruction of 4Q405). In fact the join of frgs. h and i makes it possible to specify the location of this fragment with considerable precision. Frg. i preserves two occurrences of the verb ברך. In the formulaic account of the praise of the angelic princes a section referring to their psalms is followed immediately by an account of their blessings (cf. 4Q403 1 ii 31-41 and 4Q405 12 and 13). Frg. h-i appears to preserve this transition. According to the reconstruction of 4Q405 the material contained in frg h-i would occur after 4Q405 12 and before 4Q405 13 (corresponding approximately to 4Q403 1 ii 37-41).

On the basis of a shape and content closely similar to that of frg. h, frg. o should be assigned to the same column as frg. h. It is not possible to specify, however, which fragment occupied the right-hand part of the column and which should be placed to the center-left. In addition to תהלי, frg. o contains the word משני, referring to the deputy princes (נשיאי משנה) whose psalms and blessings are recounted in the eighth Sabbath song (see 4Q405 13). Additional material from this column may be preserved in frgs. q and r. See below.

11QShirShabb h-i: Transcription

- | | |
|---|----|
| נפל]אותיה] | .1 |
| [שבע ת ^ו]הלי | .2 |
| [תהלי רנ ^ו]ות | .3 |
| נפל]אותיהם ^ו | .4 |
| [שבעה ב ^ו ש]בעה | .5 |
| [מלך כ ^ו]ל א ^ו לזיהי | .6 |
| [קורב במע]מדי | .7 |

9. פ[לא [י]ברך ב[י]

]ooooo[.10

Line 1.] נפל[אותיה. One would expect to see a trace of final *mem* if נפלאותיהם were written.

Line 9. ^o [.]
[פ]לא [י]ברך ב'° The leather is darkened and very difficult to
read before the break.

(1) [...] its [won]ders [...] (2) [...]◦ seven p[salms of...] (3) ◻ [...] psalms of jub[ilation...] (4) [...] their [won]ders [...] (5) [...] seven times *with se*[ven...] (6) [...] King of a[l]l the go[dlike beings...] (7) [...] inner sanctum in the *stan*[ding places...] (8) [...] of wonder to bless [...] (9) [...of wo]nder will bless ◻◻[...] (10) [...]◻◻◻◻◻◻[...]

Line 5.

See, generally, the summary of the songs of the seven chief princes in MasShirShabb ii 19-22 (sixth Sabbath song). From the fragmentary remains of the account of the psalms of the seven deputy princes in the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 31-39; 4Q405 12) it would appear that there are some differences in syntax and phraseology from that of the chief princes, though the vocabulary and style are quite similar.

Line 7. קורב במע[מדי

Elsewhere in the Sabbath Shirot קורב occurs as a *nomen rectum* governed by כוֹחַנִי, קדוּשִׁי, רוֹחִי, etc., and designates the inner sanctum of the heavenly temple where the angelic priests serve. If such is the case here, then it would be better to supplement the following word במע[מדי rather than במע[שִׁי.

Line 9.] לא [י] ברך ב°]

The reading of the end of the line is uncertain but is compatible with the formula for the blessing by the deputy princes, e.g., החמישי בנושיאי ... משני פלא יברך בשם... (cf. 4Q405 13 2-3 and 4-5).

11QShirShabb o: Transcription

- .1 [האור מִיִּם פל]א
 .2 [תיו מבני אל]יִם
 .3 [שמ]י עו תהלי לִשׁ
 .4 [לא]לוהי
 .5 [נשיאי] משני רִ'
 .6 [א]לוהים]

11QShirShabb o: Notes on the Readings

Line 1.

Either האור or האיר is materially possible. Because finite verbs are so uncommon in the Shirot, one should probably read האור.

Line 2. מבני אל]יִם

In PAM 43.448 a small bit of leather appears which has broken off in PAM 43.992. The reading appears to be]אִ' מבני.

Line 3. תהלי לִשׁ

After תהלי, *lamed* and a following trace are preserved in PAM 43.448. The trace could be the right arm of *shin* for, e.g., לשונייהם.

11QShirShabb o: Translation

(1) [...] the light oooo wondr[ous...] (2) [...] His [...] from the sons of G[od...] (3) [...]they pro]claim psalms of oo[...] (4) [...] to the God of [...] (5) [...] deputy [princes...]o[...] (6) [...G]od [...]

11QShirShabb o: Comments

Line 2. מבני אל]יִם

See the notes on the readings. This angelic epithet is not otherwise attested in the Sabbath Shirot. In other QL it is found in lQH f 2 3. In BH see Pss 29:1; 89:7; and cf. Dan 11:36.

Line 5. [נשיאי] משני רִ'

Perhaps restore נשיאי משני, as in 4Q405 13 (the account of the blessings of the angelic princes from the eighth Sabbath song). The form משני probably represents the construct form as opposed to the absolute, which would be spelled משנה. The following trace is uncertain, and it is not clear how to restore the *nomen rectum*.

11QShirShabb a: Transcription

- .1]ומביו^ו[
- .2]רוקמה כב^ו[
- .3]רך בהמון
- .4]^ו^ו^ו[

11QShirShabb a: Notes on the Readings

Line 1. A portion of a second layer of leather underneath frg. a can be seen to the right of line 1. The letters מהו^ו or בתו^ו are just visible. In line 1 of frg. a, ומביו^ו, *bet* is materially better than *kap* (e.g., for ומכיו^ו or ומכו^ו).

11QShirShabb a: Translation

- (1) [...] and from between [...] (2) [...] *multicolored* ^ו^ו[...]
- (3) [...w]ay with the noise [...] (4) [...] ^ו^ו^ו[...]

11QShirShabb b: Transcription

- .1 c]ב^ו^ו^ו[
- .2 o מעש]י
- .3 1 י]שמיע^ו
- .4 ?]^ו^ו^ו[
- .5 ר[

11QShirShabb b: Notes on the Readings

It is possible but not certain that frg. b preserves the left-hand margin of a column. No dry line is visible, but the regularity of the positions of the ends of the words and the amount of uninscribed leather after the words in lines 4 and 5 makes this a plausible suggestion.

Line 3. י]שמיע^ו. The leather at the end of the line appears to be abraded, so that one might read the plural, ישמיעו.

11QShirShabb b: Translation

- (1) [...] ^ו^ו^ו^ו[(2) [...] work[s] (3) [...]they] make known
- (4) [...] ^ו^ו^ו (5) [...] ^ו

11QShirShabb e: Transcription

c	רַק יֵעֶ	.1
o	מֶשׁ לַחֹת	.2
l	תִּשְׁבּוּ חֹת	.3
u	תִּשְׁבּוּחוֹת	.4
m	קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים	.5
n	יִרְוֹקְמָה	.6

11QShirShabb e: Translation

- (1) [...*firma*]ment (2) [...*mis*]sions (3) [...*prai*]ses (4) [...*p*]raises
 (5) [...*mo*]st holy (6) [...] multicolored

11QShirShabb l: Transcription

ק]	.1
מֶשֶׁפִּי	.2
בְּרִנּוֹת כֹּל]	.3
כְּבוֹדוֹ קוֹל הֵא]	.4

11QShirShabb l: Notes on the Readings

Line 2. מֶשֶׁפִּי. The traces of the letter before the break seem better for *pe* than for *nun*.

Line 3. בְּרִנּוֹת. van der Woude's reading, בְּדִנּוֹת, is materially possible. Elsewhere in the Shirot, however, the form בְּדִנִּי is consistently used, not בְּדִנּוֹת. Read instead בְּרִנּוֹת.

11QShirShabb l: Translation

- (1) [...] (2) *judg[ments of...]* (3) with the glad cries of al[1...] (4) His glory, the sound of [...]

11QShirShabb m: Transcription

כֹּל מֶ]	.1
אֱלֹהֵי כֹל]	.2
בְּדִנִּי פֶ]	.3
הֵם וְצוּרָתָם]	.4
אֱלֹהֵי אֱלִי]	.5

11QShirShabb m: Translation

(1) [...] all °[...] (2) [...]G]od of all [...] (3) [...] won[drous]
forms [...] (4) [...] their [...] and the pattern of [...] (5) [...] God of the eli[m...]

11QShirShabb m: Comments

The words בַּדְּנִי and צוֹרֶת both occur several times in 11QShirShabb j-d-g-p (= 4Q405 19). בַּדְּנִי also occurs in 4Q405 14-15 i, a fragment probably preserving part of the tenth Sabbath song. 11QShirShabb m may well come from the same part of the text.

11QShirShabb n: Transcription

]	לִרְ	°°	.1
]	רוּחוֹתְ	°°	.2
]	פְּלִאֵיהֶם	כֹּל	.3
]	קוֹדֵשׁ	קוֹדֵשׁ יָם	.4a
]	קוֹדֵשׁ	קוֹדֵשׁ שִׁים	.4
]	°°		.5

11QShirShabb n: Translation

(1) [...]k]ing [...] (2) [...] spirits [...] (3) [...] their wondrous [...] all [...] (4a) [...] most hol[y...] (4) [...] most ho[ly...] (5) [...]°°[...]

11QShirShabb q: Transcription

c	]	מִזְ	°°°	בְּשִׁבְעָה	.1
o	]	בְּרַ	°°°	מִשְׁמִיעִי	.2
l	]	מֶלֶךְ	כֹּל	קוֹדֵשׁ עַד	.3
u	[	תְּ	הָלִי	בְּרִכּוֹת כְּבוֹד הַ	.4
m	]	שִׁ	°°°°°	שִׁבְעַ	.5
n					

11QShirShabb q: Notes on the Readings

As the photograph clearly shows, frg. q is actually the top layer of a pile of several fragments which have not been detached. Horizontal dry

lines are clearly visible. A vertical dry line, indicating the left-hand column margin is visible between lines 1 and 2.

11QShirShabb q: Translation

(1) [...] with seven (2) [...] who make known (3) [...] King of all the eternally holy ones (4) [...] psalms of blessings of the glory of the [...] (5) [...] seven

11QShirShabb q: Comments

The fragment contains material that very probably comes from the formulaic account of the psalms of the deputy princes, from the eighth Sabbath song (see 4Q403 1 ii 31-41 and parallel texts). Specifically, the phrase *ברכות תהלי* in line 4 is the phrase that one anticipates as the first item in the summary of the songs of the seven princes. (Cf. the better preserved parallel account of the chief princes in the sixth Sabbath song in MasShirShabb ii 19-22.) If this identification of the context of the fragment is correct, then perhaps lines 5-6 should be supplemented *שבע תהלי רום* for the summary of the praises of the third angelic prince.

11QShirShabb r: Transcription

]°[	.1
]ת עוז ל°[	.2
]רות פל°[א	.3
שב°[ע תהלי	.4

11QShirShabb r: Translation

(1) [...] strength [...] (2) [...] of wond[er...] (3) [...] (4) [...] en psal[ms of...]

11QShirShabb r: Comments

This fragment also would appear to preserve part of the end of the passage recounting the psalms of praise of the seven deputy princes from the eighth Sabbath song, if the restoration of line 4 is correct. The word *עוז* occurs at least twice in the fairly well preserved account of the praise of the chief princes in the sixth Sabbath song, once in the phrase *שבע תהלי רנות עוזו* (4Q403 1 i 6) and once in the phrase *זמר עוז* (4Q403 1 i 9).

llQShirShabb s: Transcription

]° כבוד ° [.1

]°° רי מלך כו [.2

] °°°°°° [.3

]°° [.4

llQShirShabb t: Transcription

]°ט [

llQShirShabb u: Transcription

No legible traces

CONCORDANCE

Words are listed alphabetically according to the spelling most frequently used in the Sabbath Shirot. Dubious words are indicated with question marks. Damaged readings preserved in another of the manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot have been restored, even where only very fragmentary traces remain. Underlining has been used to indicate the portion of a reading preserved in another manuscript. Certain broken or damaged words, as well as some words preserved without much context, might be interpreted or restored in more than one way. In general, I have not attempted to indicate each possible interpretation of the word but have entered the word only once, according to the way it appears in the transcription of the fragment.

אדון (n)

- 4Q403 1 i 28 ברוך [ה]אֲדֹנָיְךָ מֶלֶךְ [ה]כֹּל (?)
 4Q403 1 ii 33 [...] הפלא והלל לאדון כול איל[י...]

אולם/אלם (n)

- 4Q405 14-15 i 4 [...] אולמי מבואיהם רוחי קורב קודש קודשים
 4Q405 14-15 i 5 [...] וְאֱלֹהִים חַיִּים מְפֹתַח בְּאֵלֵי מְבֹאֵי מֶלֶךְ
 11QŠŠ c 2 [...] אולמי מ[בואי...]
 11QŠŠ k 2 [...] [מו...] צא אול[מי...]

אופיר (n)

- 4Q405 23 ii 9 וְדִמּוּת רֹחַ כְּבוֹד כְּמַעֲשֵׂי אֹפִירִים ...

אופן (n)

- 4Q403 1 ii 15 וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניה[ם...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3 [...] כְּרֹבֵל קֹדֶשׁ אֹפְנֵי אוֹר בִּדְ[ביר...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9 ובלכת האופנים ישובו מלאכי קודש

אור (v)

- 4Q403 1 ii 35 למאירי דעת בכול אלי אור[...]
 4Q405 19 4-5 צורי רוחות מאירים כ[ו]ל [מעשי]הם
 4Q405 23 ii 9-10 כמעשי אופירים מאירי [או]ר
 11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 4-5 [...] [מאיר]ים כול מע[שיהם...]

אור (n)

4Q402 3 ii 7	[...] אור ובינ ^ו [ה...]
4Q402 7 2	[...] ואור בדב ^ו [יר...]
4Q402 12 1	[...] אור לנ ^ו [ל...]
4Q403 1 i 45	[...] הכ ^ו בוד באור אורתם דע ^ו [ת...]
4Q403 1 ii 35	למאירי דעה בכול אלי אור [ל...]
4Q404 5 4	[...] כ ^ו בוד באור אורתם דע ^ו [ל...]
4Q405 6 3	[...] דעת ואור למשא יח ^ו [ד רקי] ע טוהר ^ו [ל...]
4Q405 6 6	[...] י פלא נפלא [הוד ^ו] [ל...] ופלא ו ^ו [כבוד באור ^ו] [ל...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5	בדני רוח אורים [ל...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 2	[...] ונהי ^ו אור [ל...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3	[...] כרובי קודש אופני אור בד ^ו [ביר...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	[...] ד רקיע האור ירננו ממתחת מושב כבודו
4Q405 23 ii 8	בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור
4Q405 23 ii 9-10	כמעשי אופירים מאירי [או ^ו] ר ^ו (?)
4Q405 46 2	[...] אלוהי אורים בכול גור ^ו [ל...]
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 3	[...] כב ^ו וד מעשיו ובאו ^ו [ר...]
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 4	[...] ס אור וחושך ובדני ^ו [ל...]
11Q ^{SS} 5-6 2	[...] באור אורים הוד [ל...]
11Q ^{SS} o 1	[...] האור מ ^ו פל ^ו [א...]

אורה (n)

4Q404 5 4	[...] כ ^ו בוד באור אורתם דעת [ל...] (?)
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Note: parallel in 4Q403 1 i 45 reads אורתם. See אורתום/אורתם.

אורתום/אורתם (n)

4Q403 1 i 45	[...] הכ ^ו בוד באור אורתם דע ^ו [ת...]
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Note: parallel in 4Q404 5 4 reads אורותם. See אורה.

4Q403 1 ii 1	[...] אורתום רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי ^ו [ס...]
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אוש (n)

11Q ^{SS} 5-6 7	[...] וכול אושיהם [ל...]
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אחד (n)

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 14	[ו] רננו פקודיהם אחד א ^ו [ח] ד במעמד [ו...]
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אחרון (adj)

Mas ^{SS} i 3-4	עושה ראישונות [ל...] תיהם ואחרונות למועדיהם
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אין (n)

4Q400 1 i 14	וא ^ו [י] ו טמא בקודשיהם (?)
4Q405 23 i 10	ואיו במה דולג עלי חוק
4Q405 40 4	[...] אין ^ו [ל...] (?)

Masšš i 4-5	ואין בידעים נגלי [...] להבין לפני עשותו
	(n) איש
4Q400 2 2	ונוראים למוסדי אנשים
4Q400 2 2-3	פ[לא] מאלוהים ואנשים
4Q401 14 i 8	ונו[ראים למו]סדי אנשים
	(n) אל
4Q400 1 i 4	בעדה לכול אלי [...]
4Q400 1 i 20	[א...]ל[והי] אלים
4Q000 1 ii 9	[...] כבוד בסוד אל[ים].
4Q400 1 ii 17	[...] אלים ו[...]
4Q400 2 1	להלל כבודכה פלא באלי דעת
4Q400 2 7	[מה] תרומת לשון עפרנו בדעת אל[ים].
4Q401 14 i 5	[...]אלי אלים לר[...]
4Q401 16 1	[אלי]ם ירומ[מו].
4Q401 30 1	[...] אלי [...]
4Q402 4 8	כיא לאלוהי אלים [כל]י מ[ל]חמו[ת].
4Q402 6 3	[...]יכל[כלו] אלי [...]
4Q402 9 2	[א...]לוהי אלי[ם].
4Q403 1 i 4	יודה לאל הנכבד
4Q403 1 i 5	[תהלת] רנן ... לאל [ה]טוב
4Q403 1 i 18	[ו...]ברך לכול אי[לי]. בים דעת אמ[תו]. (?)
4Q403 1 i 21	הששי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם [...] אלים
4Q403 1 i 26	ל[א]ל[ו]הי אלים ב[...]
4Q403 1 i 30-31	הללו אלוהי מרומים הרמים בכול אלי דעת
4Q403 1 i 33	[ו...]רוממו רוממו למרום אלוהים מאלי רום
4Q403 1 i 38	הודו כל אלי הוד למ[ל]ך ההוד
4Q403 1 i 38	כיא לכבודו יודו כול אילי דעת
4Q403 1 ii 26	[...] לאל אלים מלך הטהור
4Q403 1 ii 33	[...] הפלא והלל לאדון כול איל[י].
4Q403 1 ii 35	למאיאי דעת בכול אלי אור[...]
4Q404 2 2	[...]רוש יברך בשם גבואו[ת] אל[ים].
4Q404 4 6	[...] הודו כול אלי[...]
4Q404 4 7	[אי...]לי דעת וכו[ל].
4Q405 6 8	[...]לאל[...]. אפסי [...]
4Q405 13 2	[...]כול איל[י].
4Q405 14-15 i 3	והלל פלאיהם לאל אלים[...]
4Q405 19 3	רוחי אלי עולמים כול[...]

4Q405 23 i 8	במבואי אלי דעת בפנחי כבוד
MasŠŠ i 9	[א...ל]והי אלים יושבי מרומי רומים
MasŠŠ i 11	[ד...ע]ת אלי עולמים
MasŠŠ ii 5	[...] כול אל[י...]
MasŠŠ ii 13	[...] יודו לאל הכבוד שבע[ה...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 5-6	מברכים ומהללים לאלוהי אלים
11QŠŠ c 1	[א...ל]והי אלי[ם...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 3	[א...ל]י עולמים[...]
11QŠŠ m 5	[א...ל]והי אלי[ם...]
11QŠŠ o 2	[...] תיו מבני אל[ים...]

(n) אלה

4Q401 16 4	מי יבין באלה
4Q402 4 11	כ[ו]ל אלה עשה פל[א...]
4Q403 1 i 41	באלה יהללו כול י[...]
4Q405 23 ii 10	אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרת

(n) אלוהות

4Q400 1 i 2	כול קדושי קדושים ובאלוהות[...]
4Q403 1 i 33-34	ואלוהות כבודו מעל לכול מרומי רום

(n) אלוהים/אלהים

4Q400 1 i 2	[...] ה אלוהי כול קדושי קדושים
4Q400 1 i 5	[...] אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח
4Q400 1 i 6	אלוהים vac לקרובי דעת [...]
4Q400 1 i 20	[א...ל]והי אלים (?)
4Q400 1 ii 7	[...] מלך אלוהים לשבעת מ[...]
4Q400 1 ii 20	[...] חסדי אלו[הים...]
4Q400 2 2	המה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים
4Q400 2 2-3	פ[לא] מאלוהים ואנשים
4Q400 2 5	[...] כבוד מלך אלוהים יספרו
4Q400 2 8	נרוממה לאלוהי דעת[...]
4Q400 3 i 3	[...] ל אלוהים שבעה [...]
4Q400 3 ii-5 8-9	[...] אלוהי הנכבד[ים...]
4Q400 4 i 3	[א...ל]והי[ם] (?)
4Q401 1 2	הללו לאל[והי...]
4Q401 1 5	[...] מלך אל[והי...]
4Q401 5 4	[...] בסוד אלוהים[...]
4Q401 11 2	[א...ל]והי דעת[ו]כ[...]
4Q401 14 i 8	המה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים

4Q401 28 1	[...] רת אלוה ^{ֹֿ} [...]...
4Q402 1 2	[...] בבואם עם אלוה ^{ֹֿ} [...]...
4Q402 3 i 2	[...] אלוהי [...]
4Q402 3 i 4	[...] לוהי [...]
4Q402 3 i 6	[...] אלוהים [...]
4Q402 3 ii 11	[...] אלוהים ב ^{ֹֿ} [...]
4Q402 3 ii 12	[...] למלך אלוהי [...]
4Q402 4 7	[...] יהם מלחמת אלוהים בק [...]
4Q402 4 8	כיא לאלוהי אלים [כל] י מ ^{ֹֿ} [ל] חמו ^{ֹֿ} [ת]...
4Q402 4 9	[...] אלוהים ירוצו לפקוד ^{ֹֿ} [תו]
4Q402 4 10	[...] אלוהים במלחמת שחקים והיתה ^{ֹֿ} [...]
4Q402 4 12	כיא מאלוהי דעת <u>נהיו כול</u> [...]
4Q402 9 2	[...] לוהי אלי ^{ֹֿ} [ס]...
4Q403 1 i 1	רומם לאלוהי ^{ֹֿ} [מ] לאכלי רום
4Q403 1 i 2-3	ושבח לאלוהי גבורות
4Q403 1 i 6	<u>זמר עוז</u> [לאלו] ה ^{ֹֿ} י קו ^{ֹֿ} [דש]
4Q403 1 i 10	<u>בשם כ</u> [בו] ד אלוהים
4Q403 1 i 26	ל ^{ֹֿ} [א] ל ^{ֹֿ} [ו] ה ^{ֹֿ} י אלים ב [...]
4Q403 1 i 30-31	הללו אלוהי מרומים הרמים בכול אלי דעת
4Q403 1 i 31 (read יקדישו)	יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד
4Q403 1 i 31-32	ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים שבחו לאלוה ^{ֹֿ} [י ת] שבחות הוד
4Q403 1 i 32-33	בה תשבחות כול אלוהים עם הדר כול מלכ [ותו].
4Q403 1 i 33	[...] רוממו רוממו למרום אלוהים מאלי רום
4Q403 1 i 36	<u>רננו מרנני</u> [...] רונן באלוהי פלא
4Q403 1 i 37	[...] אלוהים לכול מרנני דעת עד
4Q403 1 i 39-40	זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש
4Q403 1 i 39-40	זמרו ... ל ^{ֹֿ} [...] ר בשמחת אלוהים
4Q403 1 i 41-42	זמ ^{ֹֿ} [רו] אלו ^{ֹֿ} [הי נ] ורא כוח
4Q403 1 i 43	[...] רוחי אלוה ^{ֹֿ} [ים] להוד ^{ֹֿ} [ות]
4Q403 1 i 44	[...] רוחי קוד ^{ֹֿ} [ש] קודשים אלוהים חיים
4Q403 1 ii 5 (read לרוש)	[...] לה לדוש אלוהי [...]
4Q403 1 ii 6	[...] מכינותם ירוצו א ^{ֹֿ} [לו] הים כמראי גחלי [...]
4Q403 1 ii 8	[...] קודש ק ^{ֹֿ} [וד] שים רוחות אלוהים מראי עו ^{ֹֿ} [למים]...
4Q403 1 ii 9	ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה ל ^{ֹֿ} [...]
4Q403 1 ii 12	וקול הברך נשמע נכבד למשמע אלוהים
4Q403 1 ii 16	[...] ראשי תבנית אלוהים והללוהו בדביר קודשו
4Q404 3 3	[...] אלו ^{ֹֿ} הים למ ^{ֹֿ} [לך]...

4Q404 4 3	[...ברו]נָ באל[והי...]
4Q404 4 5	[...] אלוהים לכו[ל...]
4Q404 5 5	[...]מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים[...]
4Q405 3 i 14	[...]ממו לאלוהי [...]
4Q405 4 1	[...]מרום אלוה[ים...]
4Q405 6 5	[...]רוחי קוד[ש] קדשים[אלוהים חיים רו[חי] ק[ודש...]
4Q405 6 7	רוחות אלוהים סביבה למען [...]
4Q405 8-9 2	[...] הללו לאלוהי כול מ[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 4-5	[...] עולמים [...]ת אלוהים חיים מפותח באלמי מבואי מלך
4Q405 14-15 i 6	בדני אלוהים חיים [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 7	בדירי מלך בדנ[י א]ל[והים (?)
4Q405 15 ii-16 4	כול מחקת ה[ם]מה בדני אלו[הים...]
4Q405 18 3	[...]קו[דשים ברוח דממת אלוהי[ם...]
4Q405 19 2	ושבחו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק[...]
4Q405 19 4-5	[צ]ורות אלוהים חיים צורל רוחות מאירים
4Q405 19 5	רוקמה [ב]דני צורות אלוהים
4Q405 19 6	[רוח]י הוד והד[ר] אלוהים חיים כול מעשיהם
4Q405 19 7	קול דממת שקט אל[והי]ם מברכים [...]
4Q405 19 8	[...]אלו[הי]ם
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	וב[ר]כו בהרומם קול דממת אלוהים [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8	והמון רנה ברום כנפיהם קול [דממ]ת אלוהים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11	רוחות [א]לוהים חיים מתהלכים תמיד
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 13	ודממ[ת] ברך אלוהים בכול מחני אלוהים
4Q405 23 i 4	[...] פלא כל ימוטו לעולמים אלוהי [...]
4Q405 23 i 5	[...]לכל לכלם משאי כול כיא אלוהי כלילו [...]
4Q405 23 i 6	[...] כלילו הללוהו אלוה[י]ם[...]
4Q405 23 i 9-10	מברכים ומהללים כול רוחות אלוהים
4Q405 23 i 13	מורא מלך אלוהים נורא על [כו]ל אלוהים [...]
4Q405 23 ii 12	[ו]בכבו לאלוהי דעת בכול מעשי כבודו
4Q405 24 3	[...]מלכות כבוד מלך כול א[לוהים...]
4Q405 24 4	[...]בו[...]
4Q405 29 2	[...]אלוהים להם[...]
4Q405 30 2	[...]אלוהי [...]
4Q405 35 3	[...]אלוהים לא[...]
4Q405 44 3	[...]אלוהים [...]
4Q405 46 2	[...]אלוהי אורים בכול גור[ל...]
4Q406 1 2	[...]אלוהים[...]

MasŠŠ i 9	[א...ל]לוהיֹ לֹ אלִים יושבי מרומי רומים (?)
MasŠŠ ii 1	[...] ל [א]לוֹהִיֹ [...]
MasŠŠ ii 5	[...] כול אֵל [והי...]
MasŠŠ ii 10	[...] אלהים [...]
MasŠŠ ii 17	[...] זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבע[ה...]
MasŠŠ ii 24	[...] יברךֹ בשם כבוד אלוהים לך [ול...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 4	[...] רוחות אל [והי...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 3	[...] אֱלוֹהִים נוראי כוח כול [...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 3-4	בכוח אלוהי [עול]מים מרוממים גבורות אלו [הי...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 5	יש[מע] ו מקול משא אלוהים [...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 5-6	מברכים ומהללים לאלוהי אלִים
11QŠŠ 5-6 7	[...] סי אלוהי [...]
11QŠŠ c 1	[...] אל [והי אלי]ם [...]
11QŠŠ f 7	[...] אלוהים [...]
11QŠŠ h-i 6	[...] מֶלֶךְ כ [ו] אֵל [והי...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 2	[...] ב [ד] ני אלוהִיֹ ים [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 4	[...] אלוהי]ם חיים [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 6	[...] א [ל]ו [ו] הִים [...]
11QŠŠ k 3	[...] אלוהים [...]
11QŠŠ m 2	[...] א [לוהי כול] [...]
11QŠŠ m 5	[...] אלוהי אלִי]ם [...]
11QŠŠ o 4	[...] לאלוהי [...]
11QŠŠ o 6	[...] א [לוהים] [...]

אמר (n)

4Q403 1 i 35	לאמרי פִּיהו יִהְיוּ כ [ול...]
4Q405 23 i 10-11	ולוא על אמרי מלך בלי יתכובו

אמת (n)

4Q400 3 ii 3	[...] אמת צורי [...]
4Q403 1 i 12	[...] אֱמֶתוֹ לכול מע [מדיהם..] (?)
4Q403 1 i 18	[...] ברך לכול אֵל [לי...] בִּלְמָ דעת אמ [הו...]
4Q403 1 i 19-20	[...] טוהר בשבעה ד [ברי] רֹם אמת [ו...]
4Q403 1 i 38	וכל רוחות צדק יודו באמתו
4Q404 5 6	[...] מֶלֶךְ אמת [ו] צדק כול קירותו [...]
4Q405 3 i 12	[...] אֱמֶתוֹ [...]
4Q405 13 3-4	[ו] בֶּרֶךְ לכול נמהרי [...] אמתו
4Q405 17 3	[...] יהם רוחי דעת ובינה אמת [...]
4Q405 19 4	[ו] חי דעת אמת [ו] צדק

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 5	[...] אמת וצדק עולם[...]
4Q405 23 i 13	[...] לכול משלוחו בתוכן vac א[מ]תו (?)
MasŠŠ ii 4	[...] אמתו[...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 4-5	[...] ודש מלך הכבוד לכול מעשי אמת[...]
	אף (n)
4Q405 23 i 12	לוא ישפוט במושבי אפ כבודו
	אפוד (n)
4Q405 23 ii 5	[...] אפודיהם יפריש[...]
11QŠŠ 8-7 6	[...] אפוד[...]
	אפס (n)
4Q405 6 8	[...] לאל[...]
	ארבע (num)
4Q400 1 i 1	[...] השב[ת] הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראשון
4Q405 93 1	[...] רבעה[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 4-5	[...] מארבעת מוסדי רקיע הפלא
	ארג (v)
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג
4Q405 23 ii 10	וכל מחשביהם ממולח טוהר חשב כמעשי אורג
	אש (n)
4Q403 1 ii 9	ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה ל[...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 3	[...] מראי להבי אש[...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9-10	יצא ומבין [ג] לגלי כבודו כמראי אש
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10	רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי אש
	ב (prep with suffix)
4Q400 1 i 11, 15; 4Q400 2 6 (?); 4Q405 3 ii 1 (??--error for	בם
4Q405 23 i 10	במה
4Q403 1 i 32	בה
	בדן (n)
4Q401 33 2	[...] בדני[...]
4Q402 3 i 5	[...] בדני[...]
4Q403 1 ii 9	ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה ל[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5	בדני רוח אורים[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5	[מ...] לך בדני א[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 6	מעשי רוקמות פלא בדני אלוהים חיים
4Q405 14-15 i 7	בדירי מלך בדני א[...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 4	כול מחקת ה[...]
4Q405 19 2	ושבחהו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק[...]

4Q405 19 3	[...]בָּדַדְנִי [ני דב] יר מלך
4Q405 19 5	רוקמה [ב] דְּנִי צוֹרוֹת אֱלוֹהִים
4Q405 19 6-7	כֹּל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וְצוֹרוֹת בְּדַנְיָהֶם
4Q405 38 2	[...]בָּדַנִי [...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9	[...]ם אור וחושך ובדנִי [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 2	[...]בד[ני אלוה]ים [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 2	[...]ב[דני כב]וד [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 6	[...]וצור[וח בדניהם מ]לאכי [...]
11QŠŠ m 3	[...]בדני פ[לא] [...]
בוא (v)	
4Q402 1 2	[...] בבואם עם אֱלֹהִים [...]
4Q402 8 4	[...]סל יבואו ס [...]
בין (v)	
4Q401 16 4	מִי יִבִּין בֵּאלֹהִים
4Q401 20 2	[...]נָבוֹן בְּמַעַל [שי] [...]
4Q402 4 14	[...]לְהִבִּין לִפְנֵי עֹשֵׂה [שותו] [...]
MasŠŠ i 4-5	ואין בידעים נגלי [...]לְהִנִּין לִפְנֵי עֲשׂוֹתוֹ
11QŠŠ a 1	[...]וּמִבִּין [...]
בין (n)	
4Q403 1 i 37	ושופט בגבורתו לכול רוחי בין
בין (prep)	
4Q403 1 ii 6; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9, 14	
בינה (n)	
4Q400 1 i 6	[...]דַּעַת עִם בִּינֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ
4Q400 2 9	[...]ק]ודש ובינתו מכול ידע[י] [...]
4Q401 17 4	[...]ה יו[ד]עִי בִּינֹת נֹס[תרות] [...]
4Q402 3 ii 7	[...]אור ובינ[ה] [...]
4Q402 4 3	[...]כ]בינתו חרת ח[וקיו] [...]
4Q403 1 ii 23	ודעת בינתם לשבע[] [...]
4Q405 17 3	[...]יהם רוחי דעת ובינה אמת [...]
4Q405 23 ii 13	[...]ב]דַּעַת בִּינֹתוֹ וּבִשְׁכָּל [כב]וֹדוֹ
11QŠŠ 5-6 1	[...]פלא דעת ובינ[ה] [...]
ביו (n)	
4Q405 15 ii-16 6	[...]ס פלא מביתה ליקסָה הדביר [...]
בלי (adv) / בלי (n)	
4Q405 23 i 4; MasŠŠ i 1	בל
4Q405 23 i 11	בלי

(n) במה

4Q403 1 ii 2

[...] במוֹתֵי דַעַת וּבִהְדוּם רַגְלֵיוֹ גֹּ [...]

(n) בן

11Q55 o 2

[...] תִּיּוֹ מִבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים [...]

(prep) בעד

4Q400 1 i 16; 4Q400 3 i 1

(v) ברך

4Q400 3 ii 5

[...] לְבָרַךְ לִידְעִי [...]

4Q401 13 3

[...השלי] שִׁי בְכוּהֲנֵי רוֹשׁ מִבְּרֹךְ [...]

4Q401 38 1

[...] בְּרֹכּוֹ [...]

4Q403 1 i 16

יְבָרֵךְ בְּשֶׁבַע [ע] הַ דְּבָרֵי פֶלֶא

4Q403 1 i 16

וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל [...] יְצִדֵּק

4Q403 1 i 17

יְבָרֵךְ בֶּשׁ [ם] הוֹ [ד] הַמֶּלֶךְ

4Q403 1 i 17

וּבְרֹךְ לִיּוֹסֵד [...] יְ

4Q403 1 i 18

[...ו] בְּרֹךְ לְכֹל אֵי [...] לִי [...] בְּיָמֵי דַעַת אִמְ[תוּ] [...]

4Q403 1 i 19

[...] יְבָרֵךְ בֶּשֶׁם [...] נִפְלְאוֹתָיו לְ[כוּ]ל [...] [...]

4Q403 1 i 20

[...וב] רֹךְ לְכֹל מוֹדֵי לוֹ

4Q403 1 i 21

הַשֵּׁשִׁי בְּנִשְׁאֵי רוֹשׁ יְבָרֵךְ בֶּשֶׁם [...] אֱלִים

4Q403 1 i 22

וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל תְּמִימֵי דֶרֶךְ

4Q403 1 i 23

וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל חוֹכֵי לוֹ

4Q403 1 i 23-24

[השב] יְעִי בְּנִשְׁאֵי רוֹשׁ יְבָרֵךְ בֶּשֶׁם קוֹדֶשׁוֹ

4Q403 1 i 25

וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל נוֹ [עדי] צִדְקָה [...]

4Q403 1 i 27

[...ו] בְּרֹכּוֹ לְנוֹעֲדֵי צִדֵּק

4Q403 1 i 27

וְכֹל בְּרוּכִים [...]

4Q403 1 i 28

בְּרוּךְ [ה] אֱדוֹ [ו] מֶלֶךְ [ה] כֹּל

4Q403 1 i 28

[...] סִימָּה מְבָרַכְ[ו] יְ

4Q403 1 i 29

[וב] רֹךְ לְכֹל בְּרוּכֵי עַד

4Q403 1 ii 15

וּבְרֹכּוֹ פֶלֶא כְּרוּבִיהֶם וְאוֹפְנִיָּה [...] ס]

4Q404 2 1

[...] דְּבָרֵי פֶלֶא וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל [...]

4Q404 2 2

[...] רוֹשׁ יְבָרֵךְ בֶּשֶׁם גְּבוּרָתוֹ [ה] אֱלֹהִים [...]

4Q404 2 3

וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל תְּמִימֵי [י] דֶּרֶךְ

4Q404 2 4

וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל חוֹכֵי לוֹ

4Q404 2 5

[...ר] וְשׁ יְבָרֵךְ בֶּשֶׁם [...]

4Q404 2 6

[...] וּבְרֹךְ לְכֹל מְ[רִימֵי] [...]

4Q404 2 11

[...מ] בְּרֹכִיו [...]

4Q404 16 2

[...ב] רֹךְ [...] (?)

4Q405 3 ii 1 (error for יְבָרֵךְ ?)

[...ו] בֶּשֶׁם לִידְוֹעַ [...] יְ

4Q405 3 ii 2	[...דְּבָרִי פֶּלֶא וְבִרְךָ בְּשִׁבְעָה וְזָכַרְוּ...]
4Q405 3 ii 5	[...יְבָרֵךְ בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרִי פֶּלֶא וְבִרְךָ לְכוּל[...צ]דָּק
4Q405 3 ii 6	[...] בְּנִשְׁאֵלִי רוֹשׁ יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁם ה[וֹד...]
4Q405 3 ii 7	וְבִרְךָ לִיסוּדִי ה[ו]דְּ בְּשִׁבְעָה[...ה]
4Q405 3 ii 17	[...] לְמַגְנִי עוֹז וּב[רָךְ...]
4Q405 13 3	[...] פֶּלֶא יִבְרַךְ בְּשִׁם[...]
4Q405 13 3-4	[ו]בִרְךָ לְכוּל נִמְהָרִי [...]
4Q405 13 4-5	הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּמִשְׁנִי [נִשְׁאֵלִי פֶּלֶא יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁם גִּבּוֹר[וֹרוֹת...]
4Q405 13 6	[וּב]רְךָ לְכוּל הַמִּימִי דִרְךָ[...]
4Q405 15ii-16 5	[...] פְּרֻכּוֹת דְּבִירִי הַפֶּלֶא וּבִרְכוּ ל[...]
4Q405 19 7	קוֹל דְּמִמּוֹ שְׁקֵט אֶל[וְהִי] מְבָרְכִים [...]
4Q405 20ii-21-22 7	וּב[רָךְ] כּוֹ בְּהִירוֹתָם קוֹל דְּמִמַּת אֱלֹהִים [...]
4Q405 20ii-21-22 8	תְּבִנִית כֶּסֶף מְרַכְבָּה מְבָרְכִים מִמַּעַל לְרִקְיעַ הַכְּרוּבִים
4Q405 23 i 9-10	מְבָרְכִים וּמַהֲלִילִים כּוֹל רוּחוֹת אֱלֹהִים
4Q405 23 ii 12	[ו]בִרְכוּ לְאֱלֹהֵי דָעַת בְּכוּל מַעֲשֵׂי כְבוֹדוֹ
4Q405 29 1	[...] וְבִרְךָ[...]
MasŠŠ ii 24	[...וְבִרְךָ] בִּשְׁם כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהִים (?)
MasŠŠ ii 25	[...דְּבָרִי פֶּלֶא לְבִרְךָ כּוֹל סוּדִי[הֵם...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 9	[...] וּבִרְכוּ בְּהִירוֹמָם[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 5-6	מְבָרְכִים וּמַהֲלִילִים לְאֱלֹהֵי אֱלִים
11QŠŠ h-i 8	[...] פֶּלֶא לְבִרְךָ [...]
11QŠŠ h-i 9	[פ...] לֹא [י]בִרְךָ בִּי[...]

(n) בִּרְךָ

4Q403 1 ii 11	וְקוֹל בִּרְךָ מִרְאשֵׁי דְבִירוֹ [...]
4Q403 1 ii 12	וְקוֹל הַבִּרְךָ נִשְׁמָע נִכְבֵּד לְמִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים
4Q403 1 ii 13	[...] הַבִּרְךָ וְכוּל מַחֲשַׁבִּי הַדְּבִיר
4Q403 1 ii 32	[...] הַפֶּלֶא vac [...]
4Q404 7 3	[...] לְבִרְךָ[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 2	[...] לְשׁוֹן בִּרְךָ וּמִדְמוֹת [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 3	[...] וּלְבִרְךָ לְמַלְךְ מְרוֹמָמִים
4Q405 20ii-21-22 12	וְקוֹל דְּמִמַּת בִּרְכָּה בְּהִמּוֹן לְכַתֵּם
4Q405 20ii-21-22 13	וּדְמָמָה[ה] בִּרְךָ אֱלֹהִים בְּכוּל מַחֲנֵי אֱלֹהִים (?)
4Q405 23 i 7	וְקוֹל בִּרְךָ מְכוּל מִפְּלָגִיו

(n) בְּרַכָּה

4Q403 1 i 28	וּבְרוּךְ [ה]אֲדָו[ו] מֶלֶךְ[ה] כּוֹל מַעֲלָה לְכוּל בְּרַכָּה וְת[...]
MasŠŠ ii 19	[...] פֶּלֶא שְׁבַע תְּהִלֵּי בְּרֻכּוֹתֵיו
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 2-3	[ת...] עוֹדוֹתֵיו [ו]כּוֹל בְּרֻכּוֹת שְׁלוֹמ[ו...]

11Q⁵⁵ q 4

[...ה] הֵלִי בִּרְכוֹת כְּבוֹד ה[...]

גבול (n)

4Q400 1 i 13

[...] בַּגְּבוּלָם וּבִנְחֻלָּתָם [...]

4Q403 1 ii 21

[...] רוֹם שְׁבַעַת גְּבוּלֵי פֶלֶא בְּחֻקֵּי מִקְדָּשִׁי

4Q403 1 ii 27

[...] שְׁבַע רָזִי דַעַת בְּרַז הַפֶּלֶא לְשִׁבְעַת גְּבוּלֵי קוֹדֶשׁ [...]

4Q405 23 i 11

לֹא יִרְצוּ מִדֶּרֶךְ וְלֹא יִתְמַהֲמְהוּ מִגְּבוּלֹ

4Q405 44 1

[...שְׁבַע] עַת גְּבוּלֵי קוֹדֶשׁ [...]

4Q405 55 1

[...גְּבוּלָם [...]

גבור (n)

4Q402 1 4

[...גְּבוּ] רָתַם לְגִבּוּרֵי עוֹז

4Q403 1 i 2

לְגִבּוּר אֶל כּוֹלָם [...]

4Q403 1 i 21-22

יִבְרַךְ ... לְכוֹל גִּבּוּרֵי שְׁכָל בְּשִׁבְעָה [ד] בְּרִי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא

4Q405 13 5

[...גְּבוּ] רֵי שְׁכָל בְּדַעַת עוֹלָמִים בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא

גבורה (n)

4Q402 1 4

[...גְּבוּ] רָתַם לְגִבּוּרֵי עוֹז (?)

4Q402 3 ii 10

[...] גְבוּרָתוֹ צ' [...]

4Q402 8 3

[...] סְ הַגְּבוּרָה ס' [...]

4Q403 1 i 2

בְּשִׁבַּע גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא

4Q403 1 i 2-3

וּשְׁבַח לְאֱלוֹהֵי גְבוּרוֹת

4Q403 1 i 21-22

יִבְרַךְ ... לְכוֹל גִּבּוּרֵי שְׁכָל בְּשִׁבְעָה [ד] בְּרִי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא

4Q403 1 i 37

וּשׁוּפֵט בְּגִבּוּרָתוֹ לְכוֹל רוּחֵי בֵּין

4Q403 1 i 39

וּיִרְצוּ דַעַתָם ... וְהוֹדוּתָם בְּמִשׁוֹב יָד גְבוּרָתוֹ

4Q404 2 2

[...] רוּשׁ יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם גְבוּרוֹ [ה] אֶל [יִם] [...]

4Q405 13 4-5

הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּמִשְׁנֵי [נְשִׁי] אֵי פֶלֶא יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם גְבוּ [וֹרוֹת] [...]

4Q405 13 5

[...גְּבוּ] רֵי שְׁכָל בְּדַעַת עוֹלָמִים בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא

4Q405 17 4

[...] טוֹהַר מִלְּאֲכֵי כְבוֹד בְּגִבּוּרָת [...]

11Q⁵⁵ 3-4 5

[...גְּבוּ] רָתַם פֶּלֶא [?] [...]

11Q⁵⁵ 5-6 3-4

בְּכוֹחַ אֱלוֹהֵי [עוֹלָם] מִיָּם מְרוֹמְמִים גְבוּרוֹת אֱלוֹ [הִי] [...]

גבר (v)

4Q400 1 i 9

וְחֻק בְּחֻק יִגְבְּרוּ לְשִׁבְעָה [...]

4Q401 3 3

[...תְּגָ] בְּרִי שְׁבַע לְנִשְׂאָ [י] [...]

4Q401 3 4

[...מְ] שְׁנִיָּהּ הַגְּבֵר [...]

4Q401 14 ii 5

[...] יִגְבֵּר א' [...]

4Q403 1 ii 28

[...וּלְשׁ] וֹן הַשֵּׁל [יִשִּׁי] הַגְּבֵר שְׁבַע [ה] [...]

4Q405 11 2-3

[...] מְשִׁנֵּי תִּגְבֵּר מְלִשְׁשִׁי לוֹ

4Q405 11 3

[ו] לְשׁוֹן שְׁלִישִׁי תִּגְבֵּר [...]

4Q405 11 3-4	[ה]רֹב[י] עי תגבר שבעה בלשון החמישי לֹו
4Q405 11 4	ולשון החמישי תגבר ש[בעה...] לֹו
4Q405 11 4-5	ולשון הששי תגבר[ר] שבעה בלשון ה[שב] יעי לֹו
	גדול (adj)
4Q403 1 ii 34	[...] ראוש פלאיו להלל גדול[?] (??--restore תגדול?) (??) [...]
	גדולה (n)
4Q400 3 i 5	[...] דולות [...]
MasŠŠ ii 6	[...] גדול[ו]ו[...]
	גדיל (n)
4Q405 15ii-16 1	[...] גדיל שפה[...]
	גדל (v)
4Q405 3 i 11	[...] וגדל [...]
	גדל (n)
4Q403 1 i 7-8	[...] שב[ע] תהל[ל] י גדל[...]
4Q404 1 3	[...] תהל[ל] י גדל[...]
4Q405 3 i 10	[...] גדל[...]
4Q405 12 3	[...] בגדל [...]
4Q405 74 2	[...] תהלי גד[ל...]
	גורל (n)
4Q405 46 2	[...] אלוהי אורים בכול גור[ל...] (??) [...]
	גחל (n)
4Q403 1 ii 6	[...] מבינותם ירוצו א[לו]הים כמראי גחל[...]
	גיל (v)
4Q405 23 i 6-7	וכול * [...][רקיע] י הטוהר יגילו בכבודו
	גיל (n)
4Q403 1 i 40	וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא
	גילה (n)
4Q405 20ii-21-22 12-13	ובשוכן [יעמ] ודו קול גילוה רנה השקיט
	גלגל (n)
4Q405 20ii-21-22 9-10	יצא ומבין [ג]לגלי כבודו כמראי אש
	גלה (v)
MasŠŠ i 4-5	ואין בידעים נגלי [...][להבין לפני עשוהו]
	דביר (n)
4Q400 1 i 4	[...] משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו
4Q402 2 4	[...] בדביר מלך * [...]
4Q402 7 2	[...] ואור בדב[יר...]
4Q403 1 ii 10	ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו דביר[?] (??) [...]

4Q403 1 ii 11	וקול ברך מראשי דבירו [...]
4Q403 1 ii 13	[...] הברך וכול מחשבי הדביר
4Q403 1 ii 13	יחושו בונהלי פלא בדבירי[ר...] (?)
4Q403 1 ii 14	[...] פלא דביר לדביר בקול המיני קודש
4Q403 1 ii 15	והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו
4Q403 1 ii 16	[...] ראשי תבניות אלוהים והללוהו בדביר קודש
4Q405 7 7	[שב...] עת דבירי כהוננו[ת...] [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 6	[...] דבירי כבוד מבנית [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 7	בדבירי מלך בדנ[י א]ל[והים...] [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 8	[...] דביר מל[ר...] (?)
4Q405 15 ii-16 3	[...] תפארת בפרוקת דביר המלך ... [...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 4	[...] בדביר פנו רוקמת[ת] [...] [...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 5	[...] פרכות דבירי הפלא וברכו ל[...] [...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 6	[...] פלא מביתה ליקסה הדביר [...] [...]
4Q405 18 2	[...] לכלכל קדושים דביר מ[ת] [...] [...]
4Q405 18 4	[...] דביר ימהרו מקול הכבו[ד] [...] [...]
4Q405 19 2	[...] דבירי[ר] [...] (?)
4Q405 19 2-3	[...] כבוד מדרס דבירי פלא
4Q405 19 3	[...] בד[ני דב]יר מלך (?)
4Q405 19 7	מתחת לד[בירי] הפלא (?)
4Q405 20ii-21-22 1	[...] דבירי כול כוהני קורב[ן] (?)
4Q405 20ii-21-22 3	[...] כרובי קודש אופני אור בד[ביר] [...] [...]
4Q405 38 1	[...] בדבירי [...] (?)
4Q405 88 1	[...] בדביר[ר] [...] [...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 6	[...] מרכבות הדרו ולדבירי קו[דש] [...] [...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 3	[...] בדבירי כבודו לוא ישב[ו] [...] [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 3	[...] דבירי[ר] [...] [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 6	[...] לדבירי [...] (?)
11QŠŠ k 1	[...] דביר [...] [...]

דבק (n)

4Q405 19 5	ק[וד]שי דבקי פלא (?)
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דבר (n)

4Q400 3 i 11	[...] דבירי [...] (?)
4Q400 3 ii 4	[...] ושבעה דבירי [...] [...]
4Q400 3 ii-5 5-6	[...] שב[ע]ה דבירי פלא [...] [...]
4Q403 1 i 1	שבעה בשבעה דבירי רומי פלא
4Q403 1 i 3	שבעה בשבעה[ה] דבירי תשבוח[ות] [...] [...]

4Q403 1 i 4	שְׁ[בַעַה בֶּשׁ]בְּ[עַה דָּב]רִי הַדּוֹת פְּלוֹא
4Q403 1 i 7	שְׁבַעַה בְּ[שְׁבַעַה דְּ]בְרִי זִמְ[רִי...]
4Q403 1 i 11	[...בְּשַׁבְּ]עָה דְּ[בְּ]רִי פֶל[א...]
4Q403 1 i 12	[...בְּ]שַׁבְּ[עָה] דְּבִרְ[י...]
4Q403 1 i 12	[...בְּ]שְׁבַעַה דְּבִרִי [...]
4Q403 1 i 13	[...ה]מֶלֶךְ בְּשַׁבְּעַתְּ דְּ[בְרִי] כֹּל[בְּ]וֹ[דְּ]נָ[פְּלֹאוֹתִיו...]
4Q403 1 i 14	[...רִוִּי]מִי [דְּ]עֹת בְּשַׁבְּ[עָה דְּ]בְרִי רִו[וֹ]ם
4Q403 1 i 16	יִבְרַכְּ בְּשַׁבְּ[עָה] דְּבִרִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 16	[...דְּ]בְרִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 17	בְּ[שַׁבְּ]עָה דְּבִרִי הָ[...]
4Q403 1 i 17-18	בְּשַׁבְּ[עָה] דְּבִרְ[י...]
4Q403 1 i 18	[...בְּשַׁבְּעָה] דְּבִרִי צִדִּיק לְרַחֲמִי [...]
4Q403 1 i 19-20	בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּ[בְרִי] רוֹם אִמְתָּ[ו...]
4Q403 1 i 20	[...וּבְ]רִי[ךְ] לְכוֹל מוֹדִי לוֹ בְּשַׁבְּעָה [דְּב]רִי הוֹד
4Q403 1 i 21-22	זִבְרַךְ ... בְּשַׁבְּעָה [דְּ]בְרִי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא
4Q403 1 i 22	וּבְרַךְ לְכוֹל וְנִמְיָמִי דֶּרֶךְ בְּ[שַׁבְּ]עָה דְּבִרִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 24	וּבְרַךְ ... בְּשַׁבְּ[עָה] דְּבִרִי קוֹדֶשׁ פֶּלֶא[ו...]
4Q403 1 i 25	בְּשַׁבְּ[עָה דְּב]רִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 26	בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּ[בְרִי] ... לְ[שְׁלוֹם] עוֹלָמִים
4Q403 1 ii 30	לְפִי שׁוֹבוּעֵי דְּ[בְרִי...] (?)
4Q403 1 ii 31	[...] בְּתַהֲלֵי פֶלֶא בְּדָבְ[רִי] פֶּלֶא[...]
4Q404 2 1	[...] דְּבִרִי פֶלֶא וּבְרַךְ לְכוֹל[...]
4Q404 2 4	וּבְרַךְ ... [בְּשַׁבְּ]עָה דְּבִרִי פֶּלֶא[...]
4Q405 3 ii 2	[...דְּ]בְרִי פֶלֶא וּבְרַךְ בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרְ[י...]
4Q405 3 ii 3	[...] דְּבִרִי כְבוֹד נְפִלְאוֹתוֹ
4Q405 3 ii 4	לְכוֹל רוֹמֵי דְּעוֹת בְּשַׁבְּעוֹת דְּ[בְרִי רִו]ם
4Q405 3 ii 5	[...] בְּרַךְ בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי פֶלֶא
4Q405 3 ii 8	[...] בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי צִדִּיק לְרַחֲ[מִי...]
4Q405 3 ii 13	[...] שְׁכַל בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי[...]
4Q405 3 ii 16	[...] דְּעַת בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּ[בְרִי...]
4Q405 3 ii 18	[...] דְּבִרִי פֶלֶא לְשַׁלּוֹם[...]
4Q405 13 2	[...דְּב]רִי טוֹב לְרַחֲמִי כְבוֹדוֹ
4Q405 13 3	[...] טוֹהַר בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי רוֹם טוֹהַר
4Q405 13 3-4	[ו]בְּרַךְ ... בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי[...]
4Q405 13 4	[...] לְוֹ בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי הוֹד כְּבוֹדוֹ
4Q405 13 5	בְּשַׁבְּעָה דְּבִרִי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא
4Q405 13 6-7	[...] בְּשַׁבְּ[עָה דְּ]בִרְ[י...]

- 4Q405 33 3 (ד...) ברִיִּי [...] (?)
- MasSS i 2 [...] כֹּל דְּבַרִּי דְּעֹת (?)
- MasSS ii 3 [...] דְּבַרִּי [...]
- MasSS ii 23 [...] ש... בְּעָה בְּשַׁבְעָה דְּבַרִּי פִּלָּא דְּב[רי] [...]
- MasSS ii 25 [...] ד... בְּרִי פִּלָּא לְבִרְךְ כֹּל סוּדִי[הם] [...]
- דגל (n)
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 [...] וּמִבִּין כּוֹךְ דְּגַלְיָהּ[ם] בַּעֲבֹר[...]
- דלג (n)
- 4Q405 23 i 10 ואִין בְּמָה דּוֹלֵג עַלִּי חוֹךְ
- דמות (n)
- 4Q405 14-15 i 2 [...] דְּמוֹת פִּלָּא רּוּחַ קוֹדֵשׁ[ש] קוֹדְשִׁים מִפּוֹנֵה[ח] [...]
- 4Q405 14-15 i 2 [...] שׁוֹן בִּרְךְ וּמִדְמוֹת [...] [...]
- 4Q405 14-15 i 7 [...] דְּבִירִי מֶלֶךְ בְּדֹנִי אֶל[והים ומ] דְּמוֹת [...] [...]
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 [...] כְּדְמוֹת חֲשֵׁמֶל וּמַעֲשֵׂי [נ] וְגַה
- 4Q405 23 ii 9 [...] וְדְמוֹת רּוּחַ כְּבוֹד כְּמַעֲשֵׂי אוֹפִירִים
- דממה (n)
- 4Q401 16 2 [...] י... שְׁמִיעוּ בְּדִמְמַת [...] (?)
- 4Q402 9 3 [...] י... שְׁמִיעוּ בְּדִמְמַת [...] (?)
- 4Q405 18 3 [...] קו... דְּשִׁים בְּרוּחַ דְּמִמּוֹ אֱלוֹהִי[ם] [...] [...]
- 4Q405 18 5 [...] ה... הָלִי פִּלָּא בְּדִמְמַת ק[וֹל] [...] [...]
- 4Q405 19 7 [...] קוֹל דְּמִמּוֹ שְׁקֵט אֶל[והים] מְבַרְכִּים [...] [...]
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7 [...] וּב[ר] כֹּן בְּהִירוֹמָם קוֹל דְּמִמַּת אֱלוֹהִים [...] [...]
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8 [...] וְהַמּוֹן רְנָה בְּרוּם כְּנַפְיָהֶם קוֹל [דְּמַמ]ת אֱלוֹהִים (?)
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12 [...] וְקוֹל דְּמִמַּת בִּרְכַּת בְּהַמּוֹן לַכְתָּם
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 13 [...] וְדִמְמַת[וֹ] בִּרְךְ אֱלוֹהִים בְּכֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלוֹהִים
- דעה (n)
- 4Q401 35 1 [...] ש... כֹּל וְדַעַה יוֹדְעִי [...] [...]
- דעו (n)
- 4Q400 1 i 6 [...] דְּעַת עִם בִּינּוֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ
- 4Q400 1 i 6 [...] אֱלוֹהִים vac לְקִרְוֵי דַעַת [...] [...]
- 4Q400 1 i 11 [...] [...] מְדַעַת [...] [...]
- 4Q400 1 i 17 [...] [...] דְּעוֹת בְּכוֹהֲנֵי קוֹרֵב
- 4Q400 2 1 [...] לְהַלֵּל כְּבוֹדָהּ פִּלָּא בְּאֵלֵי דַעַת
- 4Q400 2 3 [...] וּסְפְרוּ הוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ כְּדַעַתָּם
- 4Q400 2 7 [...] [...] תְּרוֹמַת לְשׁוֹ עִפְרָנוּ בְּדַעַת אֶל[ים] [...] [...]
- 4Q400 2 8 [...] [...] נְרוֹמְמָה לְאֱלוֹהֵי דַעַת [...] [...]
- 4Q400 2 11 [...] [...] רּוּ לְשׁוֹנֵי [...] דְּעַת [...] חוֹקִי [...] (?)

4Q401 11 2	[...] לֹוְהִי דַעַת וְכֹ[...]
4Q401 18 1	[...] מַדְעַת [...]
4Q401 26 1	[...] מַדְעַת [...]
4Q402 4 2	[...] ים וּפְלַג דַּעַת [...]
4Q402 4 6	[...] מַכְּ לְכָלִי מַחֲשַׁב [תו] וְדַעַת קְדוֹ [שִׁי...]
4Q402 4 12	כִּי־א מֵאלוֹהִי דַעַת נִהְיוּ כּוֹל [...]
4Q403 1 i 14	[...] מִי [ד] עֹנֶה בְּשִׁ [בַּעַת ד] כְּרִי ר [ו] ׀
4Q403 1 i 14-16	וּלְכּוֹל [...] דַּעַת [...] (?)
4Q403 1 i 18	[...] בְּרַךְ לְכוֹל אֵי [לִי...] בִּיִּם דַּעַת אִם [תו...]]
4Q403 1 i 24	יִבְרַךְ ... לְכוֹל קְדוֹשִׁים מִמִּסְדֵּי ד [עַת]
4Q403 1 i 30-31	הִלְלוּ אֱלֹוִהִי מְרוֹמִים הִרְמִים בְּכוֹל אֵלֵי דַעַת
4Q403 1 i 34-35	בְּרַצֹּן דַּעַתֹּו לֹא־מִרִי פִיהוּ
4Q403 1 i 35-36	[בְּרַצֹּן דַּעַתֹּו כּוֹל מַעֲשִׂיו בְּמִשְׁלַחֹם
4Q403 1 i 36	וְהִגּוּ כְבוֹדוֹ בְּלִשׁוֹן כּוֹל הוֹגִי דַּעַת
4Q403 1 i 37	[...] אֱלֹוִהִים לְכוֹל מְרַנְנֵי דַּעַתֹּו עַד
4Q403 1 i 38	כִּי־א לְכָבוֹד יוֹדוּ כּוֹל אֵילֵי דַּעַת
4Q403 1 i 39	וּיִרְצוּ דַּעַתֹּם בְּמִשְׁפָּטֵי פִיהוּ
4Q403 1 i 45	[...] הַכְּ בֹוֹד בְּאוֹר אֹוֶרְתָם דַּעַת [...]]
4Q403 1 ii 2	[...] בְּמוֹתֵי דַּעַת וּבִהְדוּם רַגְלִיו ג [...]]
4Q403 1 ii 23	וְדַעַת בִּינְתָם לִשְׁבַּע [...]]
4Q403 1 ii 27	[...] שְׁבַע רְזִי דַּעַת בְּרַז הַפֶּלֶא
4Q403 1 ii 35	לְמֵאִירֵי דַּעַת בְּכוֹל אֵלֵי אֹוֶר [...]]
4Q404 4 2	[...] בְּרַצֹּן וֹן [ד] עֵתוּ [...] רַנְנֹו [...]]
4Q404 4 4	[...] דַּעַת רַנְנֹו [...]]
4Q404 4 7	[...] אֵי [...] לִי דַּעַת כּוֹ [...]]
4Q404 5 4	[...] כְּ [...] בֹוֹד בְּאוֹר אֹוֶרְתָם דַּעַת [...]]
4Q404 11 4	[...] דַּעַת [...]]
4Q405 3 ii 4	[...] רוֹם מַלְכוּתוֹ לְכוֹל רוֹמֵי דַּעַת
4Q405 3 ii 16	[...] דַּעַת בְּשִׁבְעָה ד [בְּרִי...]]
4Q405 6 3	[...] דַּעַת וְאוֹר לְמִשְׁא יַח [ד...]]
4Q405 13 5	[...] גְּ [...] בֹוֹרֵי שְׁכָל בְּדַעַת עוֹלָמִים
4Q405 17 3	[...] יֵהֶם רוּחֵי דַּעַת וּבִינָה דַּעַת [...]]
4Q405 19 4	[רו] חֵי דַּעַת אִמְתָּ [ו] צִדְקָה
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	[...] דַּעַת יִפְּלוּ לִפְנֹו
4Q405 23 i 8	בְּמִבּוֹאֵי אֵלֵי דַּעַת בְּפִתְחֵי כְבוֹד
4Q405 23 ii 12	בְּרָאשֵׁי תְּרוֹמוֹת לְשׁוֹנֵי דַּעַת
4Q405 23 ii 12	[ו] בְּרַכּוֹ לְאֱלֹוִהִי דַּעַת בְּכוֹל מַעֲשֵׂי כְבוֹדוֹ

4Q405 23 ii 13	[ב...] [ֹ] דַעַת בִּינָתוֹ וּבִשְׁכַּל [כב] וְדֹ
4Q405 74 1	[...] ע בשבע דַּעַת [...] [ֹ]
4Q405 74 2	[...] יקדש ודַּעַת מ [...] [ֹ]
MasŠŠ i 2	[...] כֹּל דְּבָרֵי דַּעַת נְהוּי כָּל הוּי עַד [ֹ]
MasŠŠ i 3	ומדעתו [...] תִּיּוֹ הִיּוֹ כֹּל תַּעֲוִדוֹת עוֹלָמִים [ֹ]
MasŠŠ i 11	[ד...] עַת אֵלֵי עוֹלָמִים [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 5	[...] לַמַּלְאכִי הַדַּעַת בְּכֹל מֶלְ [...] [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 3-4 5	[...] כִּנְפֵי דַּעַת [...] [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 5-6 1	[...] פֶּלֶא דַּעַת וּבִינָה [...] [ֹ]

(n) דרך

4Q400 1 i 14	לוא יכלכלו כֹּל נְ עוּי דרך [ֹ]
4Q400 1 i 16	[...] לְ כֹל נְעוּי דרך [ֹ]
4Q403 1 i 22	וּבְרַךְ לְכֹל תַּמִּימֵי דרך [ֹ]
4Q404 2 3	וּבְרַךְ לְכֹל תַּמִּימֵי [י] דרך [ֹ]
4Q405 13 6	[וב] רַךְ לְכֹל תַּמִּימֵי דִרְ [...] [ֹ]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12	וְהַלְלוּ קוֹדֶשׁ כְּהִשִּׁיב דְּרָכֵיהֶם [ֹ]
4Q405 23 i 11	לוא יִרְוְצוּ מִדֶּרֶךְ וּלְוֹא יִתְמַהֲמְהוּ מִגְּבוּלוֹ [ֹ]
11QŠŠ a 3	[ד...] רַךְ כְּהִמּוֹן [...] (?) [ֹ]

(v) הגה

4Q403 1 i 36	וְהִגּוּ כְבוֹדוֹ בְּלִשׁוֹן כֹּל הוּגִי דַּעַת [ֹ]
4Q403 1 i 36-37	רְנוֹת פֶּלֶא בְּפִי כֹל הוּגִי [...] [ֹ]

(n) הדום

4Q403 1 ii 2	[...] בְּמוֹתֵי דַּעַת וּבַהֲדוּם רַגְלֵיּוֹ גְ [...] [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 5-6	[...] הוּ מִשְׁאֵי קוֹדֶשׁ לְכִסְאֵי כְבוֹדוֹ וּלְהִדּוּם רְ [...] [ֹ]

(n) הדר

4Q401 32 2	[ה...] דֶּר מֶלְ [כֹּת...] [ֹ]
4Q401 36 2	[...] בְּהִדֶּר לִי [...] [ֹ]
4Q403 1 i 32	כִּי בַהֲדֶר תִּשְׁבַּחוּת כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ [ֹ]
4Q403 1 i 32-33	בִּה תִּשְׁבַּחוּת כֹּל אֱלֹהִים עִם הַדֶּר כֹּל מַלְכְּ [וּתוֹ]. [ֹ]
4Q405 14-15 i 5-6	רוּחִי [...] בְּ תוֹךְ רוּחִי הַדֶּר [ֹ]
4Q405 19 6	צוּרוֹת כְּבוֹד לְמַעֲשֵׂי לְ [בנ] י הוּד וְהַד [ר] [ֹ]
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוּחוֹת רִוְקָמָה כְּמַעֲשֵׂי אוּרְג פְּתוּחֵי צוּרוֹת הַדֶּר [ֹ]
4Q405 24 2	[...] רוּחִי הוּד וְהִדֶּר רֵא [שִׁי...] [ֹ]
4Q405 73 1	[...] הִדֶּר [...] [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 3-4	[...] מֶלֶה וּבַהֲדֶר תִּשְׁבַּחוּתוֹ בְּכֹל רְקִי [עִי...] [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 6	[מֶר...] כְּבוֹת הַדֶּר וּלְדַבֵּירִי קוּ [דְּשׁוֹ...] [ֹ]
11QŠŠ 8-7 4	[...] עוֹלָמִים בְּ [...] הַדֶּר לִי [...] [ֹ]

הוא (prn)

4Q403 1 i 34 כיא הוֹ[א...] לכול ראשי מרומים

הוד (n)

4Q400 2 3 וספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם
 4Q401 37 3 [...]בהוד[...]
 4Q403 1 i 17 יברך בש[ם] הוֹ[ד]המ[לך] (?)
 4Q403 1 i 20-21 [...]וב[ר]ך[ן] לכול מודי לו בשבעה [דב]רי הוד [ל]הודי [...]
 4Q403 1 i 31-32 שבחו לאלוהי [י]הו[ה] שבחות הוד
 4Q403 1 i 38 הודו כל אלי הוד למ[לך] ההוד
 4Q404 5 3 [...]ע פלא נפלא הוד [...]
 4Q405 3 ii 6 [...]בנשיאי רֹשׁ יברך בשם ה[וד]...
 4Q405 3 ii 7 וברך ליסודי ה[ו]ד
 4Q405 3 ii 11 [...]הוד להודי פלא הששי [...]
 4Q405 6 6 [...]י פלא נפלא[ה] הוד[.] ופלא ו[.]כבוד
 4Q405 13 4 [...]לֹו בשבעה דברי הוד כְּבוֹדוֹ
 4Q405 19 6 צורות כְּבוֹד למעשי לְ[בנ]י הוד והד[ר]
 4Q405 24 2 [...]רוחי הוד והדר רא[שי]...
 11Q55 5-6 2 [...]באור אורים הוד [...]
 11Q55 f 6 [...]בהוד תשב[ח]ות...
 11Q55 j-d-g-p 9 [...]פלאי הוד ו[...]

הורה (n)

4Q400 1 i 17 ומפיהם הורות כול קדושים

היה (v)

4Q400 1 i 3 ויהיו לו לכוהני [...]
 4Q402 4 4 [...]היותו טמא[ת] לוא[ם]...
 4Q402 4 5 ולוא יהי[ו]ים ליחד
 4Q402 4 10 [...]אלוהים במלחמת שחקים והיתה[ם]...
 4Q402 4 12 כיא מאלוהי דעת נהיו כול[ם]...
 4Q403 1 i 22-23 ל[ת]מיד עם כול הויי [עול]מ[י]ם
 4Q403 1 i 35 לאמרי פיהו יהיו כ[ול]...
 4Q404 4 1 [...]פיהו י[ה]יו...
 4Q405 4-5 3 [...]פיהו יהי[ו]ים...
 4Q405 13 6 [...]לת]מיד עם כול הויי עולמים
 Mas55 i 2 [...]כול דברי דעו נהיו כל הוי עד
 Mas55 i 3 ומדעו [...]תיו היו כול תעודות עולמים
 Mas55 i 6-7 כיא ממעשי כבודו הם לפני היותם [...]תו

היכל (n)

4Q400 1 i 13 [...] בַּיִם בְּהִיכְלִי מֶלֶךְ [...] [מתיצ...]
 11QŠŠ 2-1-9 7 [...] לְהִיכְלִי כְבוֹדוֹ וּלְרִקְיעִי [...] [...]

הלך (v)

4Q403 1 i 17 לֶכְ[וּל] הוּל[כִי יו] שֶׁר
 4Q403 1 ii 5 [...] לִכְתּוּ סִרְקִי[...]
 4Q403 1 ii 7 [...] מִהֶהָלֶךְ סָבִיב רֻחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים [...] [...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 5 [...] מִרְכָּבוֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ בְּלִכְתָּמָה [...] [...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9 וּבְלִכְתּוֹת הָאוֹפָנִים יִשׁוּבוּ מֵלֶאכִי קוֹדֶשׁ
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 רֻחוֹת [א] לִוְהִים חַיִּים מִתְהַלְכִּים וְנִמִּיד
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12 וְקוֹל דְּמָמָה בָּרַכְּ בְּהַמּוֹן לִכְתָּם
 4Q405 23 i 13 בְּתוֹכָן vac א[מ] תּוֹ וְהִלְכוּ [...] [...]
 4Q405 25 3 [...] מִתְהַלְכִּים [...] [...] (?)

הלל (v)

4Q400 1 i 1 הִשְׁבֵּה[ת] הָרְאִישׁוֹנָה בָּאַרְבַּעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרְאִישׁוֹן הִלְלוּ [...] [...]
 4Q400 2 1 לְהִלֵּל כְּבוֹדָכָה פֶּלֶא בְּאֵלֵי דַעַת
 4Q401 1 2 הִלְלוּ לֵאל[וֹהִי] [...] [...]
 4Q401 13 2 [...] שְׁ[בֹעַ שְׁנֵי יְהִלֵּל שְׁבַעָה לְ [...] [...]
 4Q401 14 i 7 לְהִלֵּל כְּבוֹדָכָה פֶּלֶא [...] [...]
 4Q401 16 5 [...] בְּהִלְלוּהוּ קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [...]
 4Q401 19 1 [...] הִלְלוּ [...] [...]
 4Q401 33 1 [...] שֵׁם יְהִלֵּל [...] [...]
 4Q403 1 i 25 [...] לִלֵּי מִלְכוּתוֹ כְּבוֹדוֹ [...] [...] נִצָּה
 4Q403 1 i 30-31 הִלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵי מְרוֹמִים הֲרִמִּים בְּכוֹל אֵלֵי דַעַת
 4Q403 1 i 41 בְּאַלְהָה יִהְלְלוּ כּוֹל [...] [...] קוֹדְשִׁים
 4Q403 1 ii 15 וְהִלְלוּ יַחַד מִרְכָּבוֹת דְּבִירוֹ
 4Q403 1 ii 16 [...] רֹאשִׁי וְנִבְנִית אֱלֹהִים וְהִלְלוּהוּ בְּדִבְרֵי קוֹדְשׁוֹ
 4Q403 1 ii 20 וְרוֹמְמוֹהוּ רֹאשִׁי נְשִׂאִים בְּמִנְה פִּלְאִיו הִלְלוּ [...] [...]
 4Q404 2 7 [...] צִדְקָה מִהִלְלִי [...] [...]
 4Q405 8-9 2 [...] הִלְלוּ לְאֱלֹהֵי כּוֹל [...] [...] מ
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12 וְהִלְלוּ קוֹדֶשׁ בְּהִשְׁבֵּיב דְּרִכְיָהֶם
 4Q405 23 i 6 [...] כָּלִילוֹ הִלְלוּהוּ אֱלֹהֵי [...] [...] מ
 4Q405 23 i 7-8 וּמִהִלְלִים שַׁעֲרֵיו בְּקוֹל רִנָּה
 4Q405 23 i 9-10 מְבָרְכִים וּמִהִלְלִים כּוֹל רֻחוֹת אֱלֹהִים
 11QŠŠ 5-6 5-6 מְבָרְכִים וּמִהִלְלִים לְאֱלֹהֵי אֱלִים
 11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 7 [...] מִהִלֵּל לִים תְּמִיד [...] [...] (?)

הלל (n)

- 4Q403 1 ii 33 [...] הפלא והלל לאדון כול אֵלִל[י...]
 4Q403 1 ii 34 (?) [הלל--?] [v] [...] ראוש פלאיו להלל גדול[...]
 4Q405 14-15 i 3 והלל פלאיהם לאל אליס[...]

המה/הם (prn)

- 4Q400 1 i 12 [...]מה שרי [...] (?)
 4Q400 2 2 המה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים
 4Q401 14 i 8 המה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים
 4Q402 4 15 [...]מה לפני[...]
 MasŠŠ i 6 כיא ממעשי כבודו הם לפני היוגם [...]

המון (n)

- 4Q402 4 9 ירוצו לפקוד[הו] וקול המון[...]
 4Q403 1 ii 14 [...]פלא דביר לדביר בקול המוני קודש
 4Q405 18 6 [...]המון[...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8 והמון רנה ברום כנפיהם קול [דממ]ת אלוהים
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12 וקול דממת ברכ בהמון לכהם
 11QŠŠ 5-6 5-6 מברכים ומהללים לאלוהי אליס המון[...]?
 11QŠŠ a 3 [...]ב[ר]ך בהמון[...]

זבול (n)

- 4Q403 1 i 41 באלה יהללו ... עמודי משא לזבול רום רומים
 4Q405 6 2 [...]משא [ל]זבול רום רום[ים]
 4Q405 81 2 [...]מלאכי זב[ול...]

זבח (n)

- 4Q405 94 2 [...]הזבחים ע[...]
 11QŠŠ 8-7 2 [...]לזבחי קדושים[...]

זמיר (n)

- 4Q400 3 ii 1 [...]זמרות קודשו [...]שב[ע]...זמירו[ת] קודשו
 4Q403 1 i 9 [...]שב[ע]...זמירו[ת] קודשו
 MasŠŠ ii 22 [...]שב[ע]...זמירו[ת] קודשו הולדות[...]

זמם (v)

- MasŠŠ i 5-6 ובעשותו לא ישכילי כול [...]ק מה יזום

זמר (v)

- 4Q401 25 1 [...]זמרו[...]
 4Q403 1 i 7 [...]זמר[ל]מל[ך]הק[דוש]
 4Q403 1 i 39-40 זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש
 4Q403 1 i 41-42 זמ[רו] אלו[הי]נ[ורא] כוח (?)
 4Q404 1 2 [...]נפלאו[תיה]וזמר[...]
 MasŠŠ ii 18 [...]וזמר למלך הקודש שבעה בש[בעה...]

זמר (n)

4Q403 1 i 6	זמר עֹזֶז [לאלו] הִי קו [דש]
4Q403 1 i 7	שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q404 1 1	[...ההל]ת זמר בל[שון...] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q405 67 2	[...] בשבעה זמר[י...] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q405 83 2	[...] זמרי[...]
MasŠŠ ii 16	[...] תה[תה] לת זמר בלשון השב[יעי...] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
MasŠŠ ii 17	[...] זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבע[ה...] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]

זמרה (n)

4Q403 1 i 40 (?--זמיר?)	וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא בשמחת עול[מים]
4Q405 67 1	[...] או זמרת ע[וז...] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]

חדש (adj)

4Q402 4 11	[...] מעשי חדשות פל[א]
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חודש (n)

4Q400 1 i 1	[...] השב[ת] הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראשון
4Q401 1-2 1	[...] ועשרים בח[ודש] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q403 1 i 30	השבת השביעית בשש עשר לחודש
4Q404 3 2	[...] עש[ר] לחוד[ש] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q405 68 2	[...] ם בחוד[ש] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
MasŠŠ i 8	השבת הששית בתשעה לחודש

חוק (n)

4Q400 1 i 5	[...] אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח
4Q400 1 i 9	וחוק בחוק יגברו לשבעה [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q400 2 11	[...] רו לש[וני] דעת ם חוקי [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q401 12 2	[...] שב[ע] עה בחוקי עולמ[ים] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q401 15 4	[...] כבו[ד] דו וחוק[ק] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q402 4 3	[...] כינתו חרת חוקיו [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q403 1 ii 21	[...] רום שבעה גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 1	[...] בח[ודש] וק[דש] כלכלו לש[רת] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
4Q405 23 i 10	ואין במה דולג עלי חוק
4Q405 43 3	[...] הם מחוק[ק] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
11QŠŠ 3-4 3	[...] ם בחוק יתכל[כ] לו לשרת ל[ש] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]

חור (n)

4Q405 23 ii 9	רוחי צבעי[...]
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חוש (v)

4Q403 1 ii 13	יחושו בתהלי פלא בדבי[ר] [שבעה ב[שבעה ד] ברי זמ[רי...]]
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חוֹשֶׁךְ (n)

11QŠŠ 2-1-9 4 [...]ם אור וחושך ובדנִי [...]

חֲזַק (v)

4Q405 23 ii 8-9 מחזקות מעמד קודשם לפני [מ]לכ

חִי (adj)

4Q403 1 i 44 [...]רו] חִי קוֹדֵשׁ [ש] קודשים אלוהים חיים

4Q405 6 5 [...]רוחי קודש] [ש] קדשים [אלוהים חיים] רו [חי] ק[ודש...] [...]

4Q405 14-15 i 5 [...]ת אלוהים חיים מפותח באלמי מבואי מלך

4Q405 14-15 i 6 בדני אלוהים חיים [...]ם [...]

4Q405 19 4-5 [צ]ורות אלוהים חיים צורי רוחות מאירים

4Q405 19 6 [רוח] י הוד והד[ר] אלוהים חיים כול מעשיהם

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 רוחות [א]לוהים חיים מונהלים תימד

11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 4 [...]אלוהי]ם חיים [...]

חֲכָה (v)

4Q403 1 i 23 וברך לכול חוכי לו בשבעה דבר [י] פלא

4Q404 2 4 וברך לכול חוכי לו [בש]בעה דברי פ[לא...] [...]

חמישי (num)

4Q401 3 5 [...]ה]חמיש[י] [...]

4Q403 1 i 3 [...]תה]לֹת [ה]ודות בלשון החמיש[י]

4Q403 1 i 18-19 [...]ה]חמיש[י] [י]בנש[יאי...] יברך בשם [...]נפלאותיו

4Q405 11 3-4 [ה]רִב[י] עי תגבר שבעה בלשון החמישי לו

4Q405 11 4 ולשון החמישי תגבר ש[בעה...] לו

4Q405 13 2-3 [...]החמי]שי בנש[יאי...] פלא

MasŠŠ ii 12 [...]בלשון החמישי לו] [...]

חֶסֶד (n)

4Q400 1 i 18 [...]ח]סדיו לסליחות רחמי עולמים

4Q400 1 ii 20 [...]ח]סדִי אלו[הים...] [...]

4Q403 1 i 23 ל[מ]שוב ר[חמי] חסדיו

4Q405 3 ii 15 [...]חמי] חסדו הש[ביעי...] [...]

חָקָה (v)

4Q405 15 ii-16 4 כול מחקת חִם [...]מה בדני אלו[הים...] [...]

חָקַק (v)

4Q405 19 5-6 [ב]דני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללבני [כ]בּוֹדֵם

11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 5 [...]מ]חוקק סב[י]ב[...]

חֶרֶת (v)

4Q400 1 i 5 [...]אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח

4Q400 1 i 15 [...]קוד]שים חרת למו

- 4Q402 4 3 [כ...] בִּינְתוּ חֶרֶת ח[וקיו...] [...]
- 4Q405 23 ii 3 [מלך וחרת כבודוה] ה[...]
- חשב (v,n)
- 4Q400 2 6 מה נתחשב [ב]ם
- 4Q405 23 ii 10 וכול מחשביהם ממולח טוהר חשב כמעשי אורג
- חשמל (n)
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10-11 בדמות חשמל ומעשי [נ] וגה
- חשן (n)
- 4Q405 41 2 [נפל] אות חֲשָׁנִי ב[...]
- 11QŠŠ 8-7 4 [פלא ותבנית חשני] [...]
- טהור (adj)
- 4Q400 1 i 15 ויטהר טהורי [...]
- 4Q403 1 u 13 [טהורי] עולמים הש[לישי] [...]
- 4Q405 3 ii 3 [דברי כבוד נפלאותו לכול טהו] רי[...]
- טהר (v)
- 4Q400 1 i 15 ויטהר טהורי [...]
- טוב (adj)
- 4Q403 1 i 4-5 [תהלת] רנן בלשון הששי לאל [ה] טוב
- 4Q403 1 i 5 [ו] רנן למ[לך] ה[טוב]
- 4Q405 13 2 [דב] רי טוב לרחמי כבודו
- MasŠŠ ii 15 [למלך הטוב שבע] ה[...]
- טוהר (n)
- In 4Q403 1 i 41-42 and 4Q403 1 ii 26 טהורים and הטוהר appear to be phonetic spellings for טוהרים and הטוהר. It is less clear whether טוהר in the phrase ממולח טוהר (4Q405 19 3-4, 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11, 4Q405 23 ii 10, 11QŠŠ 8-7 5) should be taken as phonetic spelling for the adjective טוהר.
- 4Q400 3 i 2 [לשון הטוהר]
- 4Q403 1 i 19-20 [טוהר בשבעה ד[ברי] רום אמת] ו[...]
- 4Q403 1 i 41-42 ל[מש]א יחד רקיע זו טוהר טהורים
- 4Q403 1 ii 26 [לאל אלים מלך הטוהר]
- 4Q405 6 3 [דעת ואור למשא יח[ד] רקיע] ע[טהר] [...]
- 4Q405 13 3 [טוהר בשבעה דברי רום טוהר]
- 4Q405 17 4 [טוהר מלאכי כבוד בגבורת] [...]
- 4Q405 19 3-4 מעשי רי[חות] רקיע פלא ממולח טוהר
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 (error for טוהר) ברוקמו כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוהר
- 4Q405 23 i 6-7 וכול [רקיע] י הטוהר יגילו בכבודו
- 4Q405 23 ii 10 וכול מחשביהם ממולח טוהר
- 11QŠŠ 3-4 4 [טוהר בד] [...]

1lQšš 8-7 3	[...] הַטוֹהַר בְּרוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ [...]ש]
1lQšš 8-7 5	[...] מִמּוֹלַח טוֹהַר צַבְעִי [...]
1lQšš j-d-g-p 4	[...] טוֹהַר [...]ר]
1lQšš c 4	[...] סִי טוֹהַר [...]ר]
טמא (adj)	
4Q400 1 i 14	וְאֵלֶּיךָ טִמְאָה בְּקוֹדְשֵׁיהֶם
4Q402 4 4	[...] הַיּוֹתוֹ טִמְאָה [...]ת לֹא סִי סִי [...]
יד (n)	
4Q401 22 2	[...] שֶׁ מָלֵךְ יִדְיָהֶם [...]
4Q403 1 i 39	וַיִּרְצוּ דַעְתָּם ... וְהוֹדוּתָם בְּמִשׁוֹב יָד גְּבוּרָתוֹ
ידה (v)	
4Q401 37 1	[...] הוֹדוּ דָּ [...]ה]
4Q403 1 i 3	[...] תַּה] לֵת [ה] וְדוֹת בְּלִשׁוֹן הַחֲמִישִׁי [י]
4Q403 1 i 4	בְּשַׁבְעַת הוּא [ד] וְת פְּלִאִיָּה
4Q403 1 i 4	יֹדָה לֹאֵל הַנִּכְבָּד
4Q403 1 i 4	שֶׁ [בַּעַה בֶּשׁ] בָּ [עָה דַב] רִי הַדּוֹת פְּלוֹא
4Q403 1 i 20	[...] וּבִ] רָ [ךָ] לְכוֹל מוֹדִי לוֹ
4Q403 1 i 38	הוֹדוּ כָּל אֵלֵי הוֹד לְמָ [ל] הַהוֹד
4Q403 1 i 38	כִּי־אֵל לְכַבֹּדוֹ יוֹדוּ כוֹל אֵילֵי דַעַת
4Q403 1 i 38	וְכוֹל רוּחוֹת צַדִּיק יוֹדוּ בְּאִמְתּוֹ
4Q403 1 i 39	וַיִּרְצוּ דַעְתָּם ... וְהוֹדוּתָם בְּמִשׁוֹב יָד גְּבוּרָתוֹ
4Q403 1 i 43	[...] רֹחִי אֱלֹהִים [ים] לְהוֹד [וּת] [...] (?)
4Q403 1 ii 38	[...] הוֹד [וּת] [...] (?)
4Q404 4 6	[...] הוֹדוּ כוֹל אֵלֵי [...]ה]
4Q404 20 2	[...] הוֹדוֹת סִי [...]
Masšš ii 13	[...] יוֹדוּ לֹאֵל הַכְּבוֹד שֶׁבַע [...]ה]
Masšš ii 21	[...] שֶׁבַע תַּהֲלִי הוֹדוֹת נִפְלְאוֹתָיו שֶׁבַע תַּה [לִי] [...]
ידע (v)	
4Q400 2 9	[...] וְדַשׁ וּבִינָתוֹ מְכוֹל יִדְעָ [...]י]
4Q400 3 ii 5	[...] לְבָרֵךְ לִידְעִי [...]
4Q400 17 4	[...] ת יו [ד] עֵי בְּבִינָת נִסְ [תְּרוֹת] [...]
4Q401 35 1	[...] שֶׁ כָּל וְדַעָה יוֹדְעִי [...]
4Q403 1 i 11	[...] לִידוּ [עֵי עוֹלָמָ] [...]י]
4Q405 3 ii 1	[...] בִּם לִידוּעַ [...]י]
4Q405 3 ii 9	[...] נִפְלְאוֹתָיו לְכוֹל יוֹדְעִי רִזִּי [...]י]
4Q405 8-9 3-4	[...] בְּכוֹל יוֹדְעֵי [ע] וְלִמִּים וְרוֹמֵם [וְהוּ] [...]
Masšš i 4-5	וְאִין בִּידְעִים נִגְלִי [...] לְהַבִּין לִפְנֵי עֲשׂוֹתוֹ

MasŠŠ ii 26

[...]^ו לידעי עולמים^ו [...]

יושר (n)

4Q403 1 i 17

לכ^ו [ול] הול [כי יו] שר (?)

יחד (adv)

4Q402 1 3

[...] יחד לכול תעודות פ^ו [לא...] [...]

4Q402 4 5

[...] יה ולוא יהי^ו [ו...] ים ליחד^ו כ^ו [...] [...]

4Q403 1 i 41-42

זמ^ו [רו] ... ל^ו [מש] א יחד רקיע זו^ו טוהר טהורים

4Q403 1 ii 15

והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו

4Q405 6 3

[...] דעת ואור למשא יח^ו [ד רקי] ע^ו טוהר^ו [...] [...]

4Q405 36 1

[...] ים יחד^ו [...] [...]

יסד (v)

4Q400 1 i 10

[...י] סדם [ל] ו לקד^ו [ושי...] (?)

4Q400 1 i 19

יסד לו כוהני קורב

4Q401 17 5

[...] סה יסדם לו לקרו^ו [ב...] [...]

4Q403 1 i 17 (parallel text 4Q405 3 ii 7 reads (יסודי

[...י] וברך ליוסד^ו [י...] [...]

4Q403 1 i 24

יברך ... לכול קדושים ממיסדי ד^ו [עת]

4Q405 3 ii 7

יברך ליסודי ה^ו [ו] ד בשבע^ו [ה...] [...]

(parallel text 4Q403 1 i 17 reads יוסדי)

יסוד (n)

4Q402 1 5 (?--יסד [v]?)

לכול יסודי פשע

יעד (v)

4Q400 7 1

[...] נועד^ו [י...] (?)

4Q403 1 i 25

וברך לכול נו^ו [עדי] צד^ו [ק...] (?)

4Q403 1 i 27

[ו...] ברכו לנועדי צדק

יצא (v)

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9-10

יצא ומבין [ג] לגלי כבודו כמראי אש

4Q405 23 i 10

בצאת ובמבוא בשע^ו [ר] י קודש

יצב (v)

4Q400 1 i 13

[...מתיצ] בים בהיכלי מלך [...] (?)

יקר (n)

11QŠŠ 2-1-9 2

[...] ש^ו ל^ו [ו] מיו במשפט^ו [...] רחמיו ביקר^ו [...] [...]

ירא (v)

4Q400 2 2

ונוראים למוסדי אנשים

4Q401 14 i 8

ונו^ו [ראים] למו^ו סדי אנשים

4Q403 1 i 41-42

זמ^ו [רו] אלו [הי נ] ורא כוח

4Q405 23 i 13

מורא מלך אלוהים נורא על [כו] ל אלוהים [...] [...]

4Q405 58 2

[...] נורא^ו [...] [...]

11QŠŠ 5-6 3	[...] אֱלֹהִים נֹרְאִי כֹחַ כּוֹל [...] (v)
MasŠŠ i 9	[...] אֱלֹהִים יֹשְׁבֵי מְרוֹמֵי רֹמִים
11QŠŠ 3-4 3	[...] וְ בְדִבְרֵי כְבוֹדוֹ לֹא יֵשֵׁב [...] (v)
11QŠŠ 3-4 6	[...] שָׁרוּ לֹא [...] (?)
4Q400 2 2	הֵמָּה נִכְבָּדִים בְּכֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים
4Q400 3 ii-5 8-9	[...] אֱלֹהֵי הַנִּכְבָּד [יִם...]
4Q401 14 i 5	[...] כִּי אֵל נִכְבָּד בְּ [...]
4Q401 14 i 8	הֵמָּה נִכְבָּדִים בְּכֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים
4Q403 1 i 4 (parallel MasŠŠ ii 13 reads	יֹדֵה לֹאֵל הַנִּכְבָּד
4Q403 1 ii 12	וְקוֹל הַבֶּרֶךְ נִשְׁמָע נִכְבָּד לְמִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים
4Q405 66 2	[...] וְכָבְדוּ [...] (n)
4Q400 1 i 4	[...] מִשְׁרָתִי פָנִים בְּדִבְרֵי כְבוֹדוֹ
4Q400 1 i 6	[...] דְּעוֹת עִם בִּינֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ
4Q400 1 i 9	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ וְחֹק בְּחֹק יִגְבְּרוּ
4Q400 1 ii 8	[...] כְּבוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ vac שֶׁ [...]
4Q400 1 ii 9	[...] כְּבוֹד בְּסוֹד אֵל [יִם...]
4Q400 1 ii 13	וְרֹמְמוֹ כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]
4Q400 2 1	לְהַלֵּל כְּבוֹדָהּ פֶּלֶא בְּאֵלֵי דַעַת
4Q400 2 5	[...] כְּבוֹד מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים יִסְפְּרוּ
4Q400 2 12	[...] תְּכֹבֵד [...]
4Q401 6 3	[...] יִכְבֹּד [...]
4Q401 6 6	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]
4Q401 14 i 6	[...] שְׁמֵי מַלְכוּת כְּבוֹד [וֹד] כֹּה
4Q401 14 i 7	לְהַלֵּל כְּבוֹדָהּ פֶּלֶא [...]
4Q401 15 1	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]
4Q401 15 4	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ וְחוֹ [ק...]
4Q401 16 4	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ מִי יִבְיֶן בְּאֵלֵה [...] (?)
4Q401 31 2	[...] תְּכֹבֵד [וֹד] [...]
4Q401 34 2	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ [...] (?)
4Q402 3 i 3	[...] כְּבוֹד [...]
4Q402 3 ii 13	[...] מְזִמָּה כְּבוֹד [וֹ] [...]
4Q402 8 5 (?--error for	[...] הַנִּכְבָּד [...] (n)
4Q402 9 5	[...] כְּבוֹדוֹ מִי [...] (?)

4Q403 1 i 3	[...ה] לֹת [ה] וְדוֹת ... ל [מ] לְ [ר] הכבוד
4Q403 1 i 10	בשם כ [בו] ד אלוהים
4Q403 1 i 13	[...ה] מלך בשבעת ד [ברי] כ [ב] ו [ד] נ [פלאותיו] ...
4Q403 1 i 25	[מה] ללי מלכות כבודו [...] נצח
4Q403 1 i 29	[...] קס [.] בשם כבודו
4Q403 1 i 31 (read יקדישו)	יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד
4Q403 1 i 32	כי בהדר תשבחות כבוד מלכותו
4Q403 1 i 33-34	ואלוחות כבודו מעל לכול מרומי רום
4Q403 1 i 36	יהגו כבודו בלשון כול הוגי דעת
4Q403 1 i 38	כיא לכבודו יודו כול אילי דעת
4Q403 1 i 45	[...] בוד באור אורתם דע [ו] ...
4Q403 1 ii 3	[...] מראי וגבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוח [...] ...
4Q403 1 ii 4	[...] כבודו ובכול מהפכיהם שערי [...] ...
4Q403 1 ii 10	ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו דביר [...] ...
4Q403 1 ii 25	וושבחות רומם למלך הכבוד
4Q404 5 4	[...] כ בוד באור אורותם דעת [...] ...
4Q404 11 3	[...] ס לכבוד [...] ...
4Q405 3 ii 3	[...] דברי כבוד נפלאותו לכול טהו [רי] ...
4Q405 6 6	[...] י פלא נפלא [הוד] ופלא ו [כבוד באור] [...] ...
4Q405 13 2	[דב] רי טוב לרחמי כבודו
4Q405 13 4	[...] לו בשבעה דברי הוד כבודו
4Q405 14-15 i 1	[...] ר וח כב וד [...] ...
4Q405 14-15 i 5	[...] מ לך בדני א [...] כבוד
4Q405 14-15 i 6	[...] ד בירי כבוד מבנית [...] ...
4Q405 15 ii-16 5	[...] כבוד משני עבריהם [...] ...
4Q405 15 ii-16 7	[...] ו למלך הכבו [ד] בקול רנה [...] ...
4Q405 17 4	[...] טוהר מלאכי כבוד בגבורו [...] ...
4Q405 17 8	[...] כבוד [...] ...
4Q405 18 4	[...] דביר ימהרו מקול הכבו [ד] [...] ...
4Q405 19 2-3	[...] כבוד מדרס דבירי פלא
4Q405 19 5-6	[ב] דני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללבני [כ] בודם
4Q405 19 6	צורות כבוד למעשי ל [בנ] י הוד והד [ר]
4Q405 20 i 3	[...] כבודם [...] ...
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3	[...] מרכבות כבודו [...] ...
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 4	[...] ממלכות מושבי כבוד למרכבו [ת] [...] ...
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 5	[...] מרכבות כבודו בלכתמה ל [...] ...
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	ורוממ [ו] הו ... הכבוד במשכ [ן] [...] ...

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	[...] ד' רקיע האור ירננו ממונח מושב כבודו
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9-10	יצא ומבין [ג] לגלי כבודו כמראי אש
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 (read טוהר)	ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוה
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11-12	מהלכים עם כבוד מרכבות [ה] פלא
4Q405 23 i 3	[...] כסאיכה כבוד מלכותו
4Q405 23 i 6-7	וכל [...] רקי [ע] י הטוהר יגילו בכבודו
4Q405 23 i 7	וקול ברך מכול מפלגיו מספרה רקיעי כבודו
4Q405 23 i 8	במבואי אלי דעת בפנחי כבוד
4Q405 23 i 9	פנחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים כבוד המלך
4Q405 23 i 12	לוא ישפוט במושבי אפ כבודו
4Q405 23 ii 3	[...] מלך וחרת כבודוה [...]ה
4Q405 23 ii 8	בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור
4Q405 23 ii 9	ודמות רוח כבוד כמעשי אופירים
4Q405 23 ii 11-12	בכול מרומי מקדשי מלכותו כבודו
4Q405 23 ii 12	[ו] ברכו לאלוהי דעה בכול מעשי כבודו
4Q405 23 ii 13	[ב...] דעו בינהו ובשכל [כב] ודו (?)
4Q405 24 3	[...] מלכות כבוד מלך כול א [לוהים...]
4Q405 35 2	[...] ה כבודו ו [...]ה
4Q405 46 1	[...] כבוד [...] פ [...] ל [...] מ [...]ה
4Q405 46 3	[...] הו מנחת כבודו [...]ה
4Q405 50 2	[...] הכבוד [...]ה
4Q405 73 2	[...] כבוד ב [...] ל [...]ה
MasŠŠ i 6	כיא ממעשי כבודו הם
MasŠŠ i 10	[...] קודש קדשים ורוממו כבודו
MasŠŠ ii 13	[...] יודו לאל הכבוד שבע [...]ה
MasŠŠ ii 24	[יבר] ה בשם כבוד אלוהים לכ [...]ול [...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 1	[...] מרומי כ [בודו...]ה
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 1	[...] כב [...] ודו בא [...]ה
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 3	[...] כב [...] וד מעשיו (?)
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 4-5	[...] קודש מלך הכבוד לכול מעשי אמת [...]ו
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 5-6	[...] הו משאי קודש לכסאי כבודו ולהדום [...]ה
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 7	[...] להיכלי כבודו ולרקיעי [...]ה
11QŠŠ 3-4 3	[...] ו בדבירי כבודו לוא ישב [...]ו
11QŠŠ 3-4 4	[...] מרכבו [...]ה כבודו [...]ה
11QŠŠ 3-4 6	[...] כבוד [...]ו [...]ה
11QŠŠ 5-6 6	[...] ה מלך הכבוד [...]ה
11QŠŠ f 4	[...] ל בני כבודם [...]ה

11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 2	[...] דני כב[וד...]
11QŠŠ k 6	[...] סיהם כבו[ד]... (??)
11QŠŠ l 4	[...] כבודו קול ה[...]
11QŠŠ q 4	[...] הלי ברכו כבוד ה[...]
11QŠŠ s 1	[...] כבוד ס[...]

(n) כוהונה/כהונה

4Q400 1 ii 19	[...] כוהונו[ו]...
4Q400 2 6	וכוהנונו מה במעוניהם
4Q403 1 ii 21	ראשו נשאו כוה[נו]...
4Q403 1 ii 22	[...] כוה[נו] שבע למקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש
4Q405 7 7	[...] שב[ע] עונו דבירי כוהנו[ת]...
4Q405 7 8	[...] כ[ו]הנונו וש[...]
4Q405 8-9 4-5	[...] שבע[ו] כוה[ו] נת קורבו[ו]... (??)
4Q405 8-9 5-6	[...] ראש[ו] י נשיאי [כ]הונו פל[א] ש[...]
4Q405 8-9 7	[...] סל כוה[נו]...

(n) כהון

4Q400 1 i 3	ויהיו לו לכוהני [...]
4Q400 1 i 8	[...] כוה[ני] קורב משרתי פני מלך
4Q400 1 i 12	[...] קודש קודשים כו[הני]... (??)
4Q400 1 i 17	[...] דעו בכוהני קורב
4Q400 1 i 19	יסד לו כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים
4Q400 1 i 20	כוהני מרומי רום ה[ק]ר בים [...]
4Q401 4 2	[...] לכוהני [...]
4Q401 11 1	[...] סו כוהנ[י]...
4Q401 11 3	[...] מלכי צדק כוהן בעד[ת]...
4Q401 13 3	[...] השלישי בכוהני רוש מבר[ך]...
4Q403 1 ii 19	[...] עולמים שניים בכוהני קורב סוד שני במעוני פלא
4Q403 1 ii 24	[...] רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדה המלך
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 1	[...] דב[ר] ירי כול כוהני קורב

(n) כוח

4Q403 1 i 41-42	זמ[רו] אלו[הי] נ[ורא] כוח
11QŠŠ 5-6 3	[...] אלוהים נוראי כוח כול [...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 3-4	בכוח אלוהי [עול]מים מרוממים

(v) כול

4Q400 1 i 14	לוא יכלכלו כול נ[עוי] דרך
4Q401 14 ii 4	[...] לוא יכול[ו]...
4Q402 4 6	[...] מכ[ו] לכלי מחשב[תו] ודעת קדו[שי]...

4Q402 6 3 [...]כָּלוּ אֵלַי [...] (?)
 4Q405 18 2 [...]לְכָלכָּל קְדוּשִׁים דְּבִיר מִסֵּ [...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 1 [...]בְּחָ[וֹק יִתְ]כָּלכְּלוּ לִשְׁ[רֵת] [...]
 4Q405 23 i 5 [...]לְכָלכָּל מִשְׁאֵי כּוֹל כִּי־אֱלֹהֵי כָּלִילוּ [...]
 11Q^{SS} 3-4 3 [...]סֵם בְּחֹק יִתְכָּל[כָּ]לוּ לִשְׁרֵת לֵס [...]

כּוֹל (n)

4Q403 1 i 28 (as substantive) בְּרוּךְ [ה]אֱדֹ[ו]ן מֶלֶךְ[ה] כּוֹל
 4Q400 1 i 2, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16 (2x), 17; 4Q400 1 ii 5; 4Q400 2 2, 4 (2x), 9;
 4Q400 7 3; 4Q401 2 4; 4Q401 5 5; 4Q401 14 i 8; 4Q401 24 3; 4Q401 34 3;
 4Q401 38 2; 4Q402 1 3, 5; 4Q402 4 11, 12; 4Q403 1 i 2, 12, 14; 4Q403 1 i 16,
 17, 18, 19, 20 (2x), 21, 22 (2x), 23, 24 (2x), 25, 26 (2x), 27, 28, 29, 30,
 31, 32 (2x), 33, 34 (3x), 35 (3x), 36, 37 (3x), 38 (3x), 40, 41 (2x), 43
 (2x), 45; 4Q403 1 ii 4, 13, 14, 33, 35; 4Q404 2 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9; 4Q404 4 5,
 6, 7; 4Q404 5 6; 4Q404 6 2; 4Q404 15 1; 4Q404 17 2; 4Q405 2 2; 4Q405 3 ii 3,
 4, 5, 9, 14, 19; 4Q405 4-5 2; 4Q405 6 2, 7; 4Q405 8-9 2, 3; 4Q405 13 2, 3,
 6 (2x); 4Q405 15 ii-16 4, 8; 4Q405 19 3, 5, 6; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 1, 13, 14
 (2x); 4Q405 23 i 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13 (2x); 4Q405 23 ii 4, 10, 11, 12, 13;
 4Q405 24 3; 4Q405 33 2; 4Q405 46 2; 4Q405 84 1; Mas^{SS} i 2 (2x), 3, 5, 13;
 Mas^{SS} ii 5, 25; 11Q^{SS} 2-1-9 3, 4, 5 (2x), 7 (2x), 8; 11Q^{SS} 3-4 6; 11Q^{SS} 5-6
 2, 3, 7; 11Q^{SS} 8-7 1; 11Q^{SS} h-i 6; 11Q^{SS} j-d-g-p 4; 11Q^{SS} l 3; 11Q^{SS} m 1, 2;
 11Q^{SS} n 3; 11Q^{SS} q 3; 11Q^{SS} s 2

כוֹן (v)

4Q405 23 i 10-11 וְלוֹא עַל אִמְרֵי מֶלֶךְ בְּלִי יִתְכַוֵּן

כִּי/כִי־ (conj)

4Q401 14 5; 4Q402 4 8, 12; 4Q403 1 i 32, 34, 38; 4Q405 23 i 5, 12 (?);
 4Q406 1 2; Mas^{SS} i 6

כֹּלָה (n)

4Q405 23 i 12 כֹּל[ִי] אִירָחַם בְּמַמְשִׁלֹּת עֲבָרָה כָּל[ת] [...]ו

כָּלִיל (n)

4Q405 23 i 5 [...]לְכָלכָּל מִשְׁאֵי כּוֹל כִּי־אֱלֹהֵי כָּלִילוּ [...]
 4Q405 23 i 6 [...]כָּלִילוּ הִלְלוּהוּ אֱלֹהֵי[י]ס [...]

כִּנְיָ (n)

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8 וְהַמֹּן רִנָּה בְּרוּם כִּנְפֵיהֶם קוֹל [דַּמָּ] וְ אֱלֹהֵיִם
 4Q405 40 3 [...]כִּנְפֵיהֶם מִ [...]
 11Q^{SS} 3-4 5 [...]כִּנְפֵי דַעַת [...]
 11Q^{SS} 5-6 8 [...]כִּנְפֵיהֶם מִרְ[וּמַיִם] [...]

כסא (n)

- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 2 [...] מושב כסא מלכותו בֹּ [...] [...]
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8 תבנית כסא מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים
- 4Q405 23 i 3 [...] כסאיִכָּהָ כבוד מלכותו וכול עדת משרתי [...] [...]
- 11QŠŠ 3-1-9 5-6 [...] הו משאי קודש לכסאי כבודו ולהדום הֹ [...] [...]
- 11QŠŠ 3-4 1 [...] על מרום כסא [...] [...]
- 11QŠŠ f 5 [...] כסאי פלא כֹּ [...] [...]
- 11QŠŠ k 5 [...] כסאי עולמים [...] [...]

כפר (v)

- 4Q400 q i 16 ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע

כרוב (n)

- 4Q403 1 ii 15 וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניהֹ [...] [...] [...]
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3 [...] כרובי קודש אופני אור בד[ביר] [...] [...]
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7 יפולי לפנוֹ הֹ [כרו]זים
- 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8 תבנית כסא מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים
- 11QŠŠ 3-4 4 [...] כרו]בי קודש [...] [...]

ל (prep with suffix)

- 4Q400 1 i 3, 10, 19; 4Q401 17 5; 4Q403 1 i 20, 23; 4Q403 1 ii 28, 29; לו
- 4Q404 2 4; 4Q405 11 3, 4 (2x), 5; 4Q405 13 4 (?);
- 4Q400 1 i 15; 4Q403 1 i 28 למו

לבן (n)

- 4Q405 19 5-6 [...] דְנִי צורות אלוהים מחוקקי סביב ללבני [כ]בודם
- 4Q405 19 6 למעשי לֹ [בנ]י הוד והד[ר] (?)
- 11QŠŠ c 3 [...] לבני [...] [...]
- 11QŠŠ f 3 [...] מעשי לֹ [בנ]י [...] (?)
- 11QŠŠ f 3 [...] לבני כבודם [...] [...]

לבש (v)

- 4Q405 23 ii 10 אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרתֹ

להב (n)

- 4Q405 15 ii-16 3 [...] מראי להבי אש [...] [...]

להבה (n)

- 4Q403 1 ii 9 ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה לֹ [...] [...]

לוא/לא (adv)

- 4Q400 1 i 14; 4Q401 14 ii 4; 4Q402 3 ii 6; 4Q402 4 4, 5; 4Q402 5 1 (?), 3;
- 4Q405 23 i 10, 11 (2x), 12 (2x); 4Q405 59 1; MasŠŠ i 5; 11QŠŠ 3-4 2 (?), 3

(n) לשון

4Q400 2 7	[מה] תרומה לשון עפרנו
4Q400 2 11	[...]רו לש[וני] דעה [°] ° חוקי [°] [...]
4Q400 3 i 2	[...]לשון הטוהר [°] [...]
4Q401 29 1	[...]בלשון ה [°] [...]
4Q403 1 i 2	תהלת שבח בלשון הרבי [°] [עי]
4Q403 1 i 3	[...]תה[לה] לה [°] [ה]ודוה [°] בלשון החמיש [°] [י]
4Q403 1 i 4-5	[תהלת] רנן בלשון הששי [°]
4Q403 1 i 6	ההלת [°] [...]בל[שון] השביעי [°] לנש [°] [יאי...]
4Q403 1 i 36	והגו כבודו בלשון כול הוגי דעת [°]
4Q403 1 ii 26	[...] לאל אלים מלך הטהור ותרומת לשוניהם [°] ° [...]
4Q403 1 ii 28	[...]ולש[ון] השל [°] [ישי ת] גבר [°] שבע [°] [ה...]
4Q403 1 ii 29	[...] הששי לו [°] ולשו [°] [ן...]
4Q403 1 ii 36	[...] [תשבחות] ב[לשון] הרביע [°] [י...]
4Q404 1 1	[...]תה[ל]ת זמר בל[שון] [...]
4Q405 11 3	[ו]לשון שלישי תגבר [°] [...]
4Q405 11 3-4	[ה]רב [°] [י] עי תגבר שבעה בלשון החמישי לו [°]
4Q405 11 4	ולשון החמישי תגבר ש [°] [בעה...] [°] לו [°]
4Q405 11 4-5	ולשון הששי תגבר [°] [ר] שבעה בלשון ה[שב] יעי לו [°]
4Q405 11 5	ובלשון השביעי [°] ° [...]
4Q405 12 1	[...]בל[שון] שון [°] [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 2	[...]ל[שון] ברך ומדמות [...]
4Q405 23 ii 12	בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת [°]
4Q405 42 1	[...]בלשון [...]
4Q406 3 3	[...]בלשון הרביע [°] [י] ל [°] ° [...]
MasŠŠ ii 12	[...]בלשון החמישי ל [°] [...]
MasŠŠ ii 14	[...]תה[לה] לז רנן בלשון הששי ל [°] [...]
MasŠŠ ii 16	[...]תה[לה] לת זמר בלשון השב [°] [יעי...]

(n) מאור

4Q402 12 2	[...]מאורי [°] [...]
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(n) מבוא

4Q402 1 1	[...]ם במב[וא] (?)
4Q405 14-15 i 4	[...]° אולמי מבואיהם רוחי קורב קודש קודשים ב [°] [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5	[...]ת אלוהים חיים מפונה באלמי מבואי מלך
4Q405 23 i 8	במבואי אלי דעת בפנחי כובד
4Q405 23 i 9	פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא [°] משמיעים כבוד המלך [°]
4Q405 23 i 10	בצאת ובמבוא בשע [°] [ר] י קודש

מועד (n)

4Q401 9 3 [...] וְ מוֹעֵד [...] [...]
 Masšš i 3-4 עוֹשֶׂה רֵאִישׁוֹנוֹת [...] תִּיהֶם וְאַחֲרוֹנוֹת לְמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם

מוצא (n)

4Q401 14 ii 8 [...] לְמוֹצֵא שְׁפָתַי מֶלֶךְ בְּ [...] [...]
 4Q403 1 i 35 לְמוֹצֵא שְׁפָתָיו כּוֹל רוּחִי עוֹלָמִים
 4Q405 23 i 8 וּבְכוֹל מוֹצֵאִי מֶלֶאכִי קוֹדֵשׁ לְמַמְשִׁלָּתוֹ
 4Q405 23 i 9 פָּתַחִי מִבּוֹאִי וְשַׁעֲרֵי מוֹצֵאִי מִשְׁמִיעִים כְּבוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ
 11Qšš 2-1-9 6-7 [...] ה' וְלִפְנוֹחִי מִבּוֹאִי [...] עִם כּוֹל מוֹצֵאִי [...]
 11Qšš k 2 [...] מוֹצֵא אוֹל [...] מִי [...]

מורא (n)

4Q405 23 i 13 מורא מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים נוֹרָא עַל [כו] ל אֱלֹהִים [...]

מושב (n)

4Q405 17 6 [...] קֹשֶׁשׁ בִּי קוֹדֵשׁ מוֹשְׁבִי [...] [...]
 4Q405 21 2 [...] מוֹשֵׁב כִּכְסָא מַלְכוּתוֹ בְּ [...] [...]
 4Q405 21 4 [...] מִמַּלְכוּת מוֹשְׁבִי כְבוֹד לְמַרְכָּבוֹ [...] [...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9 [...] דְּרָקִיעַ הָאֹר יִרְנְנוּ מִמַּתַּחַת מוֹשֵׁב כְּבוֹדוֹ
 4Q405 23 i 12 לֹא יִשְׁפּוֹט בְּמוֹשְׁבִי אִפְּ כְבוֹדוֹ
 11Qšš 3-4 5 [...] מִמַּלְכוֹת מוֹשֵׁב [...] בִּי [...]

מזמה (n)

4Q402 3 ii 13 [...] מַזְמַת כְּבוֹד [...] וְ [...] [...]

מחנה (n)

4Q400 2 2 הֵמָּה נִכְבְּדִים בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים
 4Q401 14 i 8 הֵמָּה נִכְבְּדִים בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 13 וְדַמְּמָתָ [ת] בְּרִךְ אֱלֹהִים בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי אֱלֹהִים

מחשב (n)

4Q403 1 ii 13 [...] הַבֵּרֶךְ וְכוֹל מַחְשְׁבֵי הַדְּבִיר
 4Q403 1 ii 14 וְכוֹל מַחְשְׁבֵיהֶם [...] [...]
 4Q405 34 ii 10 וְכוֹל מַחְשְׁבֵיהֶם מְמוֹלַח טוֹהַר

מחשבה/מחשבת (n)

4Q402 4 6 [...] מִכְּ [...] לְכָלִי מַחְשַׁב [תו] וְדַעַת קְדוֹ [...] שִׁי [...]

מי (prn)

4Q401 16 4 מִי יִבְיֵן בְּאֵלָה
 4Q402 9 5 [...] כְּבוֹד [...] וְ [...] מִי [...] [...]

מלא (v)

4Q401 22 2 (phonetic spelling) [...] שֶׁ מָלֹא יִדְיָהֶם [...] [...]

מלאך (n)

4Q403 1 i 1	רומם לאלוהי [מ]לאכי רום (?)
4Q403 1 ii 23	[...] השר מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא
4Q405 17 4	[...] טוהר מלאכי כבוד בגבורת [...]
4Q405 17 5	[...] נפל] אוג מלאכי תפארת ורוחי [...]
4Q405 19 7	יצורות בדניהם מלאכי קודש
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	ובלכת האופנים ישובו מלאכי קודש
4Q405 23 i 8	ובכול מוצאי מלאכי קודש לממשלהם
4Q405 49 3	[...] מלאכי [...]
4Q405 81 2	[...] מלאכי זב [ול. [...]
4Q407 1 3	[...] מלאכי קודש [...]
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 5	[...] למלאכי הדעה בכול מל' [...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 6	[...] וצור] ות בדניהם מ[לאכי [...]

מלח (n)

4Q405 19 3-4	מעשי ר' [חות] רקיע פלא ממולח טוהר
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 (read טוהר)	ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוה
4Q405 23 ii 10	וכל מחשביהם ממולח טוהר
11Q ^{SS} 8-7 5	[...] ממולח טוהר צבעי [...]

מלחמה (n)

4Q402 4 7	[...] יהם מלחמה אלוהים בק [...]
4Q402 4 8	כיא לאלוהי אלים [כל] י מ[ל] חמו[ת. [...]
4Q402 4 10	[...] אלוהים במלחמת שחקים והיתה [...]

מלך (n)

4Q400 1 i 8	משרתי פני מלך קודש [...]
4Q400 1 i 13	[...] מתיצ] בים בהיכלי מלך [...]
4Q400 1 ii 7	[...] מלך אלוהים לשבעת מ [...]
4Q400 1 ii 8	[...] כבוד המלך vac ש [...]
4Q400 1 ii 14	[...] מלך נשיאי [...]
4Q400 2 5	[...] כבוד מלך אלוהים יספרו
4Q401 1 5	[...] מלך אל [והי. [...]
4Q401 5 7	[...] מל' [ר. [...]
4Q401 13 1	[...] מלך כ [...]
4Q401 14 ii 8	[...] למוצא שפתי מלך ב [...]
4Q402 2 4	[...] בדביר מלך [...]
4Q402 3 ii 12	[...] למלך אלוהי [...]
4Q403 1 i 3	[...] תה] לה [ה] ודות ... ל[מ] ל[ר] הכבוד (?)
4Q403 1 i 5	[...] רנו למ[לך] ה טוב

4Q403 1 i 7	[ו.]זמר [ל]מלך [הק]דוש
4Q403 1 i 13	[...]ה[מלך בשבעת ד[ברי] כ[ב]ו[ד] נ[פלאותיו...]]
4Q403 1 i 17	וברך בש[ם] הו[ד] המ[לך]
4Q403 1 i 28	ברוך [ה]אד[ו]ן מלך [ה]כול
4Q403 1 i 31 (read יקדישו)	יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד
4Q403 1 i 34	ומלך מלכ[ים] לכול סודי אולמים
4Q403 1 i 38	הודו כל אלי הוד למ[לך] ההוד (?)
4Q403 1 ii 23	[...] השר מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא
4Q403 1 ii 24	[...] רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדת המלך
4Q403 1 ii 25	והשבחות רומם למלך הכבוד
4Q403 1 ii 26	[...] לאל אלים מלך הטהור
4Q403 3 1	[...]מ[לך] מרוממים[...]
4Q404 3 3	[...]אלו[הים] למ[לך]...
4Q404 5 6	[...]מלך אמונ[ו] צדק כול קירותו [...]
4Q404 6 2	[...]מלך כול[...]
4Q405 4-5 2	[...]רא[שי] מרומים ומל[ך]...
4Q405 14-15 i 3	[...]ק[ו]ל ברך למלך מרוממים
4Q405 14-15 i 5	[...]ת[ה] אלוהים חיים מפותח באלמי מבואי מלך
4Q405 14-15 i 5	[...]מ[לך] בדני א[ל] כבוד
4Q405 14-15 i 7	בדכירי מלך בדנ[י] א[ל] ויהים[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 8	[...]ד[ביר] מלך[...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 3	[...]ת[ה] פארת בפרוקת דביר המלך...
4Q405 15 ii-16 7	[...]ו[ה] למלך הכבו[ד] בקול רנה[...]
4Q405 19 3	[...] בד[ביר] מלך
4Q405 19 8	[...]מלך...
4Q405 23 i 9	פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים כבוד המלך
4Q405 23 i 10-11	ולוא על אמרי מלך בלי יתכוננו
4Q405 23 i 13	מורא מלך אלוהים נורא על [כו] ל אלוהים [...]
4Q405 23 ii 2	[...]בו מלך בשרתם ל[...]
4Q405 23 ii 3	[...] מלך וחרת כבודו[ה]...
4Q405 23 ii 8-9	מחזקות מעמד קודשם לפני [מ]לך
4Q405 23 ii 11	ראשי ממלכות ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש
4Q405 24 3	[...]מלכות כבוד מלך כול א[לוהים]...
4Q405 56 1	[...]ש המלך [...]
MasŠŠ ii 2	[...] למלך[...]
MasŠŠ ii 15	[...] למלך הטוב שבע[ה]...
MasŠŠ ii 18	[...] וזמר למלך הקודש שבעה בש[בעה]...

11QŠŠ 2-1-9 4-5	[...ק]ודש מלך הכבוד לכול מעשי אמת[ו...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 6-7	[...]ה ולפתחי מבואי [מל]ך עם כול מוצאי[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 6	[...]מלך הכבוד [...]
11QŠŠ h-i 6	[...]מלך כ[ו]ל אלוהי[...]
11QŠŠ n 1	[...]מלך[...]
11QŠŠ q 3	[...]מלך כול קדושי עד[...]
11QŠŠ s 2	[...]מלך כו[...]

מלכות (n)

4Q400 1 i 21-ii 1	[...]תש[בו]חות רום מלכות[כה...]
4Q400 1 i 3	[...]תפארת מלכותכה[...]
4Q400 2 1	להלל ... תשבחות מלכותכה בקדושי קדושים[...]
4Q400 2 3	וספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם
4Q400 2 3-4	ורוממו[...]
4Q401 1 4	[...]מלכו[ת...]
4Q401 14 i 6	[...]שמי מלכות כב[וד]כה
4Q401 14 i 7	[...]מלכותכה בקד[ו]שי קדושים
4Q401 32 2	[...]הדר מל[כו]ה[...]
4Q403 1 i 8	[...]רום מלכו[תו...]
4Q403 1 i 14	[...]רום מלכותו[...]
4Q403 1 i 25	[...]מה]ללי מלכות כבודו[...]
4Q403 1 i 32	כי בהדר תשבחות כבוד מלכותו
4Q403 1 i 32-33	בה ושבחות כול אלוהים עם הדר כול מלכ[ותו...]
4Q403 1 ii 10	ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו דביר[...]
4Q405 3 ii 4	[...]רום מלכותו לכול רומי דעת בשבעה ד[ברי רו]ם
4Q405 7 3	[...]בשבעת מס[...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 2	[...]מושב כסא מלכותו ב[...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 4	[...]ממלכות מושבי כבוד למרכבו[ת...]
4Q405 23 i 3	[...]כסאיכה כבוד מלכותו
4Q405 23 ii 11-12	בכול מרומי מקדשי מלכות כבוד
4Q405 24 1	[...]פלא מלכות[...]
4Q405 24 3	[...]מלכות כבוד מלך כול א[לוהים...]
4Q405 35 4	[...]מלכות[...]
MasSS ii 20	[...]שבע תהלי רום מלכותו

מלכי צדק (pr n)

4Q401 11 3	[...]מלכי צדק כוהן בעד[ת...]
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ממלכה (n)

4Q401 5 5	[...]כול ממלכו[ת...]
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4Q401 21 2	[...] ממלכוֹ [ת...] [...]
4Q403 1 ii 3	[...] מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוֹחַ [...] [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 4	[...] ממלכות מושבי כבוד למרכבוֹ [ת...] [...]
4Q405 23 ii 11	ראשי ממלכות ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש
11Q55 3-4 5	[...] ממלכוֹ ת מוש [בי...] [...]
(n) ממשלה	
4Q401 14 i 6	[...] לראשי ממשלת [...] [...]
4Q405 23 i 8	ובכול מוצאי קודש לממשלתם
4Q405 23 i 12	כ[י] א ירחם בממשלת עברו כל [ת...] [...]
(n) מנחה	
11Q55 8-7 2	[...] ריח מנחותם [...] [...]
(n) מנת/מנה	
4Q403 1 i 39-40	זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש
4Q403 1 ii 20	ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במנה פלאיו
(n) מספר	
11Q55 8-7 3	[...] לם ור[י] ח נסכיהם למס [פר...] (?) [...]
(n) מסרה	
4Q405 23 ii 13	[...] קות מסרתם בכול [...] [...]
(n) מעון	
4Q400 2 5	יספרו במעוני עומדם
4Q400 2 6	וכוהנונו מה במעוניהם
4Q402 11 4	[...] ומעונ[י] [...] [...]
4Q403 1 ii 19	סוד שני במעוני פלא
4Q403 1 ii 23	[...] השר מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא
4Q403 1 ii 45	[...] מעונ[י] [...] [...]
4Q405 8-9 2-3	[...] ור[י] ב סו ד שני במעוני פלא
4Q406 1 2	[...] אלוהים [...] ס כיא ממעונ [...] [...]
(adv) מעל	
4Q403 1 i 28	בורך [ה] אד[ו] ו מל[ך] ה כול מעלה לכול ברכה ות [...] [...]
4Q405 2 2	[מ...] עלה בכו ל [...] [...]
4Q405 31 3	[...] ממעלה [...] [...]
(n) מעמד	
4Q403 1 i 12	[...] אמתו לכול מע[מדיהם] [...] [...]
4Q405 7 4	[...] רא[שי] [...] ס במעמד [...] [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 14	[ו] רנני כול פקודיהם אחד א[ח] ד במעמד [ו...] [...]
4Q405 23 ii 7	[...] קדשיהם vac במעמד פלאיהם
4Q405 23 ii 8-9	מחזקות מעמד קודשם לפני [מ] לכ

4Q405 37 2	[...מע]מדיה[ם...]
11Q ^{SS} 5-6 9	[...]מעמדי[...]
11Q ^{SS} h-i 7	[...]קורב במע[מד...](?)

מען (prep/conj)

4Q405 6 7

מעשה (n)

4Q400 1 i 5	[...]אֱלוֹהִים חַוָּה חֻקִּיו לְכוֹל מַעֲשֵׂי רוּחַ
4Q401 20 2	[...]נְבוֹן בְּמַעַ[שִׁי...](?)
4Q402 2 3	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי רוּחַ[מֵה...]
4Q402 4 11	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי חֲדָשׁוֹת פֶּל[א]
4Q403 1 i 35-36	[בִּרְ]צוֹן דַּעְתּוֹ כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂיו בְּמִשְׁלַחַם
4Q403 1 i 43-44	כֹּל[וֹ] לְ[...] <u>יְתוֹ מַעֲשֵׂי תַבְנִי[יְתוֹ...]</u>
4Q405 7 10	[...]בוּ מַעֲשֵׂ[י...]
4Q405 14-15 i 6	מַעֲשֵׂי רוּקְמוֹת פֶּלֶא
4Q405 17 7	[...]תַּ מַּעֲשֵׂי[...]
4Q405 19 3-4	מַעֲשֵׂי רוּחַ[חַוָּה] רִקִּיעַ פֶּלֶא מְמוֹלַח טוֹהַר
4Q405 19 4-5	צוּרֵי רוּחוֹת מֵאִירִים כֹּל[וֹ] לְ[מַעֲשֵׂי]הֶם
4Q405 19 6	צוּרוֹת כְּבוֹד לְמַעֲשֵׂי לְ[בִנְיָן] יְהוּד וְהַד[ר]
4Q405 19 6-7	אֱלוֹהִים חַיִּים כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וְצוּרוֹת בְּדִנְיָהֶם
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 4	[...]קוֹדֶשׁ מַעֲשֵׂי פְנוּ[תוֹ...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10-11	בְּדָמוֹת חֲשֹׁמֶל וּמַעֲשֵׂי[נִ] וְגַה
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוּחוֹת רוּקְמָה כְּמַעֲשֵׂי אוּרִג
4Q405 23 ii 9	וּדְמוּת רוּחַ כְּבוֹד כְּמַעֲשֵׂי אוֹפִירִים
4Q405 23 ii 10	וְכוֹל מַחֲשַׁבְיָהֶם מְמוֹלַח טוֹהַר חֶשֶׁב כְּמַעֲשֵׂי אוּרִג
4Q405 23 ii 12	[וֹ]בְּרָכוֹ לְאֱלוֹהֵי דַעַת בְּכוֹל מַעֲשֵׂי כְבוֹדוֹ
4Q405 33 2	[...]לְמַעֲשֵׂ[י...](?)
4Q405 61 1	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי[...]
Mas ^{SS} i 6	כִּיָּא מְמַעֲשֵׂי כְבוֹדוֹ הֶם
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 3	[...]כַּבֹּד מַעֲשֵׂיו וּבְאוּ[ר...]
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 4-5	[...]וּדֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד לְכוֹל מַעֲשֵׂי אִמָּה[וֹ...]
11Q ^{SS} 3-4 5	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי פְנוּתוֹ[...]
11Q ^{SS} 8-7 1	[...]כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם[...]
11Q ^{SS} b 2	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי[י...]
11Q ^{SS} f 3	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי לֵב[נִי...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 3	[...]רַחֲמֵי מַעֲשֵׂי[י...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 4-5	[...]מֵאִירִים יָם כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם[...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 5-6	[...]צוּרוֹת[...] <u>לְמַעַ[שִׁי...]</u>

מפלג (n)

4Q405 23 i 7 וקול ברך מכול מפלגיו

מקדש (n)

4Q400 1 i 7 וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש [...]
 4Q403 1 i 11 [...] סודיהם במקדש [...]
 4Q403 1 i 42 רקיע יְיָ טוהר טהורים למקדש קודש[ו]
 4Q403 1 ii 21 [...] רום שבעת גבולי פלא בחורות מקדשיו
 4Q403 1 ii 22 [...] כֹּהֵן[נות] שבע במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש
 4Q404 5 5 [...] מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים [...]
 4Q405 6 7 [...] ל מקדש[י] פלא רוחות אלוהים סביבה למען [...]
 4Q405 8-9 6 [...] מקדש [...]
 4Q405 11 5 [...] שוש מקדש [...]
 4Q405 23 ii 4 [...] קדוש מקדש כול [...]
 4Q405 23 ii 11-12 בכול מרומי מקדשי מלכות כבודו
 4Q405 41 1 [...] מקדש [...]

מקור (n)

4Q400 1 i 7 וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש [...]
 4Q401 15 2 [...] ומקור ה[קודש] [...]

מראה (n)

4Q403 1 ii 3 [...] מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוח [...]
 4Q403 1 ii 6 ירוצו א[לו]הים כמראי גחלי [...]
 4Q403 1 ii 8 רוחות אלוהים מראי עו[למים] [...]
 4Q405 15 ii-16 3 [...] מראי להבי אש [...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9-10 יצא ומבין [ג]לגלי כבודו כמראי אש
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10 רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי אש
 4Q405 23 ii 8 בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור
 4Q405 23 ii 9 רוחי צבעי [...] בתוך מראי חור

מרום (n)

4Q400 1 i 20 כוהני מרומי רום ה[קר]בים [...]
 4Q400 1 ii 2 [...] מרומים והנ [...]
 4Q400 1 ii 4 [...] בשערי מרומי רום [...]
 4Q400 2 4 [...] שמי מלכותו ובכול מרומי רום
 4Q401 23 2 [...] ל מרומים [...]
 4Q402 3 ii 9 [...] מרום ופל[ג] [...]
 4Q403 1 i 30-31 הללו אלוהי מרומים הרמים בכול אלי דעת
 4Q403 1 i 33 [...] רוממו רוממו למרום אלוהים מאלי רום
 4Q403 1 i 33-34 ואלוהות כבודו מעל לכול מרומי רום

4Q403 1 i 34	כִּיָּא הוּא[א...] לְכוֹל רָאשֵׁי מְרוֹמִים
4Q403 1 i 43	[ע...] וְלִמִּים רָקִיעַ רוֹשׁ מְרוֹ[מ] יָם
4Q404 2 6	[...] וּבֶרֶךְ לְכוֹל מְרוֹמִי[...]
4Q405 4-5 1	[...] מְרוֹם אֱלֹהִים[...]
4Q405 4-5 2	[...] לְכוֹל מְרוֹמִי[...]
4Q405 4-5 2	[...] רָא שֵׁי מְרוֹמִים וּמֶלֶךְ[...]
4Q405 6 4	[...] עוֹלָמִי עוֹלָמִים רָקִיעַ[ע ר] עֲשֵׂי מְרוֹמִים[...]
4Q405 23 ii 11-12	בְּכוֹל מְרוֹמִי מִקְדָּשִׁי מִלְכוּת כְּבוֹדוֹ
MasŠŠ i 9	[א...] לְ[וה] אֱלִים יוֹשְׁבֵי מְרוֹמִי רוֹמִים
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 1	[...] מְרוֹמִי כ[בוֹדוֹ]
11QŠŠ 3-4 1	[...] עַל מְרוֹם כְּסֵא[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 6	[...] מְרוֹמִי[...]

(n) מרכבה

4Q403 1 ii 15	וְהִלְלוּ יַחַד מְרַכְבוֹת דְּבִירוֹ
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3	[...] מְרַכְבוֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 4	[...] מִמְּלֻכּוֹת מוֹשְׁבֵי כְבוֹד לְמִרְכְּבוֹ[וה...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 5	[...] מְרַכְבוֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ בִּלְכֻתָּהָ ל[...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8	הַבְּנִיית כְּסֵא מְרַכְבָּה מְבָרְכִים מִמַּעַל לְרָקִיעַ הַכְּרוּבִים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11-12	מִתְהַלְכִּים עִם כְּבוֹד מְרַכְבוֹת [ה] פֶּלֶא
4Q405 37 1	[...] מְרַכְבוֹת [...]
4Q405 47 1	[...] מְרַכְבוֹת[...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 6	[...] מְרַכְבוֹת הַדְּרוֹ וְלִדְבִירֵי קוֹ[דשו...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 4	[...] מְרַכְבוֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]

(n) משא

4Q403 1 i 41	עֲמוּדֵי מִשָּׁא לְזָבוֹל רוֹם רוֹמִים
4Q403 1 i 41-42	זִמְ[רו] ... לְ[מש] אֶחָד רָקִיעַ יְזוֹ טוֹהַר טְהוּרִים
4Q405 6 2	[...] מִשָּׁא [ל] זָבוֹל רוֹ[ם רוֹמ] יָם
4Q405 6 3	[...] דָּעַת וְאוֹר לְמִשָּׁא יַחַד[ד רָקִיעַ] טוֹהַר[...]
4Q405 23 i 1	[...] מִשָּׁאִיהָ[...]
4Q405 23 i 5	[...] לְכָל מִשָּׁא כּוֹל כִּיָּא אֱלֹהִי כִלְיוֹ [...]
4Q405 81 3	[...] יָם לְמִשָּׁא[...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 5-6	[...] הוּא מִשָּׁא קוֹדֵשׁ לְכְּסֵאֵי כְבוֹדוֹ
11QŠŠ 5-6 5	יֵשׁ[מע] וּמִקּוֹל מִשָּׁא אֱלֹהִים[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 6-7	[...] לְמוֹסְדֵי פֶלֶא לְמִשָּׁא מ[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 8	[...] בְּמִשָּׁא[...]

משכיל (n)

- 4Q400 3 ii 8 למשכיל ש[יר...]
 4Q401 1 l למשכיל ש[יר...]
 4Q403 1 i 30 למשכיל שיר עולת השבֹּנוֹ השביעית
 4Q403 1 ii 18 למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השמינית
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6 למש[כיל...] ה[ש] בַּת שְׁתִּים עשרא[...]
 4Q406 1 4 למשכיל שיר עולת השבת הש[...]
 11Q^{SS} 3-4 8 למש[כיל] שיר[...]

משוב (n)

- 4Q403 1 i 23 ל[מ]שוב ר[חמי] חסדיו (?)
 4Q403 1 i 39 וירצו דעתם ... והודותם במשוב יד גבורתו

משכן (n)

- 4Q403 1 ii 10 ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו דבִּיר[...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7 ורוממ[ו] הוֹ הוֹ הכבוד במשכ[ן...]

משלח (n)

- 4Q403 1 i 35-36 [בר]צון דעתו כול מעשיו במשלח

משלוחה/משלחה (n)

- 4Q405 23 i 12 לוא ירומו ממשלוחתו לוא ישפל[ו]
 4Q405 23 i 13 [...] לְכֹל משלוחתו בתוכן vac א[מ]תו
 11Q^{SS} e 2 [...] לחות [...] (?)

משמע (n)

- 4Q403 1 ii 12 וקול הברך נִשְׁמַע נכבד למשמע אלוהים

משנה (n)

- 4Q400 3 ii 2 [...] לנשיאי משנה [...]°
 4Q401 3 4 [...] שניהו תגבר[...]
 4Q405 11 2-3 [...] משניו תגבר משלישי לו
 4Q405 13 4-5 הששי במשני [נשי]אי פלא יברך בשם גב[ורות...]
 4Q405 13 7 [...] והשביעי[ע] ב[נשיאי] מש[ני...]°
 11Q^{SS} j-d-g-p 8 [...] במשני מ[...]
 11Q^{SS} o 5 [...] משני ר[...]

משפט (n)

- 4Q400 1 i 5 לכול מעשי רוח ומשפטי [...]°
 4Q400 1 i 17 כול קדושים עם משפטי [...]°
 4Q400 1 ii 11 [...] למשפטי שקט ב[...]
 4Q403 1 i 24-25 [...] לכול מרומי משפטיו
 4Q403 1 i 39 וירצו דעתם במשפטי פיהו
 4Q403 1 i 39 במשוב יד גבורתו למשפטי שלומים

4Q405 48 1	[...]שֹׁפֵט עִמָּם [...]
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 2	[...]שׁ[ו]מיו במשפטי [...]רחמיו ביקר ◦ [...]
11Q ^{SS} 1 2	[...]משפֿ[טי] [...]
	משקד (n)
4Q405 51 2	[...]סר משקד [...]
	נהר (n)
4Q405 15 ii-16 2	[...]ונהרי אור ◦ [...]
	נוגה (n)
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10-11	בדמות חשמל ומעשי [נ]וגה
	נחלה (n)
4Q400 1 i 13	[...]בגבולם ובנחלתם [...]
	נסך (n)
11Q ^{SS} 8-7 3	[...]לם ורָ[י]ח נסכיהם למס[פר] ◦ [...]
	נפל (v)
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	יִפּוּלוּ לִפְנֵי הָ[כְרוּ]בִים
	נפלאה (n)
4Q401 9 1	[...]לנפלאותי [...]
4Q401 14 ii 2	[...]רָז[י] נפלאותיה ◦ [...]
4Q401 29 2	[...]ם לנפלאות [...]
4Q403 1 i 6-7	בִּשְׁ[בַע]ה...נָ[פ]ל[א]ותי[ה] ◦ (?)
4Q403 1 i 13	[...]ה]מלך בשבעת דָּ[בְרִי] כָּ[ב]וּד[ו]דָּ נָ[פְלָאוֹתִיו] ◦ [...]
4Q403 1 i 19	[...]יברך בשם [...]נפלאותיו
4Q404 1 2	[...]נפלאוֹתִיהָ וְזָמַר [...] ◦ [...]
4Q405 3 ii 3	[...]דברי כבוד נפלאותו לכול טהוֹ[רִי] ◦ [...]
4Q405 3 ii 9	[...]נפלאותו לכול יודעי רזי ◦ [...]
4Q405 17 5	[...]נפל[א]ות מלאכי תפארת ורוחי [...] (?)
4Q405 41 2	[...]נפל[א]ות חֲשָׁנִי בָּ [...] (?)
Mas ^{SS} ii 21	שבע ונהלי הודות נפלאותיו שבע תהָ[לִי] ◦ [...]
11Q ^{SS} h-i 1	[...]נפל[א]ותיה [...] (?)
11Q ^{SS} h-i 4	[...]נפל[א]ותיהם [...] (?)
	נצח (n)
4Q403 1 i 25	[מה]לְלִי מַלְכוּת כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]נצח
	נקמה (n)
4Q400 1 i 18	ובנקמת קנאתו [...]
	נשיא (n)
4Q400 1 ii 14	[...]מלך נשיאי [...]
4Q400 3 ii 2	[...]לנשיאי משנה ◦ [...]

4Q401 3 3	[...תג] בָּרַךְ שֶׁ לְנִשְׂאָה [...]...
4Q401 14 ii 6	[...] נִשְׂאִי מְ [...]...
4Q401 23 1	[...] נִשְׂאִי קוֹ [דש]
4Q403 1 i 1	[...] הַשְׁלִישִׁי לְנִשְׂאִי רוֹשׁ
4Q403 1 i 6	תִּהְיֶה [בל] שׁוֹךְ הַשְּׁבִיעִי לְנִשְׂאִי [...]...
4Q403 1 i 10	לְנִשְׂאִי ר' [וש...]
4Q403 1 i 17	[...] בְּנִשְׂאִי רוֹשׁ שׁ
4Q403 1 i 18-19	[...] הַחֲמִישִׁי [י] בְּנִשְׂאִי [...] יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁמִי [...]...
4Q403 1 i 21	הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּנִשְׂאִי רוֹשׁ יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁמִי [...] אֵלִים
4Q403 1 i 23-24	[השב] יְעִי בְּנִשְׂאִי רוֹשׁ יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁמִי קוֹדֶשׁוֹ
4Q403 1 i 26	וְכֹל נִשְׂאִי [...]...
4Q403 1 ii 20	וְרוֹמְמוֹהוּ רֹאשִׁי נִשְׂאִים בְּמִנְה פְּלִאִי
4Q403 1 ii 21	רֹאשִׁי נִשְׂאִי כֹהֵן [נות...]
4Q405 3 i 12a	[...] לְנִשְׂאִי רוֹשׁ [...]...
4Q405 3 ii 6	[...] בְּנִשְׂאִי רוֹשׁ יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁמִי הַיּוֹד [...]...
4Q405 8-9 5-6	[...] רֹאשׁ י נִשְׂאִי [כ] הַיּוֹנוֹת פֶּלֶא [א] שׁ [...]...
4Q405 13 2-3	[...] הַחֲמִי שִׁי בְּנִשְׂאִי [...] פֶּלֶא
4Q405 13 4-5	הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּמִשְׁנֵי [נשי] אֵי פֶלֶא יִבְרַךְ בִּשְׁמִי גִבּוֹר [ורוה...]
4Q405 13 7	[...] וְהַשְּׁבִיעִי עֵי [ב] נִשְׂאִי מִשׁ [ני...]
	נִשְׂמָה (n)
4Q401 3 1	[...] נִשְׂמֹת [...]...
	נִתִּיבָה (n)
4Q400 1 ii 10	[...] לְשֶׁבַע נִתִּיבוֹת [...]...
	סָבַב (v)
11Qšš 3-4 6	[...] י סָבּוּ לְכֹל ע' [...] (?)
	סָבִיב (n)
4Q403 1 ii 7	[...] מִתְהַלֵּךְ סָבִיב רוּחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשִׁים [...]...
4Q403 1 ii 9	וְרוּחוֹת אֱלֹהִים כְּדָנִי לִהְבֹּת אֶשׁ סָבִיבָה ל' [...]...
4Q405 6 7	[...] ל מִקְדָּשׁ [י] פֶּלֶא רוּחוֹת אֱלֹהִים סָבִיבָה לְמַעַן [...]...
4Q405 7 6	[...] וּל סָבִיב [...]...
4Q405 19 5-6	[ב] דָּנִי צוֹרוֹת אֱלֹהִים מִחוּקְקוֹ סָבִיב לְלִבִּנִי [כ] בֹּדֶם
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10	רוּחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ קְדָשִׁים סָבִיב מִרְאִי שְׁבוּלִי אֶשׁ
11Qšš j-d-g-p 5	[...] מ חוּקֶק סָב [י] ב [...]...
	סֹדֶר (n)
4Q404 7 2	[...] ל סֹדְרִי [...]...
	סוֹד (n)
4Q400 1 i 11	[...] ו רְבוּ בָּם לְפִי סוֹד [...]...

- 4Q400 1 ii 9 [...] כבוד בסוד אל[ים...]
 4Q401 5 4 [...] בסוד א[לוהים...]
 4Q401 36 1 [...] סודי [...]
 4Q403 1 i 11 [...] סודיה[ם] במקדש[...]
 4Q403 1 i 34 ומלך מלך[ים] לכול סודי עולמים
 4Q403 1 ii 19 [...] עולמים שניים בכוהני קורב סוד שני במעוני פלא
 4Q403 1 ii 22 [...] כוה[נות] שבע במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש
 4Q405 8-9 2-3 [...] ק[וֹרְבָן] סוֹד שני במעוני פלא ב[שבע...]
 MasŠŠ ii 25 [...] ד[בר] פלא לברך כול סודי[הם...]
 סור (v)
 4Q402 3 ii 8 [...] מסיר שֹׁן[...]
 סליחה (n)
 4Q400 1 i 18 [...] סדיו לסליחות רחמי עולמים
 ספר (v)
 4Q400 2 3 וספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם
 4Q400 2 5 [...] כבוד מלך אלוהים יספרו במעוני עומדם
 4Q405 23 i 7 וקול ברך מכול מפלגיו מספרה רקיעי כסודו
 סתר (v)
 4Q401 14 ii 7 [...] השמיעו נסתרות [...]
 4Q401 17 4 [...] ת יוֹד[ע] על בבינת נס[תרות...] (?)
 MasŠŠ i 1 [...] עשה פלא בנסתרות עד (?)
 עבר (n)
 4Q405 15 ii-16 5 [...] כבוד משני עבריהם[...]
 4Q405 15 ii-16 6 [...] עבריהם ישמיעו [...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 14 [...] וּמבין כול דגליה[ם] בעבר[ם] [...] (?)
 4Q405 80 2 [...] עבריהם[...]
 עברה (n)
 4Q405 23 i 12 כ[י] א ירחם בממשלת עברת כל[ת...] סו
 עד (n)
 4Q400 1 i 3 [...] בקדושי עד קדושי קדושים
 4Q400 1 i 15 בם יתקדשו כול קדושי עד
 4Q403 1 i 29 [וב]רך לכוֹל ברוכי עד
 4Q403 1 i 37 [...] אלוהים לכול מרנני דַּעַן עד
 MasŠŠ i 1 [...] עשה פלא בנסתרות עד (?)
 MasŠŠ i 2 נהיו כול הוי עד
 11QŠŠ q 3 [...] מלך כול קדושי עד[ם] [...]

עדה (n)

- 4Q400 1 i 4 בעדה לכול אלי [...] ^ו
 4Q401 11 3 [...]מלכי [צדק כוהן בעד^ות...] ^ו
 4Q403 1 ii 24 [...] רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדו המלך
 4Q405 23 i 3 [...]כסאיכָה־כבוד מלכותו וכול עדת משרתי [...]

עוה (v)

- 4Q400 1 i 14 לוא יכלכלו כול־נָ[עוי] דרך (?) ^ו
 4Q400 1 i 16 [...]ל־כול נעוי דרך

עוז/עז (n)

- 4Q402 1 4 [...]גבו[רתם לגבורי עוז] ^ו
 4Q403 1 i 6 זמר עוז [לאלו]הי קו[דש] ^ו
 4Q403 1 i 9 [...]ר[נ]ו[ת עוז] ^ו
 4Q403 1 i 25 בשב[עה דב]רי פלא למגני עוז ^ו
 4Q403 1 i 39-40 זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש ^ו
 4Q405 3 ii 17 [...] למגני עוז וב[רר]... ^ו
 4Q405 67 1 [...]פל]או זמרת ע[וז]... (?) ^ו
 MasŠŠ ii 17 [...] זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבע[ה]... ^ו
 11QŠŠ r 2 [...]ת עוז ל־... ^ו

עולה (n)

- 4Q403 1 i 30 למשכיל שיר עולה השבת השביעיות ^ו
 4Q403 1 ii 18 למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השמינית ^ו
 4Q406 1 4 למשכיל שיר עולה השבת הש[...]
 MasŠŠ i 8 [...]שי]ר עולת השבת הששית בתשעה לחודש ^ו

עולם (n)

- 4Q400 1 i 7 [...] עולמים וממקור הקודש
 4Q400 1 i 18 [...]ח]סדיו לסליחות רחמי עולמים
 4Q400 1 ii 12 [...] עולמים vac [...]
 4Q401 7 1 [...] עולמי [...]
 4Q401 8 1 [...]עולמי [...]
 4Q401 12 2 [...]שב]עה בחוקי עולמ[ים]...
 4Q401 17 2 [...]עו]למים א[...]
 4Q401 23 3 [...] עולמים [...]
 4Q402 4 13 [...]עולמ]ים עושה ראי[שוב] וה[...]
 4Q403 1 i 11 [...]לידו]עי עולמ[ים]...
 4Q403 1 i 13 [...]טהורי עולמים הש[לישי]...
 4Q403 1 i 22-23 ל[ת]מיד עם כול הויי [עול]מ[ים] (?) ^ו
 4Q403 1 i 26 בשבעה ד[ברי]...ל[ל] שלום עולמים ^ו

4Q403 1 i 27	[...] הֵי עוֹ [ל]מִיָּם [...]
4Q403 1 i 34	וּמֶלֶךְ מַלְכִּי [יָם] לְכוֹל סוּדֵי עוֹלָמִים
4Q403 1 i 35	לְמוֹצָא שְׁפָתָיו כּוֹל רוּחִי עוֹלָמִים
4Q403 1 i 40	וּגִיל בְּכוֹל קְדוּשִׁים לְזִמְרוֹת פֶּלֶא בְּשִׁמְחוֹ עוֹלָם [מִים]
4Q403 1 i 43	[...] וְלָמִים רָקִיעַ רוּשׁ מְרוֹ [מ] יָם
4Q403 1 i 44-45	[רו] הֵי קוֹדֶשׁ [שׁ עוֹ] לְמִים מִמַּעַל [.] כּוֹל קְדוֹ [שִׁים] [...]
4Q403 1 ii 8	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ קֹ [וּד] שִׁים רוּחוֹת אֱלֹהִים מְרַאֲי עוֹ [לְמִים] [...]
4Q403 1 ii 19	[...] עוֹלָמִים שְׁנִיִּים בְּכוֹהֲנֵי קוֹרֵב
4Q403 1 ii 20	[...] עוֹלָמִים וְרוֹמְמוֹהוּ רֹאשִׁי נְשִׂאִים
4Q404 2 8	[...] לְ [שְׁלוֹ]ם [עוֹלָמִים] [...]
4Q404 2 10	[...] עוֹ [לְמִים] הֵי [עֵם] [...]
4Q404 5 2	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ עוֹלָמִים מִמַּעַל [...]
4Q405 4-5 3	[...] רוּחִי י עוֹלָמִים בְּרַצְ [וֹן] [...]
4Q405 6 4	[...] הֵי עוֹלָמִי עוֹלָמִים רָקִי [ע ר] אֲשִׁי מְרוֹמִי [יָם] [...]
4Q405 8-9 3-4	[...] בְּכוֹל יְדוּעֵי [ע] וְלָמִים וְרוֹמִי [מוֹהוּ] [...]
4Q405 13 5	[...] גִּבּוֹרִי שְׁכַל בְּדַעוֹ עוֹלָמִים בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבָרֵי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא
4Q405 13 6	[...] לְהוֹ [מִיד] עִם כּוֹל הוֹיִי עוֹלָמִים
4Q405 14-15 i 4-5	[...] עוֹלָמִים [הוֹ] אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים
4Q405 19 3	רוּחִי אֵלֵי עוֹלָמִים כּוֹלִי [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 5	[...] אִמְתָּ וְצִדֵּק עוֹלָמִי [י] [...]
4Q405 23 i 4	[...] הֵי פֶלֶא בְּל יִמּוּטוֹ לְעוֹלָמִים אֱלֹהֵי [...]
4Q405 66 3	[...] שְׁבָ [עוֹ] עוֹלָמִי [...]
MasŠŠ i 3	וּמִדְּעוֹ [הוֹ] תִּיּוֹ הֵי כּוֹל וְעוֹדוֹת עוֹלָמִים
MasŠŠ i 11	[...] דָּ [עַת] אֵלֵי עוֹלָמִים
MasŠŠ ii 26	[...] הֵי לִידְעֵי עוֹלָמִים [...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 6	[...] וְצִדֵּק עוֹלָמִי [...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 3-4	בְּכוֹחַ אֱלֹהֵי [עוֹלָ] מִים מְרוֹמְמִים גְּבוּרוֹת אֱלֹ [הֵי] [...]
11QŠŠ 8-7 4	[...] עוֹלָמִים בְּ [הֵי] הֵי לֵי [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 3	[...] אֵל [י] עוֹלָמִים [...]
11QŠŠ k 5	[...] כְּסֵאֵי עוֹלָמִים [...]

עומד (n)

4Q400 2 5	יִסְפְּרוּ בְּמַעֲוֵנֵי עוֹמֵדִים
4Q405 23 i 2	[...] בְּעוֹמֵדִים [שְׁבַת] [...]
4Q405 23 i 6-7	[...] לֵת עוֹמֵדִים וְכוֹל [הֵי] רָקִי [ע] הֵי הַטּוֹהֵר

על/עלי (prep)

4Q401 i 14 4; 4Q403 1 i 2, 33, 44; 4Q404 5 2; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8;	
4Q405 23 i 10 (2x), 13; 11QŠŠ 3-4 1 (?)	

עם (n)

4Q400 1 i 6 [...]דעת עם בינות כבודו
 4Q402 10 2 [...]ועם[...]

עם (prep)

4Q400 1 i 17; 4Q402 1 2; 4Q403 1 i 22, 33; 4Q405 3 ii 14; 4Q405 13 6;
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11; 11Q^{SS} 2-1-9 7

עמד (v)

4Q401 2 3 [...]עמדו לפני[...]
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12-13 ובשוכן [יעמ]ודו קול גילות רנה השקיט (?)
 11Q^{SS} 3-4 2 [...]לו]א יתמהמהו בעומדם[...]

עמוד (n)

4Q403 1 i 41 עמודי משא לזבול רום רומים

עפר (n)

4Q400 2 7 [מה] תרומת לשון עפרנו

עשה (v)

4Q402 4 11 כ[ו]ל אלה עשה פל[א...]
 4Q402 4 13 [...]עולמ]ים עושה ראי[שונ]ות [...]
 4Q402 4 14 [...]להבין לפני ע[שותו]...
 Mas^{SS} i 1 [...]עשה פלא בנסתרות עד
 Mas^{SS} i 3-4 עושה ראישונות [...]תיהם ואחרונות למועדיהם
 Mas^{SS} i 4-5 ואין בידעים נגלי [...]לבהין לפני עשותו
 Mas^{SS} i 5-6 ובעשותו לא ישכילו כול [...]ק מה יזום

עשר (num)

4Q401 2 1 [...]ועשרים בח[ודש]...
 4Q403 1 i 30 השבת השביעית בשש עשר לחודש
 4Q403 1 ii 18 השבת השמינית בשלושה וע[שרים]...
 4Q404 3 2 [...]עש]ר לחוד[ש]...
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6 ה[ש]בת שתים עשרא[...]

פה (n)

4Q400 1 i 11 [...]ו]רבו בם לפי סוד[...]
 4Q400 1 i 17 ומפיהם הורוה כול קדושים
 4Q400 2 4 תהלי פלא לפי כול[...]
 4Q403 1 i 35 לאמרי פיהו יהיו כ[ול]...
 4Q403 1 i 36-37 רנוה פלאו בפי כול הוגי [...]
 4Q403 1 i 39 וירצו דעתם במשפטי פיהו
 4Q403 1 ii 30 ולפי שובועי ד[ברי]...
 4Q404 4 1 [...]פיה]ו י[ה]ו[...]

4Q405 4-5 3	[...] <u>פיהו יהי</u> [...]
	פלא (v)
4Q400 3 i 1 (?--פלא n?)	[...] בעד לרום הפלא [...]
4Q404 5 3	[...] <u>פלא נפלא הוד</u> [...]
4Q405 6 6	[...] <u>פלא נפלא הוד</u> [...] <u>ופלא ו</u> [...] <u>כבוד באור</u> [...]
	פלא (n)
4Q400 2 1	להלל כבודכה פלא באלי דעת
4Q400 2 2-3	פ[לא] מאלוהים ואנשים
4Q400 2 4	תהלי פלא לפי כול [...]
4Q400 3 ii-5 5-6	[...] ש[ב] דברי פלא [...]
4Q401 4 1	[...] סי פלא [...]
4Q401 14 i 7	להלל כבודכה פלא [...]
4Q401 14 i 8	ונו[ראים למו] <u>סדי אנשים פלא</u> [...]
4Q402 2 1	[...] פ[ל] א ור [...] [...]
4Q402 2 2	[...] פלא פ [...] [...]
4Q402 4 11	[...] מעשי חדשות פל[א]
4Q402 4 11	כ[ו] ל אלה עשה פל[א] [...]
4Q402 7 4	[...] פלא [...] [...]
4Q402 11 3	[...] פלא [...] [...]
4Q403 1 i 1	שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי פלא
4Q403 1 i 2	בשבע גבורות פלאה
4Q403 1 i 4	בשבעת הו[ד] ות פלאיה
4Q403 1 i 4	ש[בעה בש] ב[עה דב] רי הדות פלוא
4Q403 1 i 5-6	שבעה בש[בעה] רנות פלא
4Q403 1 i 11	[...] בשב[עה] ד[ב] רי פל[א] [...]
4Q403 1 i 16	יברכ בשב[עה] דברי פלא
4Q403 1 i 16	[...] ברי פלא
4Q403 1 i 21-22	בשבעה [ד] ברי גבורות פלאו
4Q403 1 i 22	וברך לכול תמימי דרך ב[ש] בעה דברי פלא
4Q403 1 i 23	וברך לכול חוכי לו בשבעה דבר[י] פלא
4Q403 1 i 24	בשב[עה] דברי קודש פלא[ו] [...]
4Q403 1 i 25	בשב[עה] דב[ר] רי פלא
4Q403 1 i 36	רננו מרנני [...] רונן באלוהי פלא
4Q403 1 i 36-37	רנות פלאו בפי כול הוגי [...]
4Q403 1 i 40	וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא
4Q403 1 ii 10	[...] רוחות פלא ומשכן רוש רום
4Q403 1 ii 13	יחושו בתהלי פלא בדבי[ר] [...]

4Q403 1 ii 14	[...] פלא דביר לדביר
4Q403 1 ii 15	וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניה[ם...]
4Q403 1 ii 19	סוד שני במעוני פלא
4Q403 1 ii 20	ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במנה פלאיו
4Q403 1 ii 21	[...] רום שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו
4Q403 1 ii 22	[...] כוה[נות] שבע במקדש פלא
4Q403 1 ii 23	[...] השר מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא
4Q403 1 ii 27	[...] שבע רזי דעת ברז הפלא
4Q403 1 ii 31	[...] בטהלי פלא בדב[רי פ]לא[...]
4Q403 1 ii 32	[...] הפלא vac [...] ברך ב[...]
4Q403 1 ii 33	[...] הפלא והלל לאדון כול איל[י...]
4Q403 1 ii 34	[...] ראוש פלאיו להלל גדול[...]
4Q403 1 ii 37	[...] פלא ת[...]
4Q403 2 3	[...] ש וטהלי פלא [...]
4Q404 2 1	[...] דברי פלא וברך לכול[...]
4Q404 2 3	[...] פלאיו וברך לכול תמימ[י] דרך
4Q404 2 4	[בש] בעה דברי פ[לא...]
4Q404 5 3	[...] ע פלא נפלא הוד [...]
4Q404 5 5	[...] מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים[...]
4Q404 6 4	[...] פלא [...]
4Q404 13 1	[...] פלאו[...]
4Q405 3 ii 2	[...] דברי פלא וברך בשבעה דבר[י...]
4Q405 3 ii 5	[...] ברך בשבעה דברי פלא
4Q405 3 ii 11	[...] הוד להודי פלא הששי[...]
4Q405 3 ii 18	[...] דברי פלא לש[לום...]
4Q405 6 1	[...] א בשמח[ת...]
4Q405 6 6	[...] י פלא נפלא[הוד] ופלא ו[כבוד באור [...]]
4Q405 6 7	[...] ל מקדש[י] פלא רוחות אלוהים
4Q405 8-9 2-3	[...] ור[ב סו] ד שני במעוני פלא ב[שבע...]
4Q405 8-9 5-6	[...] ראש[י] נשיאי [כ] הונוות פל[א] ש[...]
4Q405 12 2	[...] הפלא [...]
4Q405 13 3	[החמי] שי בנש[יאי...] פלא יברך בשם[...]
4Q405 13 4-5	הששי במשני [נשי] אי פלא יברך בשם גב[ורות...]
4Q405 13 5	בשבעה דברי גבורות פלאו
4Q405 14-15 i 2	[...] דמות פלא רוח קוד[ש] קודשים
4Q405 14-15 i 3	והלל פלאיהם לאל אלים[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 6	מעשי רוקמות פלא

4Q405 15 ii-16 5	[...] פִּרְכוֹת דְּבִירִי הַפֶּלֶא וּבְרָכוּ ל[...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 6	[...] פֶּלֶא מִבֵּיתָה לִיקָסָה הַדְּבִיר[...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 7	[...] פֶּלֶא[...]
4Q405 17 2	[...] פֶּלֶאִים[...]
4Q405 18 5	[...] הֶלִי פֶלֶא בְּדַמְמַת ק[...]
4Q405 19 2-3	[...] כְּבוֹד מִדְּרַס דְּבִירִי פֶלֶא
4Q405 19 3-4	מַעֲשֵׂי רוֹ[חֹת] רָקִיעַ פֶּלֶא מִמּוֹלַח טוֹהַר
4Q405 19 5	ק[וֹד] שִׁי דְּבָקִי פֶלֶא [...]
4Q405 19 7	מִתַּחַת לְד[בִּירִי] הַפֶּלֶא
4Q405 20 i 2	[...] פֶּלֶא אֵיהֶם[...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	[...] פֶּלֶא וְרוֹמֶם[וְהוּא...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 (read טוֹהַר)	בְּרוֹקֶמֶת כְּבוֹד צְבָעִי פֶלֶא מִמּוֹלַח טוֹהַר
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11-12	מִוְהַלְכִים עִם כְּבוֹד מִרְכָּבוֹת [ה] פֶּלֶא
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12	וְהִלְלוּ קוֹדֶשׁ בְּהִשְׁיֵב דְּרָכֵיהֶם בְּהִרּוֹמָם יְרוֹמְמוּ פֶלֶא
4Q405 23 i 4	[...] פֶּלֶא בֵּל יְמוֹטוֹ לְעוֹלָמִים
4Q405 23 ii 7	[...] קְדֻשֵׁיהֶם vac בְּמַעֲמַד פֶּלֶאֵיהֶם
4Q405 23 ii 10	אֱלֹהֵי רֹאשִׁי לְבוֹשִׁי פֶלֶא לְשֵׁרֶת
4Q405 24 1	[...] פֶּלֶא מַלְכוּת[...]
4Q405 30 3	[...] פֶּלֶא פֶּלֶא[...]
4Q405 31 2	[...] פֶּלֶא רוּחִי כ[...]
4Q405 46 1	[...] כְּבוֹד[...]
4Q405 67 1	[...] פֶּלֶא אוֹ זִמְרַת ע[וֹז...]
4Q406 2 3	[...] פֶּלֶא[...]
MasŠŠ i 1	[...] עֲשֵׂה פֶּלֶא בְּנִסְתָּרוֹת עַד
MasŠŠ ii 9	[...] פֶּלֶא[...]
MasŠŠ ii 16	[...] פֶּלֶא תֵּה[לֵּת] זִמְרָה
MasŠŠ ii 19	[...] פֶּלֶא שִׁבְעַת תְּהִלֵּי בְּרָכוֹתָיו
MasŠŠ ii 23	[...] שִׁבְעָה בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבִירִי פֶלֶא דְּב[רִי...]
MasŠŠ ii 25	[...] דְּבִירִי פֶלֶא לְבָרַךְ כּוֹל סוּדִי[הֶם...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 5	[...] גִּבּוֹרֶת פֶּלֶא[...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 1	[...] פֶּלֶא דַּעַת וּבִינָה[ה...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 1	[...] רָקִיעִי פֶּלֶא[א...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 2	[...] כּוֹל וּבְנִית רוּחִי פֶּלֶא[א...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 3-4	[פֶּלֶא] אֵי פֶּלֶאֵיהֶם בְּכוּחַ אֱלֹהֵי[עוֹלָם] מִים
11QŠŠ 5-6 4-5	[...] מִאֲרַבְעַת מוֹסְדֵי רָקִיעַ הַפֶּלֶא
11QŠŠ 5-6 6-7	[...] לְמוֹסְדֵי פֶּלֶא לְמִשְׁא מ[...]
11QŠŠ 8-7 4	[...] פֶּלֶא וּתְבִנִית חֲשָׁנִי[...]

1lQšš f 5	[...]כס[אי פלא כֹּ [...]]
1lQšš h-i 8	[...]פֶּלֶא לְבֹרֶךְ [...]
1lQšš h-i 9	[...]פֶּלֶא לֹא [י]בֹרֶךְ בִּסְ [...]
1lQšš j-d-g-p 3	[...]ה רָקִיעַ פֶּלֶא מִ [...]
1lQšš j-d-g-p 9	[...]פֶּלֶאִי הוֹד ו [...]
1lQšš m 3	[...]בְּדָנִי פֶּלֶא [...]
1lQšš n 3	[...]פֶּלֶאִיהֶם כּוֹל [...]
1lQšš o 1	[...]הָאֹר מִסֵּם פֶּלֶא [...]

פֶּלֶג (v)

4Q402 3 ii 9	[...]מְרוֹם וּפֶלֶג [...]
4Q402 4 2	[...]יָם וּפֶלֶג דַּעַת [...]

פֶּנֶה (n--corner)

4Q403 1 i 41	עֲמוּדֵי מִשָּׁא לְזָבוּל רוֹם רוֹמִים וְכוֹל פְּנוֹת מִבְּנֵיתוֹ
4Q405 6 2	[...]מִשָּׁא [ל]זָבוּל רוֹם [רומ]יָם וְכוֹל פְּנוֹת [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 4	[...]קוֹדֶשׁ מַעֲשֵׂי פְנוֹת [...]
1lQšš 2-1-9 7	[...]פֶּנֶה [נ]יָתוּ (?)
1lQšš 3-4 5	[...]מַעֲשֵׂי פְנוֹתוֹ [...]

פֶּנֶה (n--face)

4Q400 1 i 4	[...]מִשְׁרָתֵי פָנִים בְּדַבִּיר כְּבוֹדוֹ
4Q400 1 i 8	[...]מִשְׁרָתֵי פָנֵי מֶלֶךְ קוֹדֶשׁ [...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 4	[...]בְּדַבִּיר פְּנוֹ רוֹקְמָו [...]
4Q405 59 2	[...]פָּנִים [...]
1lQšš 3-4 1	[...]א פָּנָיו [...] (?)

פֶּנֶה (with prefixed prep)

4Q401 2 3; 4Q401 12 3 (?); 4Q402 4 14, 15; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 2; 4Q405 23 ii 8; Masšš i 5, 6	
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פָּקוֹד (n)

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 14	[...]רָנְנוּ כּוֹל פְּקוּדֵיהֶם אֶחָד אֶחָד [ח]ד בְּמַעֲמַד [...]
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פָּקוּדָה (n)

4Q402 4 9	[...]אֱלֹהִים יִרְצוּ לְפָקוּדָה [...]
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פָּרוּכָה/פָּרֻכָה (n)

4Q405 15 ii-16 3	[...]תִּפְאֶרֶת בְּפָרוּכָה דְּבִיר הַמֶּלֶךְ [...]
4Q405 15 ii-16 5	[...]פָּרוּכָה דְּבִירֵי הַפֶּלֶא וּבְרָכוֹ ל [...]

פָּרֶשׁ (v)

4Q405 23 ii 5	[...]אֲפֻדֵיהֶם יִפְרִישׁ [...]
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פָּשַׁע (n)

4Q400 1 i 16	וַיִּכְפְּרוּ רָצוֹנוֹ בְּעַד כּוֹל שְׁבִי פָשַׁע
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4Q402 1 5	לכול יסודי פשע
	פתוח (n)
4Q405 23 ii 1	[...] תפארת לפתוחי [...]
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג פתוחי צורות הדר
	פתח (v)
4Q405 14-15 i 2	[...] דמות פלא רוח קוד[ש] קודשים מפות[ח...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5	[...] ת אלוהים חיים מפותח באלמי מבואי מלך
	פתח (n)
4Q405 23 i 8	במבואי אלי דעת בפתחי כבוד
4Q405 23 i 9	פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים כבוד המלך
11Q ^{SS} 2-1-9 6-7	[...] ה ולפתחי מבואי [...] עם כול מוצאי [...]
	צבע (n)
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 (read טוהר)	ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוה
4Q405 23 ii 8	בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור
4Q405 23 ii 9	רוחי צבעי [...] בתוך מראי חור
4Q405 49 2	[...] כל צבע [...]
11Q ^{SS} 8-7 5	[...] ממולח טוהר צבעי [...]
	צדק (n)
4Q400 1 ii 18	[...] vac צדק [...]
4Q401 10 1	[...] צדק [...]
4Q401 22 3	[...] כי צדק [...]
4Q403 1 i 16	וברך לכול [...] י צדק
4Q403 1 i 18	[...] בשבע ה דברי צדק
4Q403 1 i 25	וברך לכול נו[עדי] צד[ק...]
4Q403 1 i 27	[...] ברכו לנועדי צדק
4Q403 1 i 38	וכל רוחות צדק יודו באמונו
4Q404 2 7	[...] צדק מהללי [...]
4Q404 5 6	[...] מלך אמת [ו] צדק כול קירותו [...]
4Q404 8 2	[...] צדק [...]
4Q404 8 3	[...] אי צדק [...]
4Q405 3 ii 5	וברך לכול [...] צדק
4Q405 3 ii 8	[...] בשבעה דברי צדק לרח[מי...]
4Q405 19 4	[...] רוחי דעת אמת [ו] צדק
4Q405 20 i 1	[...] צדק [...] (?)
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 5	[...] אמת וצדק עולמ[י...]
4Q405 69 1	[...] צדק [...]
4Q405 70 2	[...] י צדק [...]

4Q405 72 1	[...] י צדק [...]
4Q405 72 2	[...] וצדק לנהם [...]
4Q405 89 2	[...] צדק ק [...]
11Q ^{SS} 3-4 6	[...] וצדק עולמ [י...] [...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 4	[...] וצדק [...]

צור (n)

4Q400 3 ii 3	[...] אמתו צורי סס [...]
4Q405 19 5	צורי רוחות מאירים

צורה (n)

4Q402 6 2	[...] צורות [...]
4Q405 19 4	[צ]ורות אלוהים חיים
4Q405 19 5	רוקמה [ב]דני צורות אלוהים
4Q405 19 6	צורות כבוד למעשי ל [בנ] י הוד והד [ר]
4Q405 19 6-7	כול מעשיהם וצורות בדניהם
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוחונו רוקמה כמעשי אורג פנוחי צורות הדר
11Q ^{SS} 8-7 6	[...] סו לצורות [...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 5-6	[...] צורות [...] למע [שי...] [...]
11Q ^{SS} j-d-g-p 6	[...] וצור [וה בדניהם מ]לאכי [...] [...]
11Q ^{SS} m 4	[...] הם וצורת [...]

קדוש (adj)

4Q400 1 i 2	[...] ה אלוהי כול קדושי קדושים
4Q400 1 i 3	[...] בקדושי עד קדושי קדושים
4Q400 1 i 10	[...] סדם [ל] ו לקד [ושי...] [...]
4Q400 1 i 15	בם יתקדשו כול קדושי עד
4Q400 1 i 17	ומפיהם הורות כול קדושים
4Q400 1 i 19	יסד לו כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים [...]
4Q400 1 ii 6	[...] קדושי קודש קודש [ים...] [...]
4Q400 1 ii 15	[...] קדושים [...]
4Q400 2 1	ושבוחות מלכותה בקדושי ק [דושים...] [...]
4Q401 14 i 7	[...] מלכותה בקד [ו] שי קדושים
4Q401 16 3	[...] קדושי קורב [...]
4Q401 22 1	[...] קדושי סס [...]
4Q402 4 6	[...] מכ [מכלי מחשב [תו] ודעת קדו [שי...] [...]
4Q402 5 2	[...] בקדו [שי...] [...]
4Q402 9 4	[...] קדו [שי קו [רב...] [...]
4Q403 1 i 7	[...] זמר [ל] מל [ך הק] דוש
4Q403 1 i 24	לכול קדושים ממיסדי ד [עת]

4Q403 1 i 31 (read יקדישו)	יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד
4Q403 1 i 31 (read בקודש)	המקדיש בקודעו לכול קדושו
4Q403 1 i 40	וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא
4Q403 1 i 45	[...]רו[ח]י קוד[ש] עו[ל]מ[ים] ממעל [...]כול קדו[ש]ים[...]
4Q404 19 2	[...]ש קדו[ש]ים[...]
4Q405 8-9 2	[...]ל קדושי[...]
4Q405 18 2	[...]לכלכל קדושים דביר מס[...]
4Q405 23 ii 4	[...]קדוש מקדש כול [...]
4Q405 23 ii 6	[...]קדושים רצון [...]
4Q405 23 ii 6	[...]רוחות קדושי[...]
4Q405 23 ii 11	ראשי ממלכות ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש
4Q405 45 2	[...]קדושי[...]
11QŠŠ 8-7 2	[...]לזבחי קדושים[...]
11QŠŠ q 3	[...]מלך כול קדושי עד[...]

קדש (v)

4Q400 1 i 15	בם יתקדשו כול קדושי עד
4Q400 1 ii 21	[...]להתקדש בא[...]
4Q403 1 i 31	יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד המקדיש בקודעו
(read יקדישו, בקודש)	
4Q403 1 ii 11	וקדש[.] לשבעת קדושי רום
4Q405 74 2	[...]יקדש ודעת מ[...]

קהל (n)

4Q403 1 ii 24	וראשי עדת המלך בקהל[...]
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קודש/קדש (n)

4Q400 1 i 7	וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש [...]
4Q400 1 i 8	משרתי פני מלך קודש [...]
4Q400 1 i 10	[...]קודש קדושים [...]
4Q400 1 i 12	[...]קודש קדושים כו[הנ]י[...]
4Q400 1 i 14	וא[י]ן טמא בקודשיהם
4Q400 1 i 15	[...]קוד[ש]ים חרת למו (?)
4Q400 1 ii 6	[...]קדושי קודש קודש[ים] [...]
4Q400 1 ii 16	[...]קודשי[...]
4Q400 2 6-7	וק[ודשינו] קודש[י]הם
4Q400 2 9	[...]קודש ובינתו מכול ידע[י] [...]
4Q400 2 10	[...]ה קודש קודש ראיש[ו]ן[...]
4Q400 3 ii 1	[...]זמרות קודשו [...]
4Q401 6 4	[...]שרי קודש [...]

4Q401 6 5	[...קוד] ש קודשים [...]
4Q401 12 1	[...] ש בקודש [...]
4Q401 12 3	[...] ש קודשים לפ[ני...]
4Q401 16 5	[...] ב הללוהו קודש [...]
4Q401 17 3	[...] קו[ד]שים כ[...]
4Q401 23 1	[...] נשיא קו[ד]ש[...](?)
4Q401 31 3	[...] י קו[ד]ש[...](?)
4Q401 32 3	[...] קודש[...]
4Q401 35 2	[...] קודש קודשים ירום[...]
4Q403 1 i 6	זמר עוז[ו] לאלו[ה]י קו[ד]ש
4Q403 1 i 7 (probably read הקודש)	[ו.] זמר [ל] מל[ך] ה[ק]דוש
4Q403 1 i 9	שבע[ו] זמרו[ת] קודשו
4Q403 1 i 23-24	[השב] יעי בנשיאלי רוש יברך בשם קודשו
4Q403 1 i 24	בשב[עה] דברי קודש פלא[ו...]
4Q403 1 i 31 (read בקודש)	למלך הכבוד המקדיש בקודעו
4Q403 1 i 41	באלה יהללו כול י[...]. קודשים
4Q403 1 i 42	רקיע זו טוהר טהורים למקדש קודש[ו]
4Q403 1 i 44	[רו...] ח[י] קוד[ש] קודשים אלוהים חיים
4Q403 1 i 44-45	[רו...] ח[י] קוד[ש] עו[ל]מים ממעל [ל] כול קדו[ש]ים[...]
4Q403 1 ii 1	[...] אורתום רוקמת רוח קודש קודש[ים]...
4Q403 1 ii 7	[...] מתהלך סביב רוחות קודש קודשים[...]
4Q403 1 ii 8	[...] קודש ק[וד]שים רוחות אלוהים מראי עו[ל]מים[...]
4Q403 1 ii 11	וקדש[ו] לשבעת קודשי רום
4Q403 1 ii 14	[...] פלא דביר לדביר בקול המוני קודש
4Q403 1 ii 16	[...] ראשי תבנית אלוהים והללוהו בדביר קודשו
4Q403 1 ii 22	[...] כוה[נות] שבע במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש
4Q403 1 ii 27	[...] שבע רזי דעת ברז הפלא לשבעת גבולי קוד[ש]...
4Q403 2 4	[...] קודש בד[ב]י[ר]...
4Q403 3 2	[...] קודש קודש[ים]...
4Q404 5 1	[...] רוח קודש קודשים [...]
4Q404 5 2	[...] קודש עולמים ממעל [...]
4Q404 5 7	[...] בקודש [...]
4Q405 6 2	[...] קודש[ים] ים[ם] משא[ם] זבול רום[ם] רום[ם]
4Q405 6 5	[...] רוחי קוד[ש] קדשים[ם] אלוהים חיים רום[ם] ח[י] ק[וד]ש[ם]...
4Q405 6 8	[...] בקדש קדשים
4Q405 7 2	[...] ת[ם] קוד[ש]...
4Q405 11 2	[...] ש קדשים ש[ם]...

4Q405 14-15 i 2	[...] דְּמוֹת פְּלֹא רוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ [ש] קוֹדְשִׁים מְפֹתָ [ח...]
4Q405 14-15 i 4	[...] אֱלֹמִי מְבוֹאֵיהֶם רוּחִי קוֹרֵב קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים בְּ [ב...]
4Q405 14-15 i 6-7	[...] קוֹדְשִׁים בְּדַבְרִי מֶלֶךְ [קו...]
4Q405 14-15 i 7	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים [...] [ק...]
4Q405 17 6	[...] קֶסֶם שֶׁבִי קוֹדֶשׁ מוֹשְׁנִי [...] [ק...]
4Q405 18 3	[...] דְּשִׁים בְּרוּחַ דְּמֻמַּת אֱלֹהֵי [ע...]
4Q405 19 4	[רו] חִי דַעַת אִמַּת [ו] צִדֵּק בְּקוֹדֶשׁ [ק] וְדְשִׁים
4Q405 19 5	[ק] וְדְשִׁים דְּבָקִי פְלֹא [...] [ק...]
4Q405 19 7	וְצוּרוֹת בְּדִנְיָהֶם מְלֹאכִי קוֹדֶשׁ
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 3	[...] כְּרוֹבֵל קוֹדֶשׁ אֹפְנִי אֹרֶךְ בְּד [ביר...]
4Q405 10 ii-21-22 4	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ מַעֲשֵׂי פְנֹ [תו...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	וּבִלְכַת הָאֹפְנִים יִשְׁוֹבוּ מְלֹאכִי קוֹדֶשׁ
4Q405 20 ii 21-22 10	רוּחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ קְדָשִׁים סְבִיב מְרִאֵי שְׂבֹלִי אֵשׁ
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12	וְהִלְלוּ קוֹדֶשׁ בְּהִשְׁבִּיב דְּרָכֵיהֶם בְּהִרְוֹמָם יִרְוֹמֻּם פְּלֹא
4Q405 23 i 8	וּבְכֹל מוֹצְאֵי מְלֹאכִי קוֹדֶשׁ לְמַמְשִׁלָּתָם
4Q405 23 i 10	בְּצֹאת וּבְמָבֹא בְּשַׁע [ר] י קוֹדֶשׁ
4Q405 23 ii 7	[...] קְדָשִׁיהֶם vac בְּמַעֲמַד פְּלֹאֵיהֶם
4Q405 23 ii 8	בְּתוֹךְ כְּבוֹד מְרִאֵי שְׁנֵי צְבָעֵי אֹרֶךְ רוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ קְדָשִׁים
4Q405 23 ii 8-9	מִחֲזָקוֹת מַעֲמַד קוֹדֶשׁ לְפָנֶי [מ] לֵכ
4Q405 23 ii 11	רֵאשֵׁי מַמְלָכוֹת מַמְלָכוֹת קְדוּשִׁים לְמֶלֶךְ הַקּוֹדֶשׁ
4Q405 23 ii 13	[...] קוֹת מְסֻרָה בְּכֹל [...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] (?)
4Q405 26 1	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q405 27 2	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q405 41 3	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ק] וְדְשִׁים [...] [ש...]
4Q405 43 4	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q405 44 1	[...] שְׁבִי עֹת גְּבֹלִי קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q405 74 3	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q405 85 1	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש] קוֹדֶשִׁים [...] (?)
4Q407 1 2	[...] קוֹדְשִׁיהֶם [...] [ש...]
4Q407 1 3	[...] לֹאכִי קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q407 1 5 (error for בְּקוֹדֶשׁ?)	[...] בְּקוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
4Q407 2 2	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
MasŠŠ i 10	[...] קוֹדֶשׁ קְדָשִׁים וְרוֹמֻמוֹ כְּבוֹדוֹ
MasŠŠ i 13	[...] בְּכֹל קוֹדֶשׁ [...] [ש...]
MasŠŠ ii 17	[...] זִמְרָה עוֹז לֹאֱלֹהֵי קוֹדֶשׁ בְּשַׁע [...] [ש...]
MasŠŠ ii 18	וְזִמְרָה לְמֶלֶךְ הַקּוֹדֶשׁ שְׁבַע בְּשַׁע [...] [ש...]
MasŠŠ ii 22	[...] שְׁבַע תְּהִלֵּי זִמְרָה [...] [ש] קוֹדֶשׁ

1lQŠŠ 2-1-9 4-5	[...ק]ודש מלך הכבוד לכול מעשי אמת[ו...]
1lQŠŠ 2-1-9 5-6	[...]הו משאי קודש לכסאי כבודו
1lQŠŠ 2-1-9 6	[...מר]כבות הדרו ולדבירי קו[דשו...]
1lQŠŠ 3-4 4	[...]כרו[בי קוד]ש[...]
1lQŠŠ 5-6 7-8	[...]קודש קודשי[ם...]
1lQŠŠ 8-7 3	[...]ם הטוהר ברוח קוד[ש...]
1lQŠŠ e 5	[...]קו[דש קודשים [...]
1lQŠŠ n 4a	[...]קודש קודש[ים...]
1lQŠŠ n 4	[...]קודש קוד[שים...]

קול (n)

4Q401 14 ii 3	[...]קול רנות[...]
4Q402 4 9	ירוצו לפקוד[תו] וקול המון[...]
4Q403 1 ii 11	וקול ברך מראשי דבירו [...]
4Q403 1 ii 12	וקול הברך נְשַׁמֵּעַ נִכְבֵּד לִמְשַׁמַּע אֱלֹהִים
4Q403 1 ii 14	[...]פלא דביר לדביר בקול המוני קודש
4Q405 6 8	[...]ת קול [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 3	[...]קול ברך למלך מרומים
4Q405 15ii-16 7	[...]ול למלך הכבו[ד] בקול רנה[...]
4Q405 18 4	[...]דביר ימהרו מקול הכבו[ד...]
4Q405 18 5	[...]ת[הלי פלא בדממת ק[ול...]
4Q405 19 7	קול דממו שקט אל[והי]ם מברכים[...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	וב[ר]כו בהרומם קול דממו אלוהים [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8	והמון רנה ברום כנפיהם קול [דממ]ת אלוהים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12	וקול דממת ברכ בהמון לכוּם
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12-13	ובשוּכְן [יעמ]ודו קול גילות רנה השקט
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 13	[ו]קול תשבוח[ות...]
4Q405 23 i 7	וקול ברך מכול מפלגיו
4Q405 23 i 7-8	ומהללים שעריו בקול רנה
4Q405 79 1	[...]בקול[...]
1lQŠŠ 5-6 5	יש[מע]ו מקול משא אלוהים[...]
1lQŠŠ j-d-g-p 7	[...]קול[...]
1lQŠŠ 1 4	[...]כבודו קול ה[...]

קורב (n)

4Q400 1 i 8	[...]כוה[ני] קורב משרתי פני מלך
4Q400 1 i 17	[...]דעת כוהני קורב
4Q400 1 i 19	יסד לו כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים
4Q401 15 3	[...]קורב מש[רת]י[...]

- 4Q401 16 3 [...] קדושי קורב [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q402 9 4 [...] קדו[ר]ב [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q403 1 ii 19 [...] עולמים שניים בכוהני קורב סוד שני במעוני פלא
- 4Q403 1 ii 24 [...] רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדת המלך
- 4Q405 8-9 2-3 [...] ק[ו]ר[ב] סו[ד] שני במעוני פלא ב[שבע] [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q405 8-9 4-5 [...] שבע[ו] כוהו[ו] נה קורבו [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q405 14-15 i 4 [...] אולמי מבואיהם רוּחַ קורב קודש קודשים
- 4Q405 21 1 [...] דב[ר] ירי כול כוהני קורב ^ו_ו
- 11Q^{SS} h-i 7 [...] קורב במע[מד] [...] ^ו_ו
- (n) קיר
- 4Q403 1 i 43-44 [...] כול[ו] וקירותו כ[ו]ל [...] יתנו מעשי הבנ[ו] יתנו[ו] [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q404 5 6 [...] מלך אמת [ו] צדק כול קירותו [...] ^ו_ו
- 11Q^{SS} 5-6 6 [...] קיר מברכים ומהללים (?) ^ו_ו
- (n) קנאה
- 4Q400 1 i 18 [...] ובנקמת קנאתו [...] ^ו_ו
- (v) קרא
- 4Q403 2 2 [...] ים קרואי ר[ו] [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q407 1 4 [...] בקרו[ו] אי[ו] (?) ^ו_ו
- Mas^{SS} i 12 [...] קרואי רום רומים ^ו_ו
- 11Q^{SS} 5-6 8-9 [...] רוש[ו] וקרא[ו] [...] ^ו_ו
- (v) קרב
- 4Q400 1 i 20 [...] כוהני מרומי רום ה[ק]רבים [...] (?) ^ו_ו
- (adj) קרוב
- 4Q400 1 i 6 [...] אלוהים vac לקרובי דעת [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q401 17 5 [...] יסדם לו לקרו[ו] [...] (?) ^ו_ו
- (see רוש) ראש
- (adj) ראישון
- 4Q400 1 i 1 [...] השב[ו] הראישונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון ^ו_ו
- 4Q400 2 10 [...] ה[ו] קודש קודש ראיש[ו] [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q402 4 13 [...] עולמ[ו] ים עושה ראיש[ו] ות [...] ^ו_ו
- Mas^{SS} i 3-4 [...] עושה ראישונות [...] תיהם ואחרונות למועדיהם ^ו_ו
- (v) רבה
- 4Q400 1 i 10 [...] רבו בם לפי סוד [...] ^ו_ו
- (num) רביעי
- 4Q403 1 i 2 [...] תהלת שבח בלשון הרבי[ע]י [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q403 1 ii 36 [...] תשבחות [ב] לשון הרביע[י] [...] ^ו_ו
- 4Q405 11 3-4 [...] רב[ו] עי הגבר שבעה בלשון החמישי לו ^ו_ו

4Q406 3 3	[...]בלשון הרביע[י] לֹם[...]
	רגל (n)
4Q403 1 ii 2	[...]במותי דעת ובהדום רגליו ג[...]
4Q404 6 3	[...]רגליו ג[...]
	רוח (n)
4Q400 1 i 5	[...]אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח
4Q400 1 ii 5	בִּי[...] [ֹ] רוח כול רֹם[...]
4Q403 1 i 35	למוצא שפתיו כול רוחי עולמים
4Q403 1 i 37	ושופט בגבורתו לכול רוחי בין
4Q403 1 i 38	וכול רוחות צדק יודו באמתו
4Q403 1 i 39-40	זמרו לאלוהי עֵז במנת רוח רוש
4Q403 1 i 43	[...]רוחי אלוה[ים] להוד[ות...]
4Q403 1 i 44	[...]רוחי קוד[ש] קודשים אלוהים חיות
4Q403 1 i 44-45	[...]רוחי קוד[ש] עו[למים ממעל] כול קדו[שים...]
4Q403 1 ii 1	[...]אורתום רוקמו רוח קודש קודשי[ם...]
4Q403 1 ii 3	[...]מראי וגבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוח[ם...]
4Q403 1 ii 7	[...]מוהלך סביב רוחות קודש קודשים[...]
4Q403 1 ii 8	[...]קודש קוד[ש] שים רוחות אלוהים מראי עו[למים...]
4Q403 1 ii 9	ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה ל[...]
4Q403 1 ii 10	[...]רוחות פלא ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו
4Q404 5 1	[...]רוח קודש קודשים[...]
4Q404 5 5	[...]מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים[...]
4Q405 4-5 2	[...]רוחי עולמים ברצ[ון...]
4Q405 6 5	[...]רוחי קוד[ש] קדשים[אלוהים חיים] רו[חי] קודש[...]
4Q405 6 7	[...]ל מקדש[י] פלא רוחות אלוהים סביבה למען[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 1	[...]רוח כב[וד] וד[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 2	[...]דמות פלא רוח קוד[ש] קודשים מפות[ח...]
4Q405 14-15 i 4	[...]אולמי מבואיהם רוחי קורב קודש קודשים ב[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5	בדני רוח אורים[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5-6	רוחי[ב...] תוך רוחי הדר
4Q405 17 3	[...]יהם רוחי דעת ובינה אמת[...]
4Q405 17 5	[...]נפל[א] אות מלאכי תפארת ורוחי[...]
4Q405 18 1	[...]רוחות[...]
4Q405 18 3	[...]קו[דשים] ברוח דממת אלוהי[ם...]
4Q405 19 2	ושבחהו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק[...]
4Q405 19 3	רוחי אלי עולמים כול[...]
4Q405 19 3-4	מעשי רו[חות] רקיע פלא ממולח טוהר

4Q405 19 4	[רו]חי דעת אמת [ו]צדק
4Q405 19 4-5	צורי רוחות מאירים כ[ו]ל [מעשי]הם
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10	רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי אש
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11	רוחות [א]לוהים חיים מתהלכים תמיד
4Q405 23 i 9-10	מברכים ומהללים כול רוחות אלוהים
4Q405 23 ii 6	[...] רוחות קד[ושי]...
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוחות רוקמה כמעשי אורג
4Q405 23 ii 8	בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור רוח קודש קדשים
4Q405 23 ii 9	רוחי צבעי [...] בתוך מראי חור
4Q405 23 ii 9	ודמות רוח כבוד כמעשי אופירים
4Q405 24 2	[...] רוחי הוד והדר רא[שי]...
4Q405 25 2	[...] ורנן ברוחי [...]
4Q405 31 2	[...] לא רוחי כ[...]
4Q405 35 1	[...] ת רוחי [...]
4Q405 43 2	[...] ם רוח מרוח [...]
4Q405 57 1	[...] רוחי [...]
4Q406 5 2	[...] ת רוחות בס[...]
11QŠŠ 2-1-9 5-6	[...] רוחי משאי קודש (?)
11QŠŠ 3-4 4	[...] רוחות אל[והי]...
11QŠŠ 5-6 2	[...] כול תבנית רוחי פל[א]...
11QŠŠ 8-7 3	[...] ם הטוהר ברוח קוד[ש]...
11QŠŠ n 2	[...] רוחות [...]

רום (v)

4Q400 1 ii 13	ורוממו כבודו ם [...]
4Q400 2 3-4	ורוממו [...] שמי מלכותו
4Q400 2 8	נרוממה לאלוהי דעת [...]
4Q401 14 i 4	[...] רומה רם על [...]
4Q401 16 1	[...] אלי ם ירומ[מו]...
4Q401 27 1	[...] ורוממו [...]
4Q401 35 2	[...] קודש קודשים ירום [...]
4Q402 8 2	[...] מרי]מים תרוע[ה]... (?)
4Q403 1 i 24-25	[...] ל]כול מרימי משפטיו
4Q403 1 i 30-31	הללו אלוהי מרומים הרמים בכול אלי דעת
4Q403 1 i 33	[...] רוממו רוממו למרום אלוהים מאלי רום
4Q403 1 ii 20	ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במנה פלאיו
4Q403 3 1	[...] מ]לך מרוממים [...]
4Q404 2 6	[...] וברך לכול מ[רימי]...

4Q405 8-9 3-4	[...]בכול ידועי [ע]ולמים ורומ[מוהו...]
4Q405 14-15 i 3	[...]ק[ול ברך למלך מְרוּמִים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	ורומָם[ו] הֹו הכבוד במשכ[ן...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7	וב[ר]כו בהרומם קול דממה אלוהים [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8	והמון רנה ברום כנפיהם קול [דממ] ה אלוהים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12	והללו קודש בהשיב דרכיהם בהרומם ירוממו פלא
4Q405 23 i 12	לוא ירומו ממשלוחתו לוא ישפל[ו]
4Q405 40 2	[...]ירומו וכ[...]
4Q405 44 2	[...]ול ירום ומד[...]
MasŠŠ i 10	[...]ודש קדשים ורוממו כבודו
11QŠŠ 3-4 9	[...]ממוהו [...]
11QŠŠ 3-4 9	[...]ברכו בהרומם [...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 3-4	בכוח אלוהי [עול]מים מרוממים גבורות אלו[הי...]
11QŠŠ 5-6 8	[כ...]נפיהם מר[וממים...] (?)
(n) רוֹם	
4Q400 1 i 20	כוהני מרומי רוֹם הַ[קר]בים [...]
4Q400 1 i 21-ii 1	[...]וש[בוחות רוֹם מלכות[כה...]
4Q400 1 ii 4	[...]בשערי מרומי רוֹם [...]
4Q400 2 4	[...]שמי מלכותו ובכול מרומי רוֹם
4Q400 3 i 1	[...]בעד לרוֹם הפלא [...]
4Q401 14 4	[...]רומה רס על[...]
4Q401 26 2	[...]רוֹם [...]
4Q403 1 i 1	רומם לאלוהי [מ]לאכי רוֹם
4Q403 1 i 1	שבֵּעַ בשבעה דברי רומי פלא
4Q403 1 i 8	[...]רוֹם מלכו[תו...]
4Q403 1 i 14	[...]רוֹם מלכותו [...]
4Q403 1 i 14	[...]רו[מי] מי [ד]עת בֶּשׁ[בעת ד]ברי ר[ו]ם
4Q403 1 i 19-20	בשבעה ד[ברי] רוֹם אמת[ו...]
4Q403 1 i 33	[...]רוֹממו רוממו למרוֹם אלוהים מאלי רוֹם
4Q403 1 i 33-34	ואלוהות כבודו מעל לכול מרומי רוֹם
4Q403 1 i 41	עמודי משא לזבול רוֹם רומים
4Q403 1 ii 10	ומשכן רוֹש רוֹם כבוד מלכותו
4Q403 1 ii 11	וקדש[.] לשבעת קודשי רוֹם
4Q403 1 ii 21	[...]רוֹם שבעת גבולי פלא
4Q404 18 2	[...]רוֹם [...]
4Q405 2 3	[...]רוֹם [...]
4Q405 3 ii 4	[...]רוֹם מלכותו לכול רומי דעת בשבעת ד[ברי רו]ם

4Q405 6 2	<u>מִשָּׁא [ל] זְבוּל רֹם [רֹם] יִם</u>
4Q405 13 3	בִּשְׁבַּע דְּבָרֵי רוֹם טוֹהַר
4Q405 32 2	[...] שִׁי רוֹם [...]
MasŠŠ i 9	[א...] לְ[וֹה] אֵלִים יוֹשְׁבֵי מְרוֹמֵי רוֹמִים
MasŠŠ i 12	[...] קְרוֹאֵי רוֹם רוֹמִים
MasŠŠ ii 20	[...] שְׁבַע וְהֵלִי רוֹם מַלְכוּתוֹ
	רוֹם (adj)
4Q403 1 i 14	[...] רֹם [ד] עֵת בֶּשׁ [בַּעַת ד] בְּרִי רֹם
4Q405 3 ii 4	[...] רוֹם מַלְכוּתוֹ לְכוֹל רוֹמֵי דַעַת בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּ[בְרִי רוֹם]
	מְרוֹם (n)
4Q403 1 i 1	רוֹמִם לְאֱלוֹהֵי [מ] לְאֲכִי רוֹם
4Q403 1 i 33	[ו...] רוֹמֹמוֹ רוֹמֹמוֹ לְמְרוֹם אֱלוֹהִים מְאֵלֵי רוֹם
4Q403 1 ii 25	וְתִשְׁבַּחוּ רוֹמִם לְמֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד
4Q405 83 3	[...] בְּרוֹם [ס...] (?)
MasŠŠ ii 8	[...] רוֹם [ס...] [...]
	רוֹנֵן (n)
4Q403 1 i 36	רִנְנוּ מְרִנְנֵי [...] רוֹנֵן בְּאֱלוֹהֵי פֶלֶא
4Q404 4 3	[...] בְּרוֹן בְּאֵל [וֹהֵי [...]
	רוֹץ (v)
4Q402 4 9	[...] אֱלוֹהִים יִרְצוּ לְפָקוֹד [תו]
4Q403 1 ii 6	[...] מְכִינּוֹתֵם יִרְצוּ אֶל [לו] הֵים כְּמֵרְאֵי גַחְלֵי [...]
4Q405 23 i 11	לֹא יִרְצוּ מִדֶּרֶךְ וְלֹא יִתְמַהֲמְהוּ מִגְּבוּלֹ
	רוֹקְמָה (n)
4Q402 2 3	[...] מְעַשֵּׂי רוֹקְמָה [...]
4Q403 1 ii 1	[...] אֲוֵרְתֵם רוֹקְמַת רוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשׁ [ס...] [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 3	[...] רוֹקְמוֹתֵם וְרִנְנוּ [...]
4Q405 14-15 i 6	מְעַשֵּׂי רוֹקְמוֹת פֶּלֶא בְּדַנֵּי אֱלוֹהִים חַיִּים
4Q405 15 ii-16 4	[...] בְּדַבֵּיר פִּנּוּ רוֹקְמָת [...] [...]
4Q405 19 5	רוֹקְמָה [ב] דְּנֵי צוּרוֹת אֱלוֹהִים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 (read טוֹהַר)	בְּרוֹקְמַת כְּבוֹד צַבְעֵי פֶלֶא מְמוֹלַח טוֹהַר
4Q405 23 ii 7	רוּחוֹת רוֹקְמָה כְּמְעַשֵּׂי אוֹרֵג
11QŠŠ 8-7 5	[...] רוֹקְמָה כְּמָ [...] [...]
11QŠŠ a 2	[...] רוֹקְמָה כְּבָ [...] [...]
11QŠŠ e 6	[...] רוֹקְמָה [...] [...]
11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 5	[...] רוֹקְמָה [...] [...]

(n) רוש/ראוש

4Q400 1-2 4	[...]בְּכֹל רֹא[שי...](?)
4Q401 3 2	[...]תם ברוש חס[...]
4Q401 13 3	[...]השלי[שי בכוהני רוש מבר[ך...]
4Q400 14 i 6	[...]לְרֹאשִׁי מִמְשָׁלוֹת [...]
4Q403 1 i 1	[...]השלישי לנשיאי רוש
4Q403 1 i 10	לנשיאי ר[וש...]
4Q403 1 i 17	[...]בנש[יאי רו]ש
4Q403 1 i 21	הששי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם [...]אלים
4Q403 1 i 23-24	[השב]יעי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם קודשו
4Q403 1 i 31-32	ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים שבחו לאלוה[י ת]שבחות הוד
4Q403 1 i 34	כיא הו[א...]לכול ראשי מרומים
4Q403 1 i 39-40	זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש
4Q403 1 i 43	[ע...]ולמים רקיע רוש מרו[מ]ים
4Q403 1 ii 3	[...]מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוש[...]
4Q403 1 ii 5 (error for רוש?)	[...]לה לדוש אלוהי[...]
4Q403 1 ii 10	ומשכן רוש רום כבוד מלכותו
4Q403 1 ii 11	וקול ברך מראשי דבירו [...]
4Q403 1 ii 16	[...]ראשי תבנית אלוהים והללוהו בדביר קודשו
4Q403 1 ii 20	ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במנה פלאיו
4Q403 1 ii 21	רֹאשִׁי נְשִׂאֵי כֹהֵן נֹתָ[...]
4Q403 1 ii 24	[...]רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדת המלך
4Q403 1 ii 34	[...]ראוש פלאיו להלל גדול[...]
4Q403 2 2	[...]ים קרואי רו[ש...]
4Q404 2 2	[...]רוש יברך בשם גבורו[ת] אל[ים...]
4Q404 2 5	[...]וש יברך ב[שם...]
4Q405 3 i 12a	[...]לנשיאי רוש [...]
4Q405 3 ii 6	[...]בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם ה[וד...]
4Q405 4-5 2	[...]ראשי מרומים ומל[ך...]
4Q405 6 4	[...]עולמי עולמים רקי[ע ר]אשי מרומ[ים...]
4Q405 7 4	[...]רא[שי...]ם במעמד[...]
4Q405 8-9 5-6	[...]ראש[י] נשיאי [כ]הוֹנוֹת פל[א] ש[...]
4Q405 23 ii 10	אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרת
4Q405 23 ii 11	ראשי ממלכות ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש
4Q405 23 ii 12	בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת
4Q405 24 2	[...]רוחי הוד והדר רא[שי...]
4Q405 34 3	[...]רואש פנ[...]

1lQŠŠ 1 3	[...] ברנות כו[ל...]
רנן (v)	
4Q403 1 i 5	[...] רנן למ[לך ה]טוב
4Q403 1 i 36	רננו מרנני [...] רונן באלוהי פלא
4Q403 1 i 37	[...] אלוהים לכול מרנני דענ[ע] עד
4Q404 4 2	[...] ברצ[ו] ון [ד]עתו [...] רננו[...]
4Q405 4-5 4	[...] רננו מ[ו]רנני[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 3	[...] רוקמוגם ורננו [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	[...] ד רקיע האור ירננו ממתחת מושב כבודו
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 14	[...] רננו כול פקודיהם אחד א[ח]ד במעמד[ו...]
4Q405 25 2	[...] ורנן ברוחי[...]
רנן (n)	
4Q403 1 i 4-5	[תהלת] רנן בלשון הששי
MasŠŠ ii 14	[...] לת רנן בלשון הששי ל[...]
רצה (v)	
4Q403 1 i 39	וירצו דעתם במשפטי פיהו
רצון (n)	
4Q400 1 i 16	ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע
4Q403 1 i 20	[...] לכול נמהרי רצונו בשבעה [...]
4Q403 1 i 34-35	ברצון דענו לאמרי פיהו
4Q403 1 i 35-36	[ברצון דעתו כול מעשיו במשלחם
4Q404 4 2	[...] ברצ[ו] ון [ד]עתו [...] רננו[...]
4Q405 3 ii 10	[...] נמהרי רצונו בשבעה [...]
4Q405 4-5 3	[...] רוח[ו] י עולמים ברצ[ו] ון [...]
4Q405 23 ii 6	[...] קדושים רצון [...]
1lQŠŠ 8-7 1	[...] ה רצון המ[...]
רקיע (n)	
4Q403 1 i 41-42	ל[מש]א יחד רקיע זו טוהר טהורים
4Q403 1 i 43	[...] ע[ו]למים רקיע רוש מרו[מ]ים
4Q405 6 3	[...] דעת ואור למשא יח[ד] רקיע טוהר[...]
4Q405 6 4	[...] עולמי עולמים רקיע ר[אשי] מרו[מ]ים[...]
4Q405 19 3-4	מעשי רוח[ות] רקיע פלא ממולח טוהר
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8	הבנית כסא מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	[...] ד רקיע האור ירננו ממתחת מושב כבודו
4Q405 23 i 6-7	וכל [...] רקיע[ע] ה טוהר יגילו כבודו
4Q405 23 i 7	וקול ברך מכול מפלגיו מספרה רקיעי כבודו
1lQŠŠ 2-1-9 3-4	ובהדר תשבחותו בכול רקיע[עי...]

11QŠŠ 2-1-9 7 [...] להיכלי כבודו ולרקיעי [...]
 11QŠŠ 5-6 1 [...] רקיעי פל[א...]
 11QŠŠ 5-6 4-5 [...] מארבעת מוסדי רקעי הפלא
 11QŠŠ e 1 [...] יע[?]
 11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 3 [...] ות רקיע פלא מ[...]

שכל (n)

4Q401 35 1 [...] שכל ודעה יודעי[...]
 4Q403 1 i 21-22 לכול גבורי שכל בשבעה [ד]ברי גבורות פלאו
 4Q405 3 ii 13 [...] שכל בשבעה דב[רי...]
 4Q405 13 5 [...] גבורי שכל בדעו עולמים בשבעה דברי גבורות פלאו
 4Q405 23 ii 13 [...] דעו בינתו ובשכל [כב]ודו
 MasŠŠ i 5-6 ובעשותו לא ישכילו כול [...] ק מה יזום

שמחה (n)

4Q403 1 i 39-40 זמרו לאלוהי עז במנת רוח רוש' [...] ר בשמחת אלוהים
 4Q403 1 i 40 וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא בשמחת עול[מים]
 4Q404 4 10 [...] בשמחת[...]
 4Q405 6 1 [...] פל[א] בשמח[ות]

שפה (n)

4Q401 14 ii 8 [...] למוצא שפתי מלך ב[...]
 4Q403 1 i 35 למוצא שפתי כול רוחי עולמים
 4Q405 15 ii-16 1 [...] גדיל שפה[...]

שר (n)

4Q400 1 i 12 [...] מה שרי [...] (?)
 4Q401 6 4 [...] שרי קודש [...] (?)
 4Q403 1 ii 23 [...] השר מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא

שבול (n)

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10 רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי אש

שבח (v)

4Q403 1 i 2-3 ושבח לאלוהי גבורות
 4Q403 1 i 31-32 ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים שבו לאלוהי [ת]שבחות הוד
 4Q405 19 2 ושבחו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק[...]

שבח (n)

4Q403 1 i 2 תהלת שבח בלשון הרבי[עי]

שביעי (num)

4Q403 1 i 6 תהלת [...] בל[שון] השביעי לנש[ואי...]
 4Q403 1 i 23-24 [השב] יעי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם קודשו
 4Q403 1 i 30 השבת השביעית בשש עשר לחודש

4Q405 3 ii 15	[...] רחמי חסדו הש[ביעי]...
4Q405 11 4-5	ולשון הששי הגב[ר] שבעה בלשון ה[שב] יעי לו
4Q405 11 5	ובלשון השביעי ...
4Q405 13 7	[...] והשבי[ע] עי[ן] [ב]נשיאי מש[ני]...
MasŠŠ ii 16	[...] תה[ה] לת זמר בלשון השב[ע] יעי...
שבע (num)	
4Q400 1 i 9	וחוק בחוק יגברו לשבעה [...]
4Q400 1 ii 7	[...] מלך אלוהים לשבעה מ[...]
4Q400 1 ii 10	[...] לשבע נתיבות[...]
4Q400 3 i 3	[...] ל אלוהים שבעה [...]
4Q400 3 i 9	[...] בשבעה [...]
4Q400 3 i 12	[...] ש[ש] בע [...]
4Q400 3 ii 4	[...] ושבעה דברי[...]
4Q400 3 ii-5 5-6	[...] ש[ש] עה[ה] דברי פלא[...]
4Q401 3 3	[...] תג[ת] ב[ר] שבע לנשיא[...]
4Q401 5 3	[...] שבע בש[ש] בעה[...]
4Q401 6 2	[...] שבעה [...]
4Q401 8 2	[...] ש[ש] עה[ה] [...] (?)
4Q401 12 2	[...] ש[ש] עה בחוקי עולם[ים]...
4Q401 13 2	[...] ש[ש] בוע שני יהלל שבעה ל[...]
4Q403 1 i 1	שבעה בשבעה דברי רומי פלא
4Q403 1 i 2	בשבע גבורות פלאה
4Q403 1 i 3	שבעה בשבע[ה] דברי תשבוח[ות]...
4Q403 1 i 4	בשבעת הו[ד] ות פלאיה
4Q403 1 i 4	ש[ש] בעה בש[ש] עה דב[ר] רי הדות פל[א]
4Q403 1 i 5	בשבעה רנות[...]
4Q403 1 i 5-6	שבעה בש[ש] בעה[...]
4Q403 1 i 6-7	בש[ש] בעה[...]
4Q403 1 i 7	שבעה ב[ש] בעה ד[ר] ברי זמ[ר]...
4Q403 1 i 7	[...] ש[ש] ע תה[ה] לי[...]
4Q403 1 i 7-8	[...] ש[ש] ע[ת] תהל[ל] גדל[...]
4Q403 1 i 8	[...] ש[ש] ע[ת] תהל[ל]...
4Q403 1 i 9	שבע[...]
4Q403 1 i 11	[...] בש[ש] עה ד[ר] ברי פל[א]...
4Q403 1 i 12	[...] ש[ש] עה[ה] דבר[...]
4Q403 1 i 12	[...] שבעה דברי[...]
4Q403 1 i 13	[...] מלך בשבעת ד[ר] ברי כ[ב] ו[ד] נ[פ]לאותיו[...]

4Q403 1 i 14	[...רו]מִי [ד]עֲתָ בִשְׁ[בעה ד]כְּרִי ר[ו]ם
4Q403 1 i 16	יִבְרַכְּ בִשְׁ[ע]ה דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 17	זְ[שב]עָה דְּבָרִי הֵ[...]
4Q403 1 i 17-18	בִּשְׁב[עה] דְּבָרִי י[...]
4Q403 1 i 18	[...בשבע]ה דְּבָרִי צִדֵּק לִרְחֵמִי [...]
4Q403 1 i 19-20	[...] • טוֹהַר בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּ[בָרִי] רֹם אִמּוֹ[ו] [...]
4Q403 1 i 20	[...] לְכוּל נִמְהָרִי רְצוֹנוֹ בִּשְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q403 1 i 20	[...וב]ר[ך] לְכוּל מוֹדִי לוֹ בִּשְׁבַּעַת [דב]רִי הוֹד
4Q403 1 i 21-22	בִּשְׁבַּעַת [ד]בְּרִי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא
4Q403 1 i 22	וּבִרְךְ לְכוּל תְּמִימִי דֶּרֶךְ בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 23	וּבִרְךְ לְכוּל חוֹכִי לוֹ בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּבָרִי [י] פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 24	בִּשְׁב[עה] דְּבָרִי קוֹדֵשׁ פֶּלֶא[ו] [...]
4Q403 1 i 25	בִּשְׁב[עה] דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא
4Q403 1 i 26	בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּ[בָרִי] לְשֹׁלֵם עוֹלָמִים
4Q403 1 ii 11	וּקְדֹשׁ [לשבעת קודשי רום
4Q403 1 ii 19	סוֹד שְׁנֵי בַמַּעוֹנִי פֶלֶא בִּשְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q403 1 ii 21	[...] רֹם שְׁבַּעַת גְּבוּלִי פֶלֶא בַּחוּקוֹת מִקְדָּשִׁי
4Q403 1 ii 22	[...] כוֹה[ן] שְׁבַּעַת בַּמִּקְדָּשׁ פֶּלֶא לְשַׁבַּעַת סוֹדִי קוֹדֵשׁ
4Q403 1 ii 23	וְדַעַת בִּינְתָם לְשַׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q403 1 ii 27	[...] שְׁבַע רְזִי דַּעַת בְּרַז הַפֶּלֶא לְשַׁבַּעַת גְּבוּלִי קוֹדֵשׁ[...]
4Q403 1 ii 28	[...] שְׁבַע מְשֻׁלָּשִׁי ל[ו] [...]
4Q403 1 ii 28	[ולש]וֹר הַשֵּׁל [ישי ת]גְּבַר שְׁבַּעַת[ה] [...]
4Q404 2 3	וּבִרְךְ לְכוּל תְּמִימִי [י] דֶּרֶךְ בִּשְׁבַּעַת[ה] [...]
4Q404 2 4	וּבִרְךְ לְכוּל חוֹכִי לוֹ [בש]בַּעַת דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא[...]
4Q404 11 1	[...] בִּשְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q404 16 3	[...] שְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q404 16 4	[...] שְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q405 3 i 13	[...] בִּשְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q403 1 i 15	[...] שְׁבַּעַת בִּשְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q405 3 i 16a	[...] שְׁבַּעַת גִּ[...]
4Q405 3 ii 2	[...] דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא וּבִרְךְ בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּבָרִי י[...]
4Q405 3 ii 4	[...] רֹם מַלְכוּתוֹ לְכוּל רֹמִי דַּעַת בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּ[בָרִי] רֹם
4Q405 3 ii 5	[...] י[בְּרִי] בִּרְךְ בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּבָרִי פֶלֶא וּבִרְךְ לְכוּל [צ...] דֵּק בִּשְׁבַּעַת[...]
4Q405 3 ii 7	וּבִרְךְ לִיסוּדֵי ה[ו] דְּבָרִי בִּשְׁבַּעַת[ה] [...]
4Q405 3 ii 8	[...] בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּבָרִי צִדֵּק לִרְחֵמִי [...]
4Q405 3 ii 10	[...] נִמְהָרִי רְצוֹנוֹ בִּשְׁבַּעַת [...]
4Q405 3 ii 13	[...] שְׁכַל בִּשְׁבַּעַת דְּבָרִי [...]

4Q405 3 ii 16	[...] דַּעַת בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּ[בְרִי...]
4Q405 7 3	[...] בְּשִׁבְעַת מִסֵּ [...]
4Q405 7 7	[...] שְׁבַע עַת דְּבִירִי כְּהוֹנֹו[ת...]
4Q405 7 11	[...] זֶה שֶׁב[ע...]
4Q405 8-9 2-3	[...] קוֹרְ[ב סו] דְּ שְׁנֵי בַמַּעוֹנִי פֶּלֶא ב[שְׁבַע...]
4Q405 8-9 4-5	[...] שֶׁבַע [כֹּהֵנו] הָת קוֹרְבו [...]
4Q405 11 3-4	[ה] רַב[י] עֵי תִּגְבֵּר שְׁבַעַ בְּלִשׁוֹן הַחֲמִישִׁי לֹו
4Q405 11 4	וּלְשׁוֹן הַחֲמִישִׁי תִּגְבֵּר ש[בְּעָה...] לֹו
4Q405 11 4-5	וּלְשׁוֹן תִּגְבֵּר[ר] שְׁבַעַ בְּלִשׁוֹן ה[שְׁבַע] יַעֲי לֹו
4Q405 13 3	[...] טוֹהַר בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבִרִי רוֹם טוֹהַר
4Q405 13 3-4	[ו] בְּרַךְ לְכוֹל נִמְהָרִי [...] אִמְתּוֹ בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּב[רִי...]
4Q405 13 4	[...] לֹו בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבִרִי הוֹד כְּבוֹדוֹ
4Q405 13 5	[...] גְּבוּרִי שְׁכָל בְּדַעַת עוֹלָמִים בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבִרִי גְבוּרוֹת פֶּלֶא
4Q405 13 6-7	[...] בְּשִׁבַּע[עָה ד] בְּרִי[י...]
4Q405 28 2	[...] לְשֵׁשׁ[י] שְׁבַע[...]
4Q405 33 1	[...] וְ בְּשִׁבַּע[עָה...]
4Q405 34 2	[...] לְשִׁבְעַת[...]
4Q405 44 1	[...] שְׁבַע[עָה גְבוּלִי קוֹ דְּש...]
4Q405 64 3	[...] שְׁבַע[...]
4Q405 66 1	[...] ת בְּשִׁבְעָה[...]
4Q405 66 3	[...] שְׁבַע[עָה עוֹלָמִי...]
4Q405 67 2	[...] בְּשִׁבְעָה זְמֹר[י...]
4Q405 67 3	[...] שְׁבַע[...]
4Q405 68 1	[...] שְׁבַע[...]
4Q405 71 1	[...] שְׁבַע[עָה...]
4Q405 74 1	[...] ע בְּשִׁבְעַת דַּעַת[...]
4Q406 2 2	[...] שְׁבַעַת[...]
MasŠŠ ii 11	[...] שְׁבַעַ ב[שְׁבַעַה...]
MasŠŠ ii 13	[...] יוֹדוֹ לֹאל הַכְּבוֹד שְׁבַע[עָה...]
MasŠŠ ii 15	[...] לְמֶלֶךְ הַטוֹב שְׁבַע[עָה...]
MasŠŠ ii 17	[...] זְמֹר עוֹז לְאֱלוֹהֵי קוֹדֶשׁ בְּשִׁבְעַת[עָה...]
MasŠŠ ii 18	[...] וְזְמֹר לְמֶלֶךְ הַקּוֹדֶשׁ שְׁבַעַ בְּש[בְּעָה...]
MasŠŠ ii 19	[...] פֶּלֶא שְׁבַעַ תְּהִלִּי בְּרִכּוֹתָיו שְׁבַעַ תְּ[הִלִּי...]
MasŠŠ ii 20	[...] שְׁבַעַ תְּהִלִּי רוֹם מְלָכוֹתוֹ שְׁבַעַ תְּהִלִּי תְּ[...]
MasŠŠ ii 21	[...] שְׁבַעַ תְּהִלִּי הוֹדוֹת נִפְלְאוֹתָיו שְׁבַעַ תְּה[לִּי...]
MasŠŠ ii 22	[...] שְׁבַעַ תְּהִלִּי זְמִיר[ו] תְּ קוֹדֶשׁוֹ
MasŠŠ ii 23	[...] שְׁבַעַ בְּשִׁבְעָה דְּבִרִי פֶּלֶא דְּב[רִי...]

1lQŠŠ h-i 2	[...] שבע ה' [הלי...]
1lQŠŠ h-i 5	[...] שבעה ב' [בעה...]
1lQŠŠ q 1	[...] מ' [שבעה...]
1lQŠŠ q 5	[...] ש' [שבע...]
1lQŠŠ r 4	[...] ע' [לי...]

(n) שבה

4Q400 1 i 1	[...] השב' הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראשון
4Q403 1 i 30	למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השביעית
4Q403 1 ii 18	למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השמינית
4Q405 8-9 1	[...] שבת השמינית [ית...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6	למשכיל [כליל...] ה' [ש] בת שתיים עשרה [ש...]
4Q405 1 4	למשכיל שיר עולת השבת הש' [ש...]
MasŠŠ i 8	[ש...] ר' עולת השבת הששית בתשעה לחודש

(v) שוב

4Q400 1 i 16	ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9	ובלכת האופנים ישובו מלאכי קודש
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12	והללו קודש בהשיב דרכיהם בהרומם ירוממו פלא

(n) שובוע

4Q401 9 2	[...] י' שובועיה [ם...]
4Q401 13 2	[ש...] ב' שני יהל' שבעה ל' [ש...]
4Q403 1 i 26-27	[...] כ' שובועי ת' [עודותם...]
4Q403 1 ii 30	ולפי שובועי ד' [ברי...]
4Q404 2 9	[ב...] כ' שובועי ת' [עודו] [תם...]
4Q404 11 2	[...] ב' שובוע' [ש...]
4Q405 3 ii 19	[ב...] כ' [ש] [בועי...]

(n) שופט

4Q403 1 i 37	ושופט בגבורתו לכול רוחי בין
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(n) שחק

4Q402 4 10	[...] אלוהים במלחמת שחקים והיותה [ש...]
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(n) שיר

4Q400 3 ii 3	למשכיל ש' [יר...]
4Q401 1-2 1	למשכיל ש' [יר...]
4Q403 1 i 30	למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השביעית
4Q403 1 ii 18	למשכיל שיר עולת השבת השמינית
4Q406 1 4	למשכיל שיר עולת השבת הש' [ש...]
MasŠŠ i 8	[ש...] ר' עולת השבת הששית
1lQŠŠ 3-4 8	[למשכיל] כיל שיר [ש...]

שכן (v)

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12-13 ובשוכן [יעמ] ודו קול גילות רנה השקית

שָׁלוֹם (n)

4Q401 24 2 [...] ◦ שלום [...]

4Q403 1 i 26 בשבעה ד' [ברי...ל] שלום עולמים

4Q404 2 8 [...] ל' [שלו] ◦ [עולמים] [...]

4Q405 3 ii 18 [...] דברי פלא לש' [לום] [...]

11Q^{SS} 2-1-9 2 [...] ש' [ל'ו] מיו במשפטי [...] (?)

11Q^{SS} 2-1-9 2-3 [...] [ת] עודותיו [ו] כול ברכות שלום [ו] [...]

שָׁלוֹם (n)

4Q403 1 i 39 וירצו דעתם ... והודותם ... למשפטי שלומים

4Q404 4 9 [...] ש' [לום] [...] (?)

שלוש (num)

4Q403 1 ii 18 השבת השמינית בשלושה וע' [שרים] [...]

שלישי (num)

4Q401 13 3 [...] [השלי] שי בכוהני רוש (?)

4Q403 1 i 1 [...] [השלישי] לנשיאי רוש

4Q403 1 i 13 [...] [טהורי] עולמים הש' [לישי] [...]

4Q403 1 ii 28 [...] [שבע] משלישי ל' [ו] [...]

4Q403 1 ii 28 [...] [ולש] ון השל' [ישי ת] גבר שבע [ה] [...]

4Q405 11 2-3 [...] ◦ משניו תגבר' משלישי לו

4Q405 11 3 [...] [ו] לשון שלישי תגבר' [...] [...]

11Q^{SS} 3-4 8 [...] [השלישי] [...] [...]

שם (n)

4Q403 1 i 10 בָּשֶׁם כ' [בו] ד' אלוהים

4Q403 1 i 17 יברך בש' [ם] הו' [ד המ] לך

4Q403 1 i 19 יברך בשם [...] [נפלאותיו]

4Q403 1 i 21 הששי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם [...] [אלים]

4Q403 1 i 23-24 [השב] יעי בנשיאי רוש יברך בשם קודשו

4Q403 1 i 29 [...] ◦ [שם כבודו]

4Q404 2 2 [...] [רוש יברך] בשם גבורו [ת] אל' [ים] [...]

4Q405 3 ii 6 [...] [בנשיאי] ר'וש יברך בשם ה' [וד] [...]

4Q405 13 3 [...] [פלא יברך] בָּשֶׁם [...] [...]

4Q405 13 4-5 הששי במשני [נשי] אי פלא יברך בשם גב' [ורות] [...]

Mas^{SS} ii 24 [יבר] ד' בשם כבוד אלוהים לך [ול] [...]

שמים (n)

4Q400 2 3-4 ורוממו [...] שמי מלכותו

[...] שְׁמִי מַלְכוּת כַּבְּ[וּד] כֹּה

4Q401 14 i 6

שְׁמִינִי (num)

הַשְׁבֹּת הַשְׁמִינִית בְּשִׁלּוּשָׁה וְע[...שְׂרִים...]

4Q403 1 ii 18

[...] הַשְׁבֹּת הַשְׁמִינִית[...ית...]

4Q405 8-9 1

שָׁמַע (v)

[...] הַשְׁמִיעוּ נִסְתָּרוֹת [...]

4Q401 14 ii 7

[...] הַשְׁמִיעוּ בְּדִמְמָת [...]

4Q401 16 2

[...] הַשְׁמִיעוּ בְּדִמְמָת[...מת...]

4Q402 9 3

וְקוֹל הַבְּרָךְ נִשְׁמָע נִכְבֵּד לְמִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים

4Q403 1 ii 12

[...] יִשְׁמִיעוּ [...]

4Q405 6 8

[...] עֲבִרֵיהֶם יִשְׁמִיעוּ [...]

4Q405 15 ii-16 6

פְּתַחֵי מִבּוֹאֵי וְשַׁעֲרֵי מוֹצֵא מִשְׁמִיעִים כְּבוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ

4Q405 23 i 9

[...] יִשְׁמִיעוּ[ו] [...]

4Q405 91 1

יִשְׁמִיעוּ[ו] מִקּוֹל מִשְׁא אֱלֹהִים[...](?)

11Q²⁷ 5-6 5

[...] יִשְׁמִיעוּ[ו] [...]

11Q²⁷ b 3

[...] יִשְׁמִיעוּ[ו] [...]

11Q²⁷ k 4

[...] יִשְׁמִיעוּ[ו] עוֹ וְהַלֵּל לֵשׁ[...](?)

11Q²⁷ o 3

[...] סִבְר מִשְׁמִיעֵי [...]

11Q²⁷ q 2

שְׁנִי (num)

[...] שְׁבֹעַ שְׁנִי יִהְיֶה לְשִׁבְעָה [...]

4Q401 13 2

[...] עוֹלָמִים שְׁנִיִּים בְּכוֹהֲנֵי קוֹרֵב סוּד שְׁנִי בְּמַעֲוֹנֵי פֶלֶא

4Q403 1 ii 19

[...] קוֹרֵב[ו] סוּד שְׁנִי בְּמַעֲוֹנֵי פֶלֶא ב[...שְׁבֹעַ...]

4Q405 8-9 2-3

שְׁנִי (n)

בְּתוֹךְ כְּבוֹד מִרְאֵי שְׁנִי צְבָעִי אֹרֶךְ

4Q405 23 ii 8

שְׁנִים (num)

[...] כְּבוֹד מִשְׁנֵי עֲבִרֵיהֶם[...](?)

4Q405 15 ii-16 5

שַׁעֲרֵי (n)

[...] בְּשַׁעֲרֵי מִרוֹמֵי רוֹם[...]

4Q400 1 ii 4

וּבְכֹל מִהֶפְכִּיהֶם שַׁעֲרֵי[...]

4Q403 1 ii 4

וּמִהֲלָלִים שַׁעֲרֵי בְּקוֹל רִנָּה

4Q405 23 i 7-8

פְּתַחֵי מִבּוֹאֵי וְשַׁעֲרֵי מוֹצֵא מִשְׁמִיעִים כְּבוֹד הַמֶּלֶךְ

4Q405 23 i 9

בְּצֵאת וּבְמִבּוֹא בְּשַׁעֲרֵי[ו] יִקְוֹדֵשׁ

4Q405 23 i 10

שִׁפְטֵי (v)

[...] יִשְׁפֹּט[...]

4Q402 3 ii 5

לֹא יִשְׁפֹּט בְּמוֹשְׁבֵי אֵפ כְּבוֹדוֹ

4Q405 23 i 12

שִׁפְלֵי (v)

לֹא יִרְוּ מִמִּשְׁלֹּחַתוֹ לֹא יִשְׁפֹּל[ו]

4Q405 23 i 12

	שקט (v)
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 12-13	ובשוכן [יעמ] וְדוֹ קוֹל גִּילוֹת רְנָה הַשְּׁקִיט
	שקט (n)
4Q400 1 ii 11	[...] לַמִּשְׁפָּטִי שְׁקֵט בְּ [...]
4Q405 19 7	קוֹל דְּמַמַּת שְׁקֵט אֶל [וְהִי] מְבָרְכִים [...]
	שרת (v)
4Q400 1 i 4	[...] מִשְׁרָתִי פָנִים בַּדְּבִיר כְּבוֹדוֹ
4Q400 1 i 8	מִשְׁרָתִי פָנִי מֶלֶךְ קוֹדֵשׁ [...]
4Q401 15 3	[...] קוֹרֵב מִשְׁ[רָתִי] [...]
4Q405 23 i 3	[...] כְּסִאיֶכָּה כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ וְכוֹל עֲדַת מִשְׁרָתִי [...]
4Q405 23 ii 2	[...] כִּי מֶלֶךְ בִּשְׁרָתָם לֹא [...]
11Q55 3-4 3	[...] כִּי בַחֹק יִתְכַּל [כ] לֹא לִשְׁרָתָ לֹא [...]
	שרת (n)
4Q405 23 ii 10 (?--שרת [v]?)	אֵלֶּה רֵאשֵׁי לְבוּשֵׁי פֶלֶא לִשְׁרָתָ (?)
	שש (num)
4Q403 1 i 30	הַשְּׁבִיעִיּוֹת בִּשְׁשׁ עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ
	ששי (num)
4Q403 1 i 4-5	[תהלת] רֶנָּן בְּלִשׁוֹן הַשְּׁשִׁי
4Q403 1 i 21	הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּנִשְׂאֵי רוּשׁ יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם [...] אֱלִים
4Q403 1 ii 29	[...] הַשְּׁשִׁי לֹא וּלְשׁוֹן [...]
4Q405 3 ii 11	[...] הוֹד לְהוֹדִי פֶלֶא הַשְּׁשִׁי [...]
4Q405 11 4-5	וּלְשׁוֹן הַשְּׁשִׁי תִּגְבַּר [ר] שְׁבַעָה בְּלִשׁוֹן הַ[שְּׁבִיעִי] יַעֲי לֹא
4Q405 13 4-5	הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּמִשְׁנֵי [נִשִּׁי] אֵי פֶלֶא יִבְרַךְ בְּשֵׁם גִּבּוֹר [וְרוֹת [...]
4Q405 28 2	[...] לִשְׁשִׁי [י] שְׁבַע [...]
Mas55 i 8	הַשְּׁבִיעִי הַשְּׁשִׁית בְּתַשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ
Mas55 ii 14	[...] הַ[תְּהִי] לֹא רֶנָּן בְּלִשׁוֹן הַשְּׁשִׁי לֹא [...]
	שתים (num)
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 6	הַ[שְּׁשִׁי] בֹּת שְׁתִּים עֶשְׂרָא [...]
	תבנית (n)
4Q403 1 i 43-44	כֹּל [...] וְקִירוֹתוֹ כֹּל [...] יִתּוּ מַעֲשֵׂי תִבְנִית [יִתּוּ..]
4Q403 1 ii 2	[...] מֵרָאִי תִבְנִית כְּבוֹד לְרֵאשֵׁי מַמְלָכוֹת רוּחַ [...]
4Q403 1 ii 16	[...] רֵאשֵׁי תִבְנִית אֱלֹהִים וְהַלְלוּהוּ בַּדְּבִיר קוֹדֶשׁוֹ
4Q404 5 8	[...] תִּבְנִי [ת...] [...]
4Q404 6 5	[...] תִּבְנִי [ת...] [...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 8	תִּבְנִית כְּסֵא מִרְכָּבָה מְבָרְכִים מִמַּעַל לְרִקִּיעַ הַכְּרוּבִים
11Q55 5-6 2	[...] כֹּל תִּבְנִית רוּחִי פֶל [א...] [...]
11Q55 8-7 4	[...] פֶּלֶא וְתִבְנִית חֲשִׁנִּי [...]

תהלה (n)

4Q400 2 4	תהלי פלא לפי כול[...]
4Q403 1 i 2	תהלת שבח בלשון הרבי[עי]
4Q403 1 i 3	[...וה]לֹה־[ה] וְדוֹת בלשון החמיש[י]
4Q403 1 i 6	תהלת [ב...בל]שון השביעי לנש[יאי...]
4Q403 1 i 7	[...שב]עֹתָה לִי[...]
4Q403 1 i 7-8	[...שב]ע [תהל]י גדל[...]
4Q403 1 i 8	[...][תהלי][...]
4Q403 1 i 8	[...שב]עֹתָה [תהלי][...]
4Q403 1 ii 13	יחושו בתהלי פלא בדבי[ר...]
4Q403 1 ii 31	[...] בתהלי פלא בדב[רי פ]לא[...]
4Q403 1 ii 39	[...] תה[לת...](?)
4Q403 2 3	[...] ש ותהלי פלא[...]
4Q404 1 1	[...] תהל[ת] זמר בל[שון...]
4Q404 1 3	[...] תהלי ג[דל...]
4Q405 12 4	[...] ותהלת[...]
4Q405 18 5	[...] תהלי פלא בדממת ק[ול...]
4Q405 64 2	[...] תהלי גד[ל...]
MasŠŠ ii 14	[...] תה[לת] רנן בלשון הששי ל[...]
MasŠŠ ii 16	[...] תה[לת] זמר בלשון השב[יעי...]
MasŠŠ ii 19	[...] פלא שבע תהלי ברכותיו שבע ת[הלי...]
MasŠŠ ii 20	[...] שבע ותהלי רום מלכותו שבע תהלי[...]
MasŠŠ ii 21	[...] שבע תהלי הודות נפלאותיו שבע תה[לי...]
MasŠŠ ii 22	[...] שבע ותהלי זמיר[ו]ת קודשו וולדות[...]
11QŠŠ h-i 2	[...] שבע ת[הלי...](?)
11QŠŠ h-i 3	[...] תהלי רנ[ות...]
11QŠŠ o 3	[...] ישמי[עו] ותהלי לש[...]
11QŠŠ q 4	[...] תהלי ברכות כבוד ה[...]
11QŠŠ r 4	[...] שב[ע] תה[לי...]

תוך (n)

4Q404 6 1	[...] מתוך[...]
4Q405 14-15 i 5-6	רוחי [ב...]תוך רוחי הדר
4Q405 23 ii 8	בתוך כבוד מראי שני צבעי אור
4Q405 23 ii 9	רוחי צבעי[...]

תוכן (n)

4Q405 23 i 13	[...] לכול משלחותו בתוכן vac א[מ]תו
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תולדה (n)

4Q401 20 1 [...] תולדות אֵלָהּ [...] [...]
 4Q403 1 i 9 [...] זמירוֹת קודשוֹ הַ [ולדות...] [...]
 MasŠŠ ii 22 [...] שְׁבַע תְּהִי זְמִירָה [ו]ת קודשוֹ תולדות [...] [...]

תחה (prep)

4Q405 19 7; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 9; 4Q405 46 3

תמיד (adv)

4Q403 1 i 22-23 ל[ת]מיד עם כֹּל הוּי [עול]מִי[י]ם
 4Q405 3 ii 14 [...] לְתִמִּיד עִם כֹּל [...] [...]
 4Q405 13 6 [...] לְתִמִּיד עִם כֹּל הוּי עוֹלָמִים
 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11 רוחות [א]לוהים חיים מוֹהֲלִים תמיד
 11QŠŠ j-d-g-p 7 [...] מֵהַל לִים תִּמִּיד [...] [...]

ומים (adj)

4Q403 1 i 22 וְכָל לְכֹל וְתִמִּי דָרָךְ
 4Q404 2 3 וְכָל לְכֹל וְתִמִּי [י] דָרָךְ
 4Q405 13 6 [ו]ב[ר]ך לְכֹל תִּמִּי דָרָךְ

תעודה (n)

4Q401 5 6 [...] בְּתַעֲדוֹת [...] [...]
 4Q402 1 3 [...] יַחַד לְכֹל תַּעֲדוֹת פֶּ [לא...] [...]
 4Q403 1 i 26-27 [...] כֹּל שׁוֹבְעֵי הַ [עוֹדוֹתם] [...] [...]
 4Q404 2 9 [...] כֹּל שׁוֹבְעֵי תַעֲדוֹת [...] [...]
 MasŠŠ i 3 ומדעתו [...] תִּיּוֹ הִיּוֹ כֹל תַּעֲדוֹת עוֹלָמִים
 11QŠŠ 2-1-9 2-3 [...] עוֹדוֹתָיו [ו]כֹּל בְּרוּכֹת שְׁלוֹם [...] [...]

תפארת (n)

4Q400 1 ii 3 [...] תַּפְאֶרֶת מַלְכוּתָהּ [...] [...]
 4Q405 15 ii-16 3 [...] תַּפְאֶרֶת בְּפִרוּכָת דְּבִיר הַמֶּלֶךְ
 4Q405 17 5 [...] נִפְלְאוֹת מַלְאכֵי תַּפְאֶרֶת וְרוּחֵי [...] [...]
 4Q405 23 ii 1 [...] תַּפְאֶרֶת לְפִתּוּחֵי [...] [...]
 11QŠŠ 8-7 5 [...] תַּפְאֶרֶת [...] [...]

תרומ

4Q405 32 3 [...] תְּרוֹם [...] [...]

תרומה (n)

4Q400 2 7 [מה] תְּרוֹמַת לְשׁוֹן עִפְרָנוּ
 4Q403 1 ii 26 [...] לֹא אֵלִים מֶלֶךְ הַטְּהוֹר וְתְרוֹמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם [...] [...]
 4Q405 23 ii 12 בְּרָאשֵׁי תְרוֹמוֹת לְשׁוֹנֵי דַעַת

תרועה (n)

4Q402 8 2 [...] מֵרִי מִים תְּרוּעָה [...] [...]

רשבחה/תושבחה (n)

4Q400 1 i 21-ii 1	[...תש] בֹּחֹת רום מלכֹּת [כה...]
4Q400 2 1	ותשבחות מלכותכה בקדושי קֹ [דושים]
4Q403 1 i 3	שבעה בשבע [ה] [דברי תשבוח]ות...
4Q403 1 i 31-32	ראשי תושבחות כול אלוהים שבחו לאלוה [י ת] שבחות הוד
4Q403 1 i 32	כי בהדר תשבחות כבוד מלכותו
4Q403 1 i 32-33	בה תשבחות כול אלוהים עם הדר כול מלכ [ותו].
4Q403 1 ii 25	ותשבחות רומם למלך הכבוד
4Q403 1 ii 36	[...] תשבחות [ב] לשון הרביע [י...]
4Q405 20 ii-21-22 13	[ו] קול תשבֹּחַ [ות...]
11Qṣṣ 2-1-9 3-4	ובהדר תשבחותו בכול רקי [עי...]
11Qṣṣ e 4	[...] תשבחות [ת...]
11Qṣṣ f 6	[...] בהוד ותשבֹּחַ [חות...]

תשע (num)

Masṣṣ i 8	השבת הששית בתשעה לחודש
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APPENDIX: NUMERATION OF MANUSCRIPTS AND FRAGMENTS

The numbers originally assigned by John Strugnell to the manuscripts of the Sabbath Shirot from Cave 4 were intended to organize the various manuscripts according to chronology (based on paleographic analysis). Thus 4Q400 was to designate the oldest copy, 4Q401 the next oldest, etc. I retained these designations in the edition of the fragments which I produced for my Harvard doctoral thesis ("4Q^{Serek Šîrôt} ʿÔlat HaŠšabbāt [The Qumran Angelic Liturgy]: Edition, Translation, and Commentary"), although in one case I dated the hand of a manuscript slightly earlier than its number in the sequence would have indicated. After working with Hartmut Stegemann on the proper ordering of the manuscript fragments according to their position and sequence in the original form of the scrolls, it seemed to me that a numbering system which reflected the order of the contents of the document as preserved in the extant manuscripts would be a more helpful way of organizing and presenting the material. Since circulation of my Harvard thesis had been restricted pending completion of my revision of the material for publication, I judged that I would not introduce undue confusion into the scholarly discussion of the Sabbath Shirot by renumbering the manuscripts and fragments in the published form of the work.

For those who have occasion to compare the edition of the Sabbath Shirot in the unpublished thesis with the edition here published, the following table shows the relationship between the old and the revised numeration.

Old Numbers	New Numbers	Content by Sabbath Song
4Q400	4Q400 (ShirShabb ^a)	1-2
4Q400'	4Q401 (ShirShabb ^b)	1-4
4Q406	4Q402 (ShirShabb ^c)	4-6
4Q402	4Q403 (ShirShabb ^d)	6-8
4Q401	4Q404 (ShirShabb ^e)	6-8
4Q403	4Q405 (ShirShabb ^f)	6-13
4Q405	4Q406 (ShirShabb ^g)	?
4Q404	4Q407 (ShirShabb ^h)	?

Old Numbers	New Numbers	Content by Sabbath Song
-----	MasShirShabb (ShirShabb ⁱ)	5-6
-----	11QShirShabb (ShirShabb ^j)	8-13

In addition to the renumbering of the manuscripts themselves, I have renumbered the fragments in 4Q405 (old 4Q403) to reflect, insofar as possible, the reconstructed original sequence of the fragments in the scroll.

Old Numbers		New Numbers	Old Numbers	New Numbers
4Q403 1	=	4Q405 1	4Q403 6	4Q405 25
2		2	8B	26
3		3	11	27
4A		4	12	28
4B		5	14	29
4C		6	15	30
7A		7A	16	31
7B		7B	17	32
7C		7C	18	33
8C		7D	19	34
8A		7E	20	35
9		8	26	36
10		9	27	37
13		10	28	38
21		11	29	39
22		12	30	40
23		13	31	41
47		14	37	42
48		15	39	43
49		16	40	44
51		17	41	45
36		18	42	46
32-34-35-43		19ABCD	44	47
33		20	45	48
38		21	46	49
24		22	50	50
25		23	52	51
5		24		

From 53 to 84 the order remains the same, but the new numbers are one lower (i.e., old 53 = new 52, etc.). In addition twenty-one small fragments now included in the thesis are here published (4Q405 84-105).

In one instance a new join has resulted in the change of line numbers. The 11QShirShabb fragments establish a join between 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 (old numbers 4Q403 33 ii-38-24). The old line numbers for 4Q403 24 (new 4Q405 22) should now be increased by 5 (i.e., old 4Q403 22 2 is 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 7).

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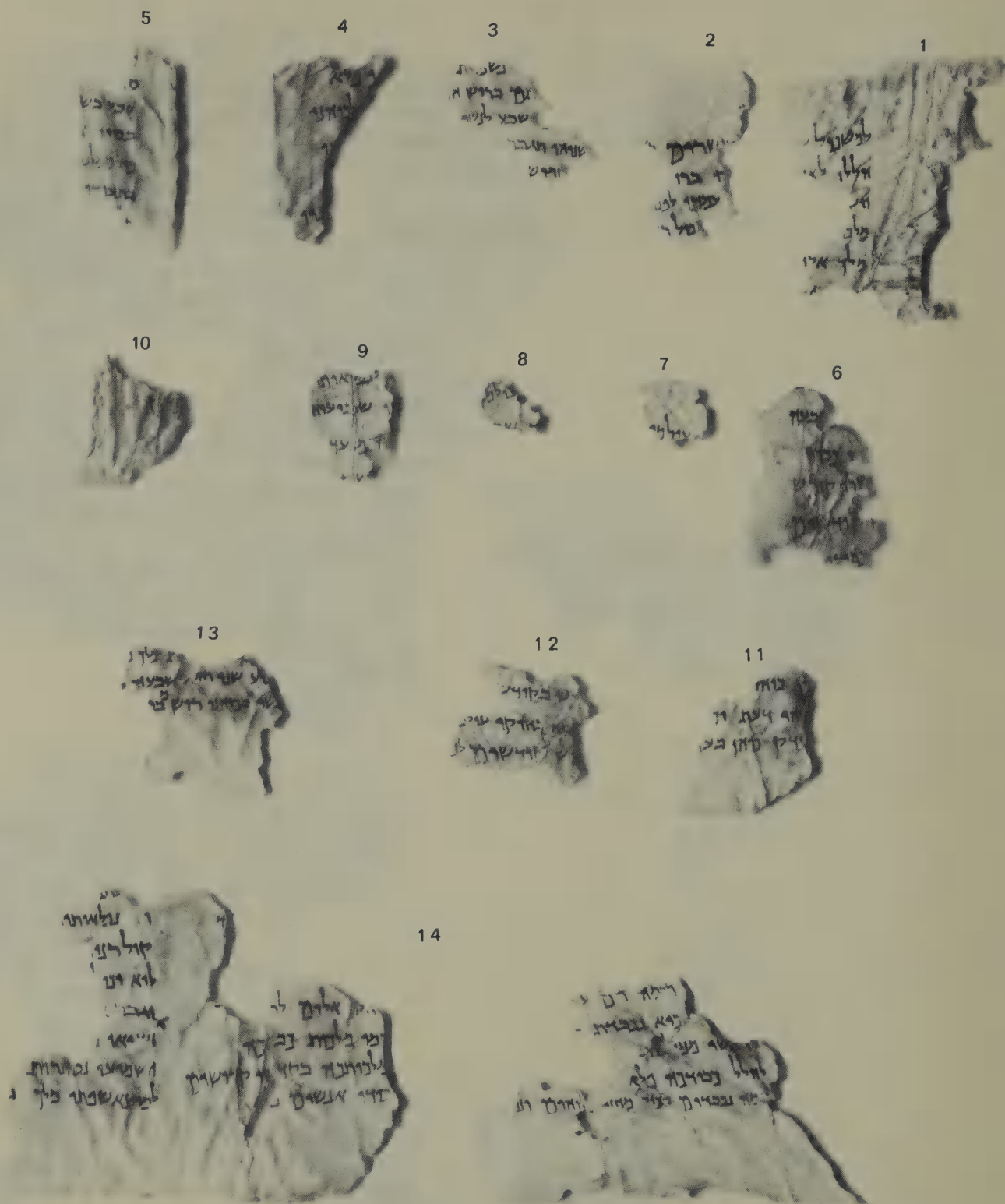
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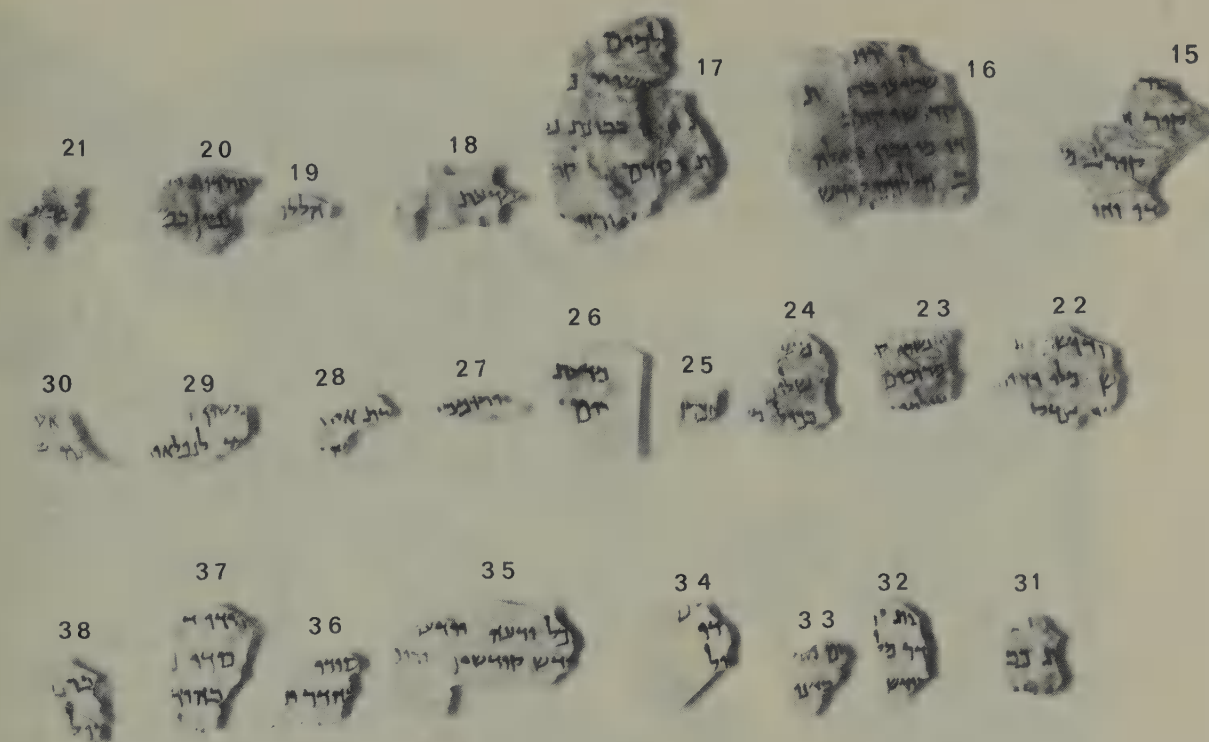
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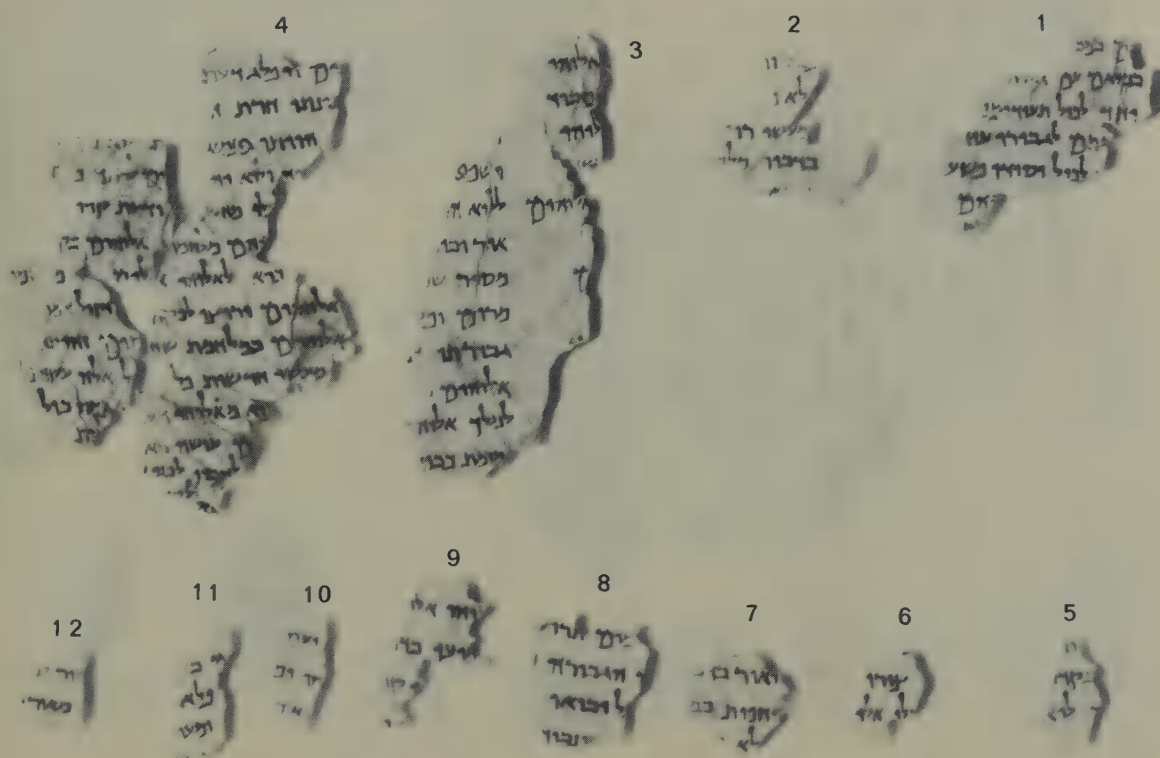
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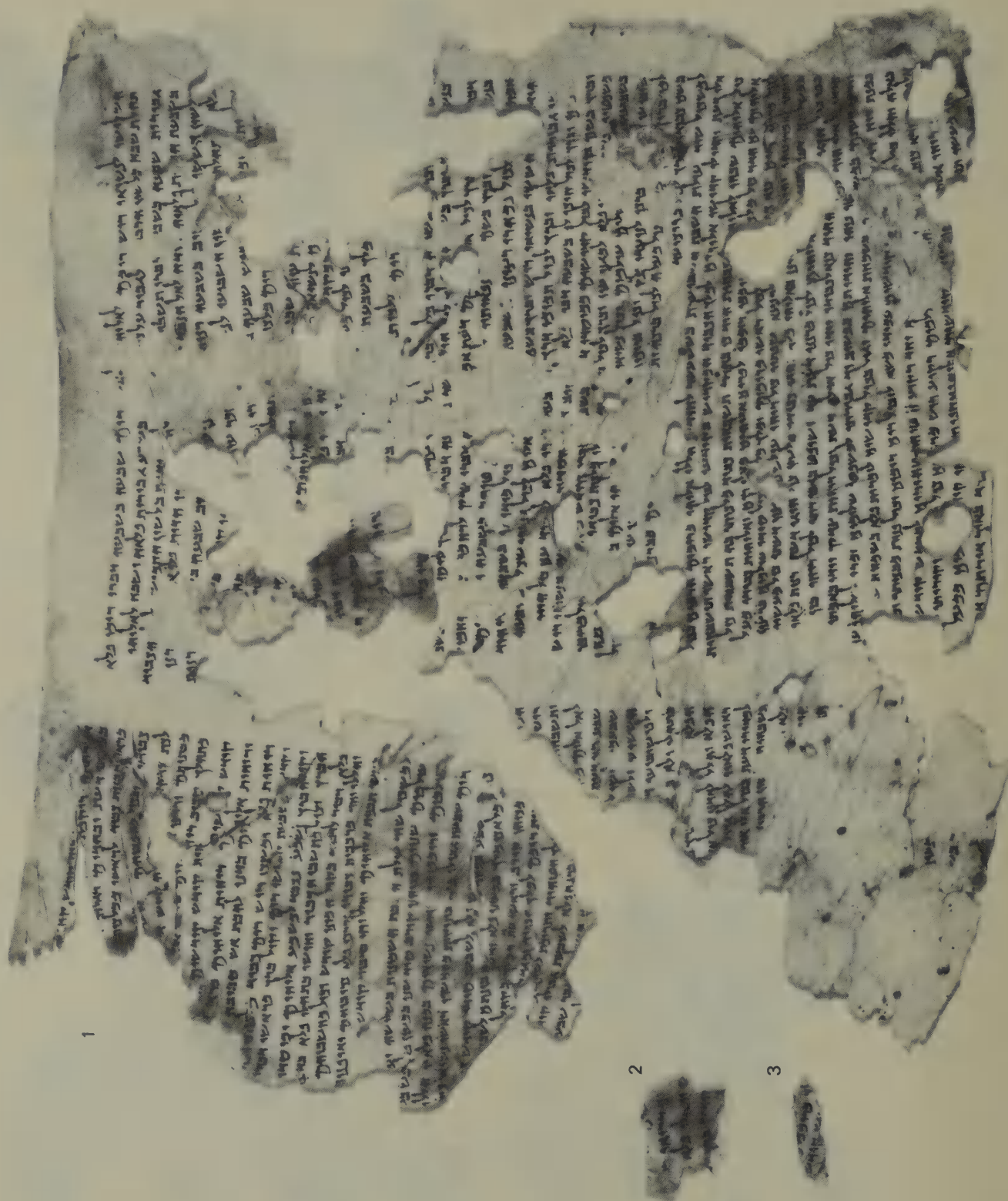


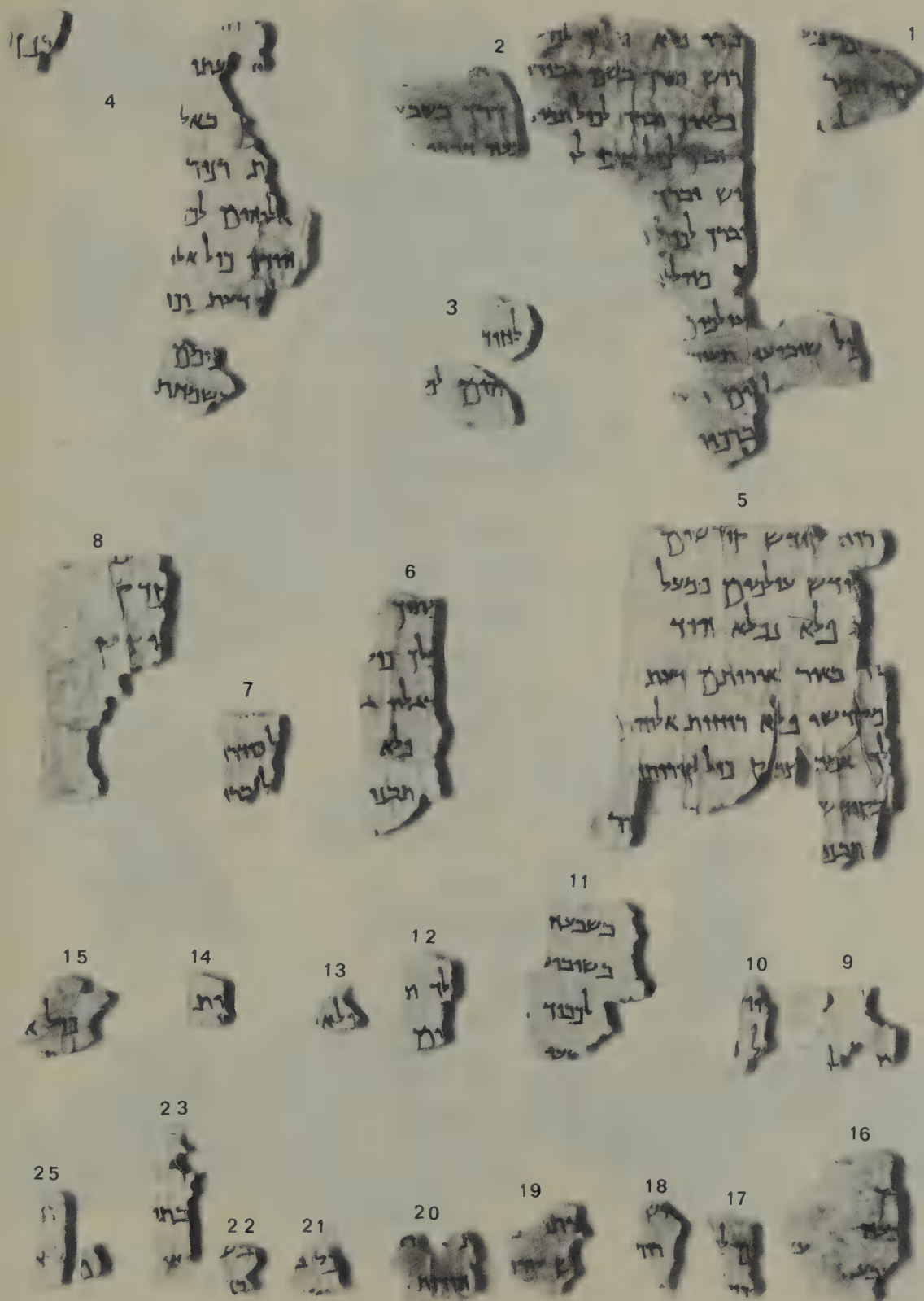


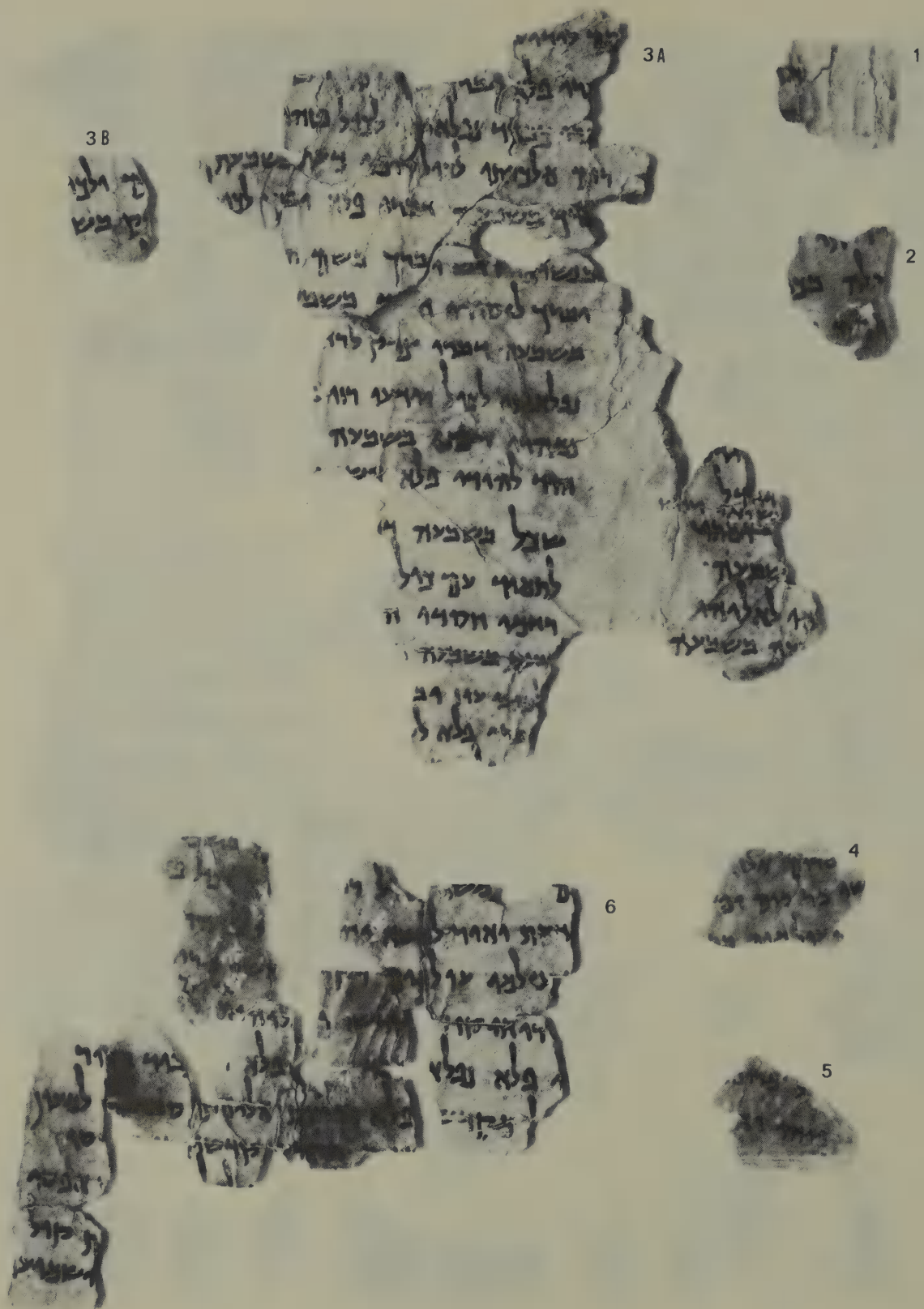
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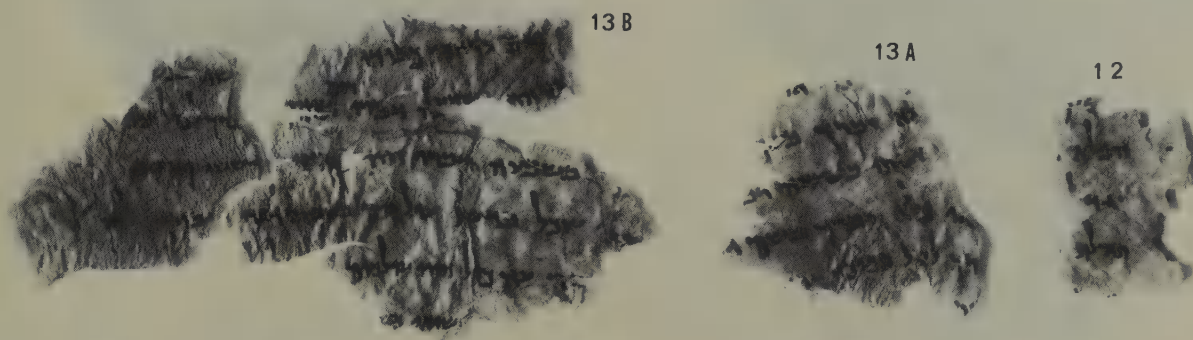
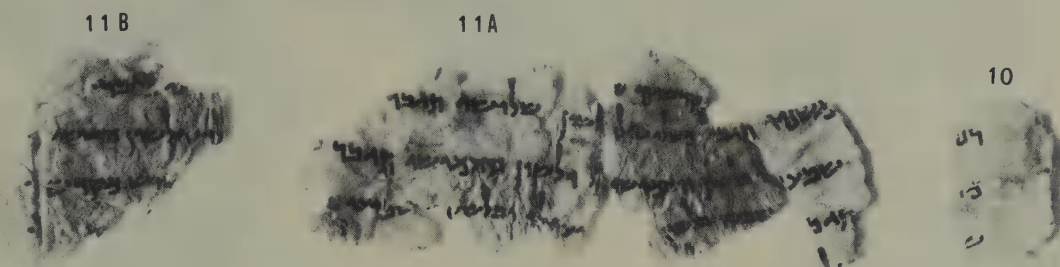
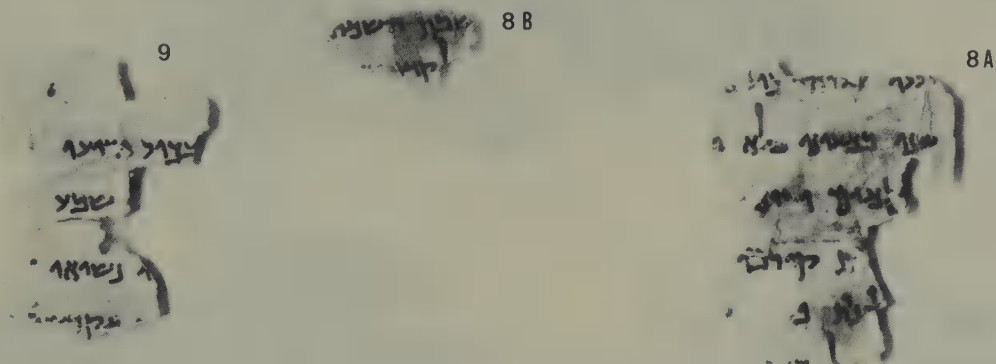


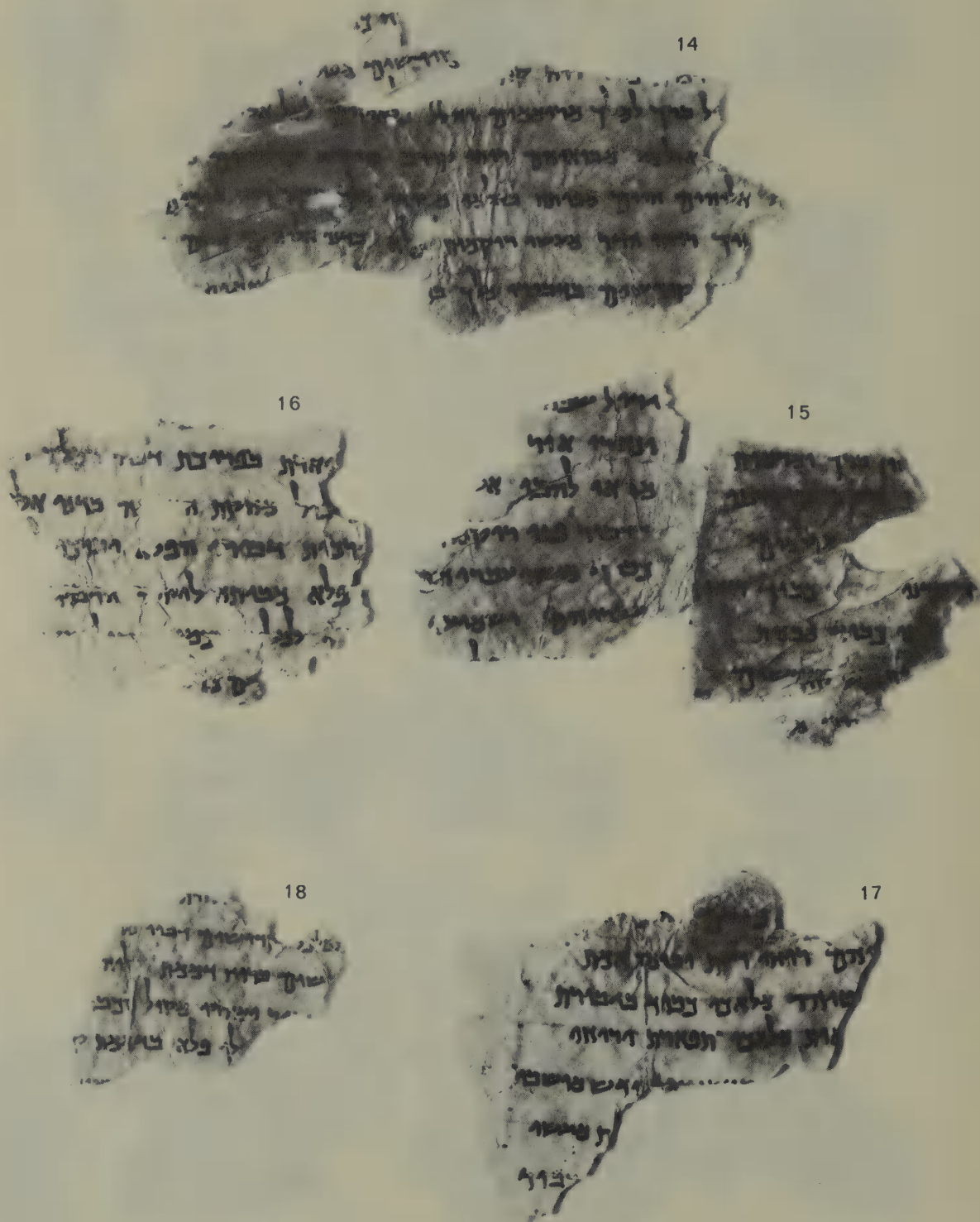
4Q402 (ShirShabb^c) Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice





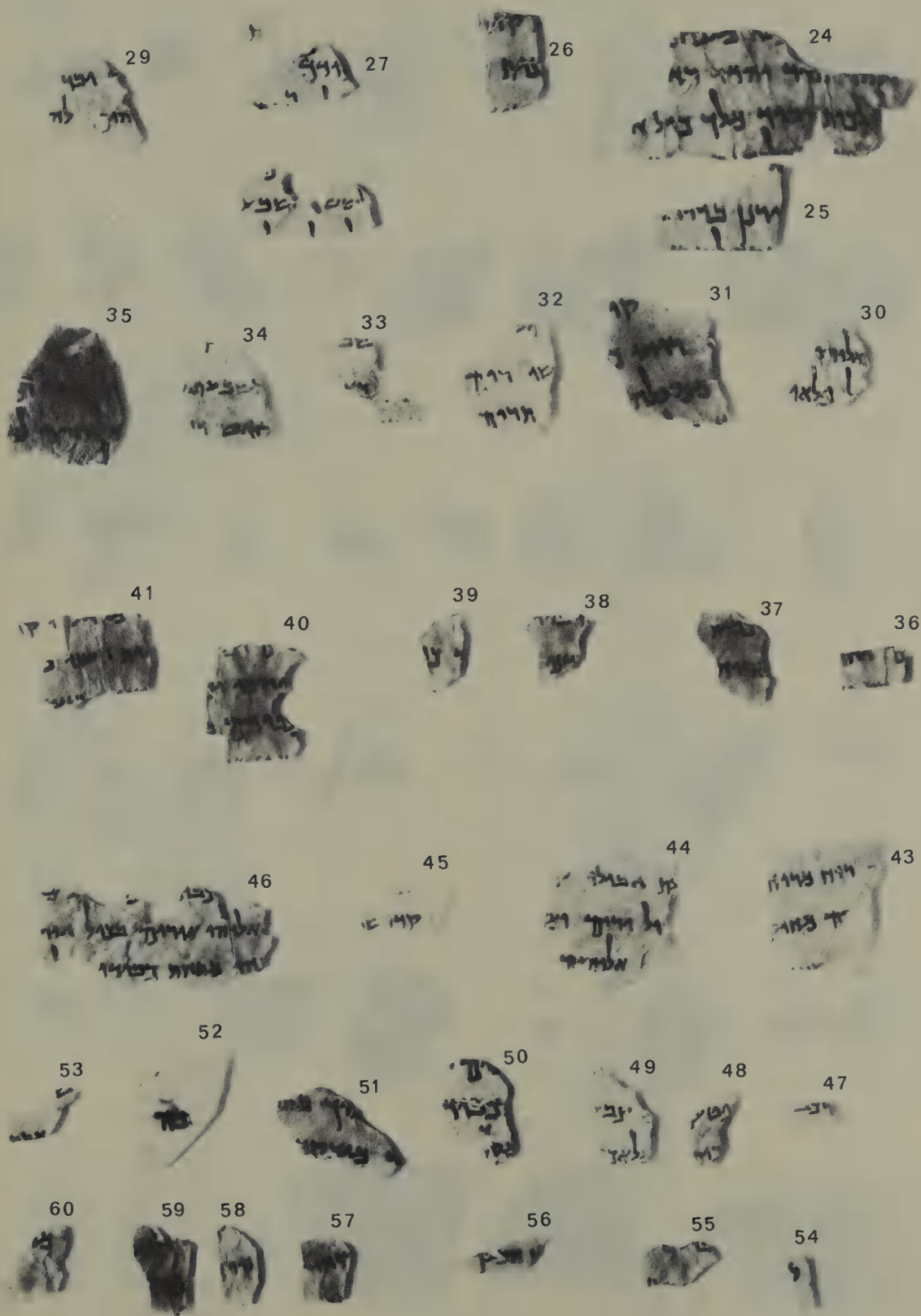






23

Handwritten text in Hebrew script, likely a fragment of a manuscript. The text is arranged in several columns, with some lines written diagonally. The script is cursive and appears to be from a later period, possibly the Middle Ages or Renaissance. The fragment is identified as 4Q405 (ShirShabb^f), Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.





COL. XIII	COL. XII	COL. XI	COL. X
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4Q405 (ShirShabb^f) Reconstruction

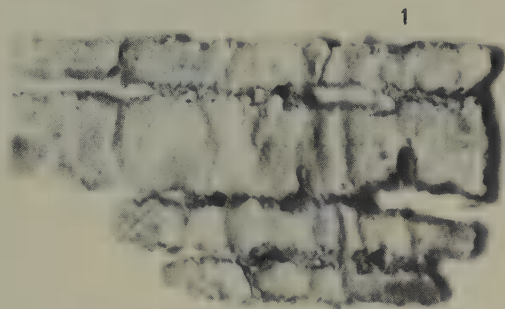
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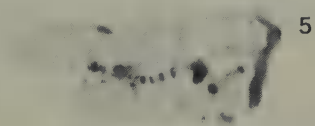
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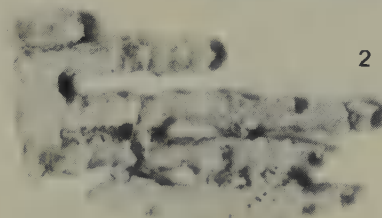
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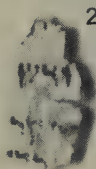


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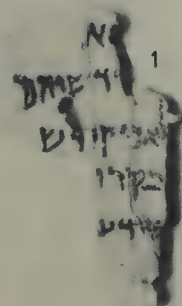


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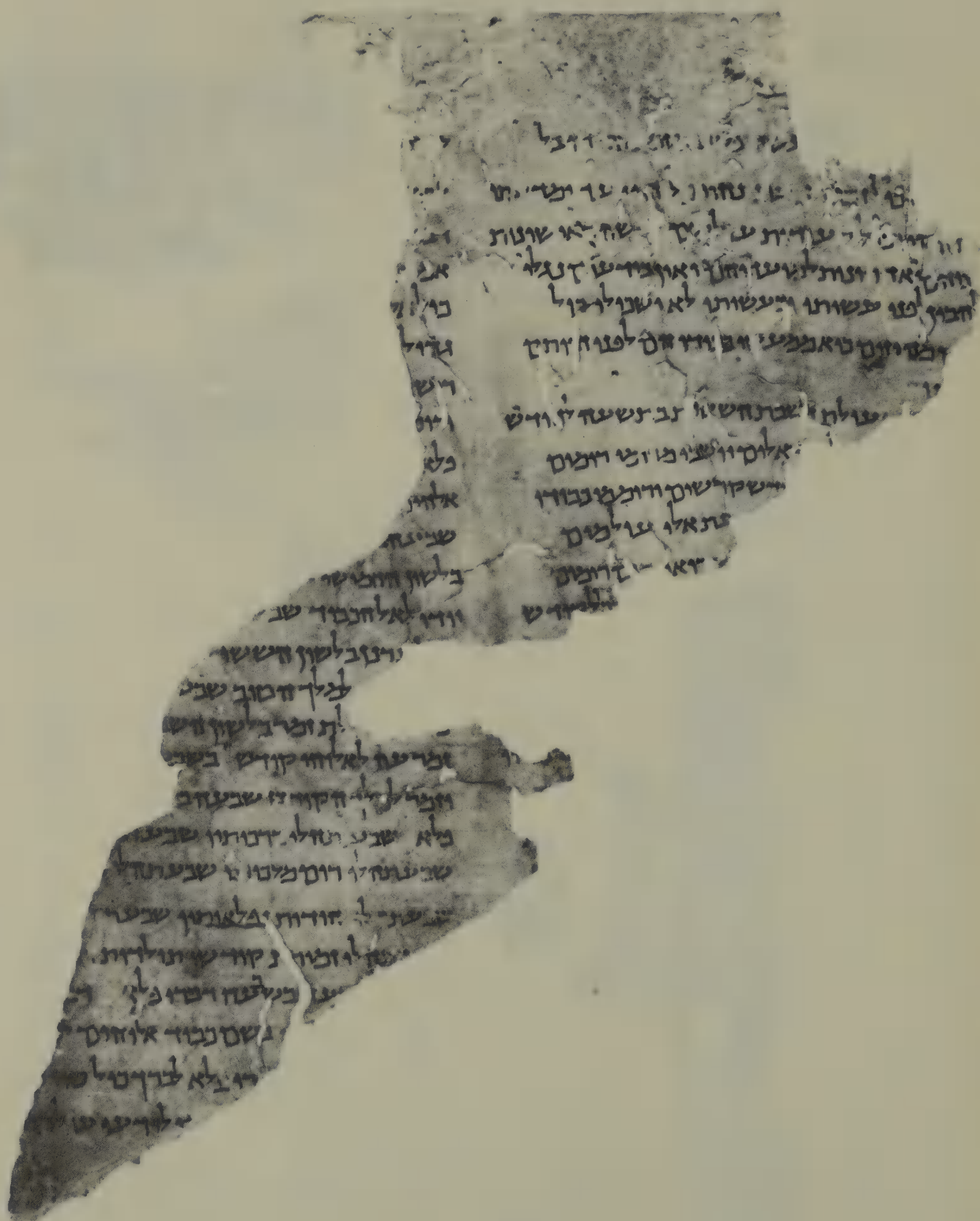


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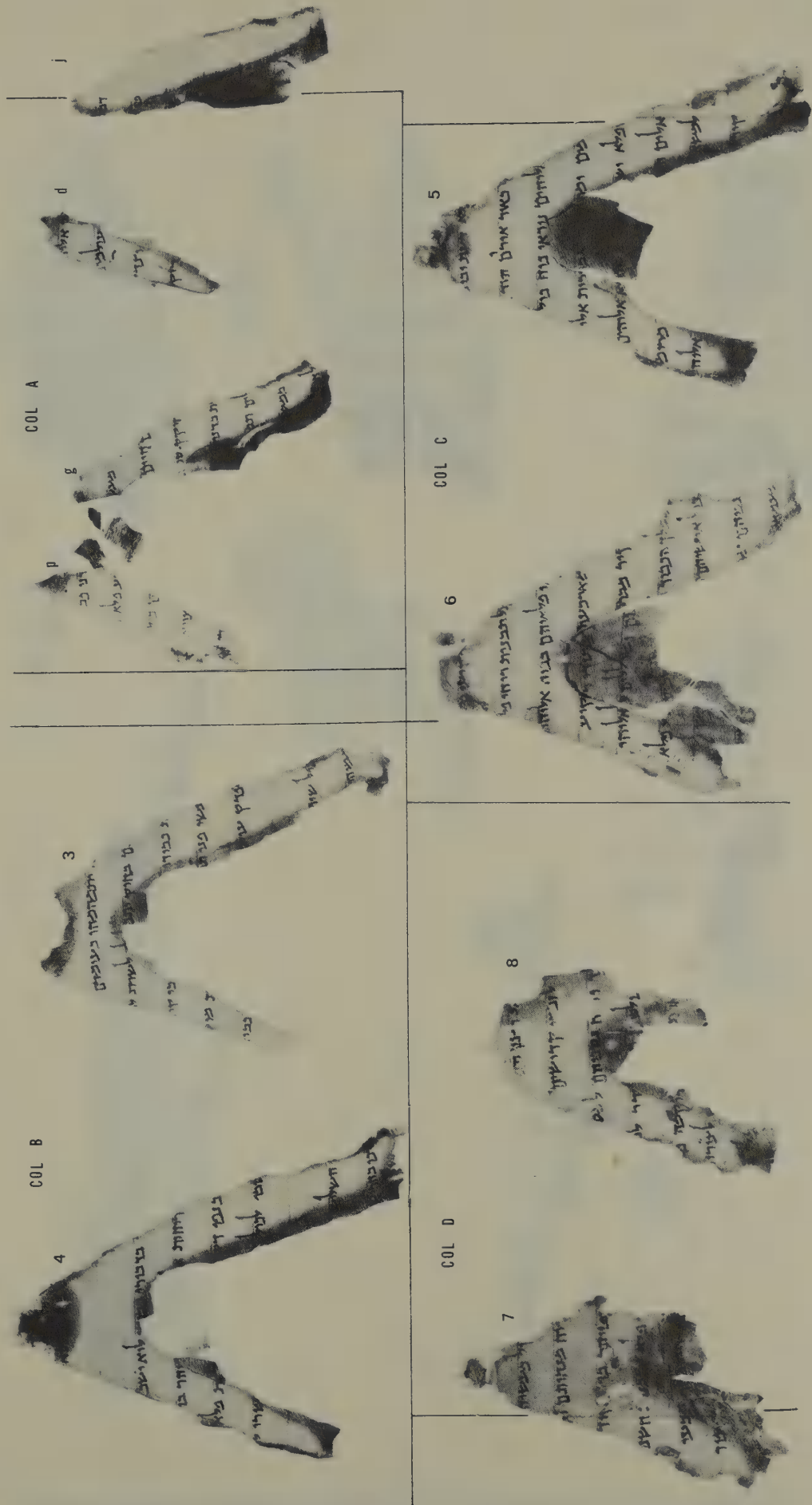


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4Q407 (ShirShabb^h) Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice



Masada ShirShabb (ShirShabbⁱ) Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice



llQShirShabb (ShirShabb^j) Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

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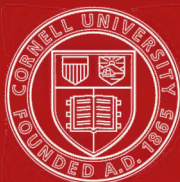
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THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

TRANSLATED FROM THE ETHIOPIC VERSION, WHICH, TOGETHER WITH THE NEW GREEK FRAGMENT, THE LATIN VERSIONS AND THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE SLAVONIC, IS HERE PUBLISHED IN FULL

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES
BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.D.
PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL GREEK, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1900

A

TO MY FRIENDS

N. BONWETSCH, B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT

TO WHOM I AM SO MUCH INDEBTED

IN THE PRESENT WORK

PREFACE

A NEW edition of the *Ascension* has long been needed. That of Dillmann was in its time a most helpful and meritorious work, though his commentary is too brief, and his Ethiopic text less good than it might have been, owing to his somewhat faulty collation of the MSS. and his failure to use for critical purposes the Latin versions at his disposal.

For the present edition accordingly the Ethiopic MSS. have been collated and the text edited anew. Full account has therein been taken of the Latin versions and the *Greek Legend*, as well as of the new textual authorities now accessible—Grenfell and Hunt's fragmentary Greek text, and Bonwetsch's translation of the Slavonic version. Indeed, to make the textual evidence complete I have arranged the Greek text, the Latin versions, and the Latin translation of the Slavonic in parallel columns with the Ethiopic, and appended at their close the *Greek Legend*, which, being built on the *Ascension*, is an important witness to its text. The genealogical relations subsisting between these authorities are set forth in the Introduction.

Before leaving this subject I must record my deep obligations to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt for placing at my service the proofs of their critical and admirable edition of the valuable Greek fragment which they have recently discovered; to Professor Bonwetsch for his most helpful translation

of the Slavonic version, and to Father Mercati for a new and more accurate collation of the Vatican Latin fragments. For Father Mercati's help I am beholden to the kind offices of Mr. C. H. Turner, Fellow of Magdalen College. Finally, my best thanks are due to Messrs. A. & C. Black for generously undertaking the publication of the above texts.

The *Ascension* is a composite work, partly of Jewish, partly of Christian origin. The former element, which is derived from a Jewish work, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, possesses a value of its own, but it is the Christian element, which is based on two originally independent writings, the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah, that chiefly engages our attention in the present work. These latter, particularly the Testament of Hezekiah, cast an illuminating, though at times lurid, light on certain outlying provinces of Christian belief and conduct towards the close of the first century. It bewails the fewness of the prophets, the prevalence of heresies, the sad declension in Christian character. It touches incidentally on the fact that there were Church Guilds, whose sole object was to keep believers in a state of readiness for the Advent of Christ, but expecting withal to experience first the dreaded coming of the Antichrist. Since the account it furnishes of the Antichrist is in some respects unique, I have brought the Introduction to a close with a Critical Essay on the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths as they appear in Jewish and Christian literature between 200 B.C. and 120 A.D.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD.

September, 1900.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE *Ascension of Isaiah* is a composite work of very great interest. In its present form we cannot be sure that it existed earlier than the latter half of the second century of our era¹. Its various constituents, however, and of these there were three, circulated independently as early as the first

¹ From the third century onward the *Ascension* had an extensive circulation amongst Christian 'heretics'. Thus it was used by Hieracas and the Archontici (see quotations from Epiphanius, p. 67); by the Arians, to whom we owe the preservation of the Vatican fragments; by the Massalians or Bogomils in the East, and the Cathari in the West. Its presence amongst the Massalians is attested by Euthymius Zigabenus (circ. 1100), 'Ἐλεγχος καὶ θραμβος τῆς . . . αἵρέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Μασσαλιανῶν, in Tollius, *Insignia Itinerarii Italici*, 1696, 116-117, ἐτέραν τινὰ εἶναι τριάδα, ἥ καὶ ὑπερκειμένην ξηουσίαν, τὴν τῷ ὑπερτάτῳ τῶν ἐπὶ οὐρανῶν ἐπικαθημένην, κατὰ τὴν βδελυρὰν ψευδεπίγραφον παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ 'Ἡσαίου ὄρασιν (see Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* cxxxi. col. 44); and amongst the Cathari by Moneta, *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses* (ed. Riechinius), 1742, p. 218, 'Omnes (prophetas) damnabant praeter Isaiam, cuius dicunt esse quemdam libellum, in quo habetur, quod spiritus Isaiae raptus a corpore usque ad septimum caelum ductus est, in quo vidit et audivit quaedam arcana, quibus vehementissime innituntur.'

century. These were the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Testament of Hezekiah. The first of these was of Jewish origin, and is of less interest here than the other two, which were the work of Christian writers. The Vision of Isaiah is important for the knowledge it affords us of first-century beliefs in certain circles as to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, &c. The long lost Testament of Hezekiah, which is, I think, to be identified with iii. 13^b to iv. 18 of our present work, is unquestionably of great value in the insight it gives us into the history of the Christian Church at the close of the first century. Its descriptions of the worldliness and lawlessness which prevailed among the elders and pastors, i.e. the bishops and priests, of the widespread covetousness and vain-glory as well as of the growing heresies among Christians generally, agree with similar accounts in 2 Peter, 2 Timothy, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii, xxiii). This work, moreover, is the first and oldest document that testifies to the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome. Finally, it supplies us with indispensable materials for the history of the Antichrist.

§ 2. VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK.

'Απόκρυφον Ἡσαίου is the name assigned to it by Origen in his commentary on Matthew xiii. 57 (Lommatzsch, iii. 49), Καὶ Ἡσαίας δὲ πεπρόσθαι ὑπὸ

τοῦ λαοῦ ἱστορήται· εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἑσαΐα αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι πιστευσάτω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους οὕτω γεγραμμένοις (Heb. xi. 37). See also *Ep. ad Afric.* 9 (Lommatzsch, xiii. 31), and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, vi. 16.

In Epiphanius, *Haer.* xl. 2, it is termed τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἑσαίου, which he says was used by the Ἀλλογενεῖς. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ λαβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικοῦ Ἑσαίου ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀποκρύφων. And in lxvii. 3 Βούλεται δὲ (Ἰέρακας) τὴν τελείαν αὐτοῦ σύστασιν ποιῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικοῦ Ἑσαίου, δῆθεν ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀναβατικῷ λεγομένῳ ἔλεγεν ἐκείσε ὅτι (the quotation which follows will be found in the notes on p. 67). In like manner Jerome calls it the *Ascensio Isaiae*. See quotation in notes on p. 81.

Thirdly, it was known as the Ὅρασις Ἑσαίου. This we infer from the texts of E S and L² of vi. 1. This designation actually appears in Montfaucon's and Pitra's list of Canonical and Apocryphal Books. It belongs specifically, and probably originally, only to vi-xi. 40.

Finally, it is named the Διαθήκη Ἐξέκτου by Cedrenus i. 120-121 (see pp. 2, 29, notes). That such a work was incorporated in the Ascension might also be inferred from i. 2^b-5^a which describe the contents of Hezekiah's Vision (see also *Greek Legend*, i. 2). This description is applicable to the Christian Apocalypse, iii. 13^b-iv. 18, and to it alone in the Ascension. The fact, too, that Cedrenus

quotes partially iv. 12, 14, and refers to iv. 15-18 of this very section, points to the conclusion that such a book existed independently (see i. 2-4, notes).

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC VERSION (E) AND ITS MSS.

The Ethiopic version, which we shall henceforth denote by E, is on the whole a faithful reproduction of the Greek (G¹).

As we shall see later, there were at an early date two recensions (G¹ and G²) of the original Greek of vi-xi, which presented very divergent texts in a large number of passages. It is from the former of these (G¹) that E is derived.

E is, as we have said, a faithful reproduction of the Greek. So closely as a rule does it follow the latter that it can almost always be retranslated without difficulty. Like every version, however, with a long history behind it, it has its defects. Thus there are additions made to the text in ii. 5, vii. 4, viii. 12, 34, ix. 18, and losses sustained in ii. 13, vii. 13, 15, 17, xi. 19. Manifest dittographies are found in iii. 22, 26, v. 3, viii. 20, ix. 22, xi. 24, and mistaken renderings of the Greek in vii. 21, ix. 3, 5. Corruptions too are not infrequent, as in i. 5, iii. 1, 10, 14, 31, iv. 1, vii. 2, 3, 8, viii. 2, 7, 14, ix. 1, 30, 33, x. 1, 12, xi. 24, 40, but most of these are obvious and admit of easy emendation.

Other defects in E are not native to it, but go back to G¹. Thus the omission in iii. 5 is trace-

able to this source: and likewise the addition in vii. 18.

The corruptions, moreover, in vi. 17, vii. 9, ix. 14, are simply reproductions of corruptions already existing in the Greek.

A discussion of the critical affinities of E to the other versions must be adjourned to the later sections.

The Manuscripts. Of E only three manuscripts *a*, *b*, *c*, have come to Europe; two of these are in the British Museum, *b* and *c*. These belong to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, and appear on the British Museum Catalogue as Nos. 501 and 503.

c is much less trustworthy than *b*, and yet in certain passages, particularly in xi. 2-24, we are obliged to follow it against *a* and *b* on the ground of external or internal evidence. For the sake of brevity I have not infrequently omitted its readings.

In *b* there are frequent omissions through homoioteleuton, and likewise many misleading corrections of the text. Notwithstanding, these two manuscripts are of indispensable worth for establishing the text of E. They were first used by Dillmann in his edition of the *Ascension* in 1877. His collation, however, of these manuscripts is defective and inaccurate, as we shall discover later (see p. xvi).

b and *c* are much inferior in value to *a*, which belongs to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This

manuscript, which may be assigned to the fifteenth century, was published as it stands in 1819 by Laurence. I have followed it in the main in my text.

§ 4. EDITIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC TEXT.

LAURENCE. *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis, Opusculum pseudepigraphum . . . cum Versione Latina Anglicanaque publici Iuris factum*, Oxoniae, 1819.

Laurence, as we have above mentioned, edited the text found in *a*. This he reproduced on the whole with great accuracy, and combined with it a Latin and an English translation. These translations, however, are often untrustworthy.

DILLMANN. *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine, cum Prolegomenis Adnotationibus criticis et exegeticis, additis Versionum Latinarum Reliquiis edita*, Lipsiae, 1877.

In this edition, by means of the manuscripts *b* and *c* (p. xvi), Dillmann made a vast advance on his predecessor. This advance, however, might have been somewhat greater if he had consulted the Latin fragments which he published *pari passu* with the construction of his text on *a*, *b*, *c*. On the other hand, his insight is shown by not a few happy emendations, and his translation is all that is admirable.

On the other hand, a very serious blemish disfigures the text and his *apparatus criticus* in the footnotes. Dillmann's collation of *a*, *b*, and *c* is occasionally inaccurate and defective. Thus, as

regards one of the proper names in ii. 5, and of two in iv. 22, his text represents none of the manuscripts. He wrongly collates *a* in iii. 2, vi. 13, xi. 37; *b* in i. 2, 4, iii. 5, iv. 18; and *a, b, c*, in vii. 8, 27, and ix. 39. The above inaccuracies are, it is true, of no great moment, but the same is not true of the following passages: iii. 16 (twice), vii. 3, 14, 24, viii. 5, x. 1, where the readings of the manuscripts differ, and not only is the wrong variant adopted in the text, but the right reading is not even collated in the footnotes. Sometimes the omitted variant merely upholds the order of the Greek as against the adopted one, as in ii. 9, but even this is of some value.

Finally, Dillmann's reduction of the orthography to one fixed norm is not desirable. It is better that the student should be presented with the forms that occur so commonly in the manuscripts.

§ 5. TRANSLATIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION.

LAURENCE. This translation, which has already been referred to (p. xvi), was reprinted by Gfrörer in his *Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, 1840, and was done into German by Jolowicz, *Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Propheten Jesaja, aus dem Aethiopischen (?) und Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt*, 1854.

DILLMANN. See p. xvi.

BASSET. This scholar has translated Dillmann's text into French: *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens, traduits en français*. III. *L'Ascension d'Isaïe*, 1894,

and aimed at smoothness rather than exactness of expression.

BEER. *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 124-127. We have here an accurate German translation of ii-iii. 1-12, v. 2-14, of Dillmann's text.

§ 6. THE LATIN VERSIONS L¹ (ii. 14 - iii. 13, vii. 1-19) AND L² (vi.-xi).

There were two Latin versions, one of which L² embraces vi.-xi., the other L¹ only ii. 14 - iii. 13, vii. 1-19. The former was printed by Antonius de Fantis at Venice, in 1522, from a manuscript now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in a Göttingen program (*Vetus Translatio Latina Visionis Iesaiæ*, 1832), and by Dillmann as an appendix in his edition of 1877.

As I have been unable to get access to the Venice edition, I have re-issued the version, as it appears in Dillmann's edition, with certain corrections and critical notes.

Now as regards the two fragments of L¹, these were first discovered and edited by Mai in 1828 (*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, III. part ii. 238, 239) from the codex rescriptus of the Acts of Chalcedon, Vat. 5750, the original writing of which belongs to the fifth or sixth century. His work unhappily was somewhat inaccurate and defective, but these shortcomings are now set right in the texts presented on pp. 87-92 and 102-108. For the corrections in question I am indebted to the

assistant Librarian in the Vatican, Father Mercati, whose kind services were secured for me by Mr. C. H. Turner of Magdalen College.

When we proceed to compare L^1 and L^2 and E together in chapter vii, the agreement of L^1 and E against L^2 at once springs to light. Even within this limited portion of the text it becomes clear that L^1 and E on the one side, and L^2 on the other, are not directly derived from one and the same Greek text, but only indirectly through the medium of two distinct recensions, G^1 and G^2 , which in nine-tenths of their matter presuppose a common parent G.

Although I had arrived at the above conclusion through a study of E, L^1 and L^2 , it was impossible to prove it beyond question till the Slavonic version (= S) was made accessible to me through the kindness of Professor Bonwetsch.

If the reader will now turn to the versions of chapter vii. on pp. 102-108, having first acquainted himself with the meaning of the symbols (see p. lxxiii, sq.) which I have used for critical purposes in this edition, he will see that EL^1 ¹ agree against SL^2 in presenting a fuller text in vii. 5, 12, 15, 16, 17, and likewise in the same corrupt addition in vii. 18.

On the other hand, SL^2 agree against EL^1 in presenting a fuller text in vii. 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17. There are many other less obvious though not

¹ In vii. 12, L^1 stands alone against ESL^2 , but this is due, as I have shown on p. 106, to its translator finding *καθαρίσει* in his text instead of *καθαίρησει*.

less weighty divergencies between EL^1 and SL^2 , that is, between G^1 and G^2 in this chapter, but the above instances are sufficient to establish our contention.

We have now to show that throughout the rest of vi.-xi, where L^1 fails us, SL^2 agree against E alike in their additions and their omissions. Only the more important passages will be noticed. Thus SL^2 agree in more or less large additions in vii. 37, viii. 3, ix. 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 29, 36, 42, x. 15, xi. 34, 36, 40. Again, they agree in giving short summaries instead of the Ethiopic text of x. 25-28, xi. 27-30, and especially in omitting the very important passage in E , i.e. xi. 2-22, with the exception of a single phrase in xi. 19.

The above divergencies have in some instances assumed such vast proportions that it may occur to the reader that these were possibly developed on Abyssinian soil. But such a supposition is precluded by the fact that many of the most suspicious passages are supported by an independent Greek authority. This authority which we must now invoke is the *Greek Legend*, which is printed on pp. 141-148, and of which a short account will be found on pp. xxvii-xxviii. This work was based on the same form of text that is preserved in E and L^1 . It does not, indeed, make a continuous use of our text, but yet uses it sufficiently to show beyond possibility of doubt that its writer had before him not G^2 but G^1 .

The evidence is as follows. In vii. 17 where we have all five authorities, EL^1 and *Greek Legend*

agree in giving a text (= gloriæ) against that of S L² (= magnæ gloriæ). Next, in viii. 5 E and *Greek Legend* = σύνδουλός σου εἰμί, whereas S L² = σύμβουλος εἰμί. Here σύμβουλος is corrupt. In vi. 2, 9, ix. 7-8, 12, 13, x. 7, 12, 31 E has clauses which are supported by the *Greek Legend* but omitted by S L². Finally, the *Greek Legend* has preserved a clause (xi. 19, 20) out of the large section peculiar to E. To the above we might add that *Greek Legend*, ii. 10, has preserved a phrase found in L¹, vii. 11, but lost in E.

We have now shown that in chapters vi.-xi. E L¹ and the 'Greek Legend' go back to a definite Greek text which we have named G¹, and that S L² go back similarly to G².

The main differences of G¹ from G are due to the editor of the entire work: whereas those of G² from G are due to the editor of this independent edition of vi.-xi.

We have not as yet dealt with the first Latin fragment of Mai, ii. 14-iii. 13, but this need not delay us long; for it clearly belongs to the same form of text as the second fragment and agrees very closely with E. For a detailed treatment of its relations to E and the new Greek fragment, the reader should consult pp. xxviii-xxxi.

§ 7. THE FULLER TEXT OF G¹ AS A RULE IS DERIVED FROM G.

In certain passages S L² present a shorter text than E. If S L², in other words G², represent faith-

fully the text as it stood in the archetype G, then it is clear that in such passages the fuller text of E or G¹ is the work of the editor of G¹. This is no doubt true in a few cases. Thus we may be fairly confident that certain clauses in vi. 1-13 are additions from the hand of the editor of G¹. It has been thought also that certain phrases in ix. 5, 13, 17, x. 7 which give the definite name of the Messiah are from the same source, on the ground that they are against a definite statement in the context which declares that this name cannot be heard by Isaiah till he has left the body (see, however, ix. 5 note). On the other hand, we cannot suppose that the short summaries which S L² offer of x. 25-28 and xi. 27-30 are original, and that the fuller text in E is an expansion of these; for the text of E observes a due proportion which is wanting in S L². Here undoubtedly the editor of G² abridges the text of G.

We must next deal with the very important passage xi. 2-22. This passage which is found in E goes back to G¹, since phrases from verses 19, 20 reappear in the *Greek Legend*, ii. 39. But it goes back further still and is derived from the archetype G. We must now give the grounds for this view. First its subject-matter is quite in keeping with the context before and after; for from x. 8 to xi. 19 the concealment of the real nature of Christ is the underlying thought of the entire passage.

Next from the command which Isaiah hears given to Christ to descend to the earth and to

Sheol (x. 8), and afterwards to ascend therefrom (x. 14), we naturally expect Isaiah to witness these events in the vision in xi., seeing that he witnesses all else that is mentioned in x. 8-14. But the genuineness of xi. 2-22 is still more apparent, if we consider that in the short account of G² in xi. there is not a single reference to the crucifixion, descent into Sheol, and resurrection on the third day, though from ix. 12-17 we cannot do otherwise than expect a definite portrayal of these events in the vision. Thus in the latter passage it is told that Christ will descend to earth and assume human form; that owing to the instigation of the prince of this world men will rise up against Him and crucify Him, 'not knowing who He is.' Thereupon He will descend into Sheol (this clause is peculiar to S L²) and rise again on the third day—and send out His Twelve Apostles (this last clause is peculiar to S L²)—and ascend into heaven. Now if we turn to xi. 2-22 this is just what Isaiah sees in vision: Christ is born of the Virgin, but the nature of the birth is to be told to none (xi. 2-16). Then He works great miracles and the Jews roused by the adversary crucify Him in Jerusalem, 'not knowing who He is.' Thereupon He descends into Sheol (xi. 18-20). And on the third day He rises again and sends forth His Twelve Apostles and ascends into heaven (xi. 21, 22)¹.

¹ We should observe also that xi. 14 is quoted in the *Actus Petri*, xxiv, xi. 16, by Ignatius *ad Ephes.*, and xi. 11 most probably by *Protev. Iacobi*, xx. 4.

In the light of the above facts the genuineness of xi. 2-22 as an original constituent of G can hardly be disputed. And now if we turn to the passage which the editor of G² has substituted in its stead, our convictions are, if possible, further strengthened. It runs: 'Missus sum a Deo "omnia tibi ostendere. Nec enim ante te quis vidit, nec post te poterit videre quod tu vidisti et audisti. Et vidi similem filii hominis et cum hominibus habitare et in mundo". 19. Et non cognoverunt eum. 23. Et vidi ascendentem in firmamentum.' The words enclosed in brackets are peculiar to SL². Of these the greater part, i.e. 'Nec enim ante te . . . vidisti et audisti,' appears to be based on viii. 11.

In the next place the words 'Et non cognoverunt eum' have occurred before (ix. 14) in all versions in reference to those who crucified Christ, and in xi. 19 in E this significance is preserved where the same phrase recurs. In SL², however, this phrase is given a setting and a relation which are foreign to it so far as our authorities go. We have already dwelt above on the thorough inadequacy with which the earthly life and destinies of the Messiah are treated in SL². We conclude, therefore, that xi. 2-22 are derived from G, the archetype, and that here, as in x. 25-28, xi. 27-30, the editor of G² has abridged the text of G.

§ 8. THE SLAVONIC VERSION (= S).

For a short account of this version I will simply reproduce Professor Bonwetsch's note which he

appends to the translation which he has been so good as to make for this edition¹:—

‘The manuscript from which A. Popov published this Vision of Isaiah (*Bibliograf. Materialy*, i. 13–22) is No. 175 (18) in the Library of the Uspenschen Cathedral in Moscow, and belongs to the close of the twelfth century. It consists of 304 leaves, of which two towards the beginning are lost. The manuscript is written in two columns, each of thirty-two lines. Popov has added likewise the variants of a fourteenth-century manuscript of Servian origin, from which he had at an earlier date published the Vision of Isaiah (*Opis rukop. Chludova*, 414–419). The readings of this latter authority, which have not been accessible to me, I denote by *ch*, and those of the former by *u*. In the Latin translation of the text I have followed the phraseology of the Latin version, published at Venice, so far as it corresponds to the Slavonic text. Accordingly I often use the form of the imperfect where, according to S, the perfect could stand.’

I have already shown (p. xxi) that S is made from the same Greek text as L², i.e. G². It is, however, more faithful and full than L². Thus where L² omits words, phrases, or even whole sentences², as in vii. 29^b, 30, viii. 28, ix. 2, 20, x. 14, 18, 29, xi. 23, the lacunae are supplied by S in

¹ On the Slavonic texts see Kozak, *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theologie*, 1892, pp. 138–139; Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Gesch. der altchr. Litteratur*, i. 916.

² Such words, phrases, &c., in S are enclosed in brackets thus [].

agreement with E. Thus, these passages that are lost in L² go back to the archetype G.

As regards the phrases and passages peculiar to S L²¹ vii. 12, 33, 37, viii. 28, ix. 2, 4, 20, x. 15, 29, xi. 1, 34 it is impossible, in most cases, to say categorically whether they appear for the first time in G² or went back to G.

Of these the phrase 'angelos innumerabiles' in S L² vii. 33 appears to be derived from G; for though wanting in E it is found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 19. In S L² ix. 5 'filius Dei' is likewise primitive since, though replaced by a different phrase in E, it is found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 25. Again, in S L² ix. 17 'et mittet suos praedicatores,' &c., may also be primitive, since the clause though not found in E in this passage is supported by E in xi. 22. Finally, the phrase 'cum hominibus habitare' in S L² xi. 1 reappears in *Greek Legend*, ii. 11 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφεισθαι. Hence this phrase, though lost in E, was most probably in G¹ and therefore in G. The phrase in S L² xi. 1 that immediately precedes, 'vidi similem filii hominis,'² may also be primitive though unattested by any derivative of G¹. The exclusion of such a phrase by the editor of G¹ is quite intelligible; for, from the close of the first century A.D., its use as a Messianic title was avoided, no doubt because it

¹ Such phrases and passages peculiar to S L² are enclosed in brackets thus [] .

² Cf. Rev. i. 13; xiv. 14; 4 Ezra vi. 1 (Syriac and Ethiopic versions).

was thought to imply the exclusive humanity of Christ.

Though the four passages just dealt with are in all probability derived from the archetype, it is hardly possible that the peculiar text of SL² in xi. 34, which is in reality 1 Cor. ii. 9, can be derived from the same source. There is no reason for the omission by E or G¹ of such a striking statement, but rather every reason for its inclusion. The interpolation was made by the editor of G².

§ 9. THE GREEK LEGEND (= GK. LEG.).

The following Isaiah legend was found by Dr. O. von Gebhardt in a Greek manuscript of the twelfth century, which is numbered 1534 in the National Library in Paris, and published with certain introductory remarks and notes in the *Z. f. W. T.*, 330–353, 1878. The manuscript consists of 337 folios with two columns on each page, and the above legend is given on fol. 245^a–251^b. Its division into chapters and verses, in our reprint on pp. 141–148, is due to Gebhardt. Of the four chapters into which he divides it, the last, having no relation to the present work, is not here reproduced. It will be found in the *Z. f. W. T.*, 350–353, 1878.

Gebhardt remarks that the iota subscript is wholly wanting in the manuscript, but that the breathings and accents are generally rightly added. The accentuation of the manuscript in the matter of proper names is followed in the printed text.

The critical affinities of the *Greek Legend* have

already been discussed. It has been shown (p. xx) that, together with E and L¹, it is derived from G¹. In a few passages, however, we have had occasion to remark that it attests the text of SL² where it stands alone, and by such attestation makes it more than probable that the passages in question belong to the archetype (see p. xxvi).

I have printed the *Greek Legend* as it stands in Gebhardt, save that I have emended two *voces nullae* that appear in it. The phrases that are taken directly from G¹ are printed in thick type, and the chapter and verse from which they are drawn placed in the margin.

§ 10. THE NEWLY RECOVERED GREEK TEXT OF
II. 4-IV. 4, AND ITS RELATION TO E AND L¹.

This very important Greek fragment of the text is written, according to Grenfell and Hunt, on a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century. 'The papyrus is in book form and consists of three nearly complete sheets, measuring 23 × 26.5 cm., and part of a fourth, containing in all seven leaves and fourteen pages. The writing is in single columns on each side of the leaf, the pages, with the exception of the first two, being numbered continuously from 9 to 20. From the numbering and from the strip of parchment designed to prevent the cord, which runs down the centre of the margin between pages 12 and 13 (cols. vi. and vii.), from tearing through the papyrus, it is clear that our fragment consists of the second half of the

third, and the whole of the fourth, fifth, and sixth sheets of a quire of six sheets. Six pages are therefore lost at the commencement of the quire. The missing beginning of the *Ascension* must have occupied not less than four pages. Probably, therefore, the first page, perhaps the first leaf, was left blank or had only the title' (Grenfell and Hunt's *Ascension of Isaiah*, p. 2). For other details relating to the papyrus and its orthography, the reader must consult the work of the scholars just cited.

The value of this fragment is very great. It supports L¹ in supplying gaps in E in ii. 16, iii. 2, and in emending iii. 1. Where L¹ fails, it helps to emend E in iii. 14, 24, 31, iv. 1, 2. It is true that some of these defects of E were so obvious that they were already remedied on internal evidence. Possibly its greatest contribution to our knowledge of the book is its clear text of the very important passage iv. 2^b-4, where, owing to the variations in the manuscripts of E, it was difficult to determine which manuscript should be followed.

On the other hand there are additions, omissions, and corruptions in the text. The chief corruptions, which are more deep-seated as a rule than in E, and omissions are in ii. 4, 12, iii. 2, 3, 6, 10, 14, and the chief addition in iii. 7.

But what is of more moment than an exhaustive list of the excellencies and failings of this fragment is to determine its textual relations with E and L¹. Now even a cursory examination shows that L¹;

notwithstanding the very imperfect form in which it exists, is more nearly related to E than to the Greek fragment, which we shall call G². Thus, whereas L¹ and G² agree against E in preserving 'et dimidiam' (ἡμισυ) in iii. 2, and a correct reading in iii. 10, their points of divergence are very numerous and more weighty. This L¹ agrees with E in attesting three phrases which are lost by G² in iii. 6, and in preserving a proper name in iii. 10 which has disappeared from G². Again, they agree in rejecting additions of G² in iii. 7, 8, and in presenting the undoubtedly true readings in iii. 2, 10, where G² is at fault.

We have seen in an earlier section (see pp. xviii.-xxi) that in vi.-xi. there were, at an early date, two distinct forms of the Greek text G¹ and G², and that the second Mai Latin fragment vii. 1-19 (= L¹) and E were derived from the former, and L² and S from the latter. Now, from the close affinities existing between E and the first Mai Latin fragment L¹, as against the Greek fragment, it might be concluded that in i.-v. also there were two Greek texts as in vi.-xi., and that as E and L¹ belong to G¹, so the papyrus Greek fragment is a representative of G².

Thus it is characteristic of G² in vi.-xi. to summarize shortly the primitive text as in x. 25-28, xi. 27-30, and in so doing to introduce confusion as in the latter passage. Now, in iii. 6 we find a similar (accidental?) abridgement of the text—the omission of three phrases or clauses—with

very disastrous results. Again, it is no less characteristic of G^2 in vi.-xi. to make additions to the text as in vii. 37, viii. 3, &c. (see p. xx). Now in iii. 7 there is an undoubted (?) addition.

Notwithstanding we must explain, I think, *the differences between EL^1 and the Greek fragment as due to the errors and variations incidental to the process of transmission, whereas the differences between EL^1 and SL^2 in vi.-xi. are due to a deliberate recension.* Thus all the differences between EL^1 and the Greek fragment arose subsequently to the formation of the complete work of the *Ascension*, whereas the substantial differences between EL^1 and SL^2 were the result of deliberation, and had practically attained finality on the publication of these distinct recensions.

Accordingly, though we may term the Greek fragment G^2 , and the Latin fragment L^1 , these two forms were not related to each other as were G^1 and G^2 in vi.-xi. Thus G^2 has one significance when used in reference to i.-v., and another when used in reference to vi.-xi.

§ 11. THE ARCHETYPE G AND ITS DESCENDANTS.

We are now in a position to summarize the results of our inquiries. First of all we are obliged to presuppose the existence of an archetype G for vi.-xi.

Some form of this archetype was still in existence early in the fourth century; as we must conclude from the quotation made by Epiphanius

(*Haer.* lxvii. 3) from the *Ascension of Isaiah*, ix. 35, 36, which was used according to his testimony by the Ophites and Hieracites. This quotation contains in loose form factors peculiar in part to G^1 and in part to G^2 , and accordingly presupposes their common source G (see note on p. 67). The text of G was, in every probability, in the hands of Ignatius, and the writers of the *Protevangelium Iacobi* and the *Actus Petri*.

Two editors at an early date edited G afresh. Each pursued his own aims independently, and in some cases added to the text, in others abridged it.

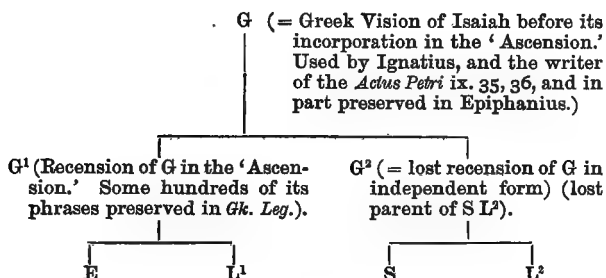
Their methods can be studied in vi.-xi., the chapters common to both, where in EL^1 and SL^2 we have very faithful reproductions of G^1 and G^2 respectively. The editor of G^1 , who was the editor of the entire work, has undoubtedly taken fewer liberties with the text before him, and has preserved important passages excised by the editor of G^2 (see pp. xxi.-xxiv.).

The actual text of G^1 was used by the author of the *Greek Legend*, and some hundreds of its phrases are literally reproduced in this work (see pp. 141-148), and that of G^2 was used by Jerome when writing his commentary on Isaiah lxiv. 4.

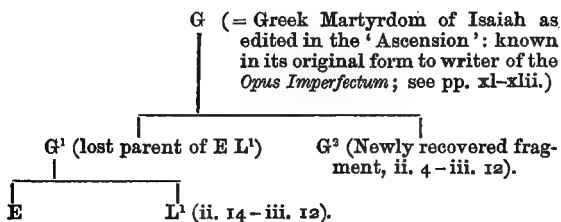
Of G^2 , owing to the happy discovery of last year, we are now in possession of two complete chapters, ii. 4-iv. 4. We must bear in mind that G^1 , G^2 , L^1 have not the same significance when used in reference to i.-v. as when used in reference to vi.-xi. (see p. xxxi).

From G^1 were made the Ethiopic, and a Latin version, E and L^1 , and from G^2 the Slavonic, and a Latin version, S and L^2 .

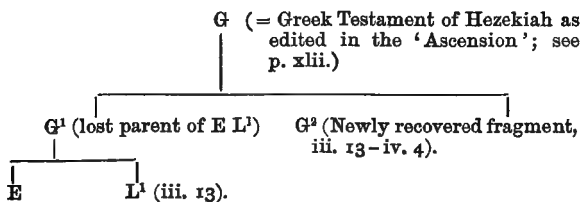
The following table will show at a glance the affinities of all the textual authorities on the Vision of Isaiah, vi.-xi. 1-40.



And on the Martyrdom of Isaiah :



And on the Testament of Hezekiah :



§ 12. CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

Under this heading I shall content myself, for the most part, with enumerating the critical inquiries of scholars on the subject of this book.

LAURENCE. *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819, pp. 141-180. This the earliest editor of the *Ascension of Isaiah* regarded it as the work of one hand, and as 'composed towards the close of the year 68, or in the beginning of the year 69.'

GESENIUS, *Commentar über den Jesaja*, Bd. i., 1821, pp. 45-56.

NITZSCH, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1830, pp. 209-246.

GIESELER, *Göttlinger Pfingstprogramm*, 1832, distinguishes i.-v. and vi.-xi. as two independent writings, of Jewish and Christian origin respectively.

ENGELHARDT, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, 1832, pp. 153 sqq.

GFRÖRER, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, 1838, i. 65-69, ii. 422 sqq.

HOFFMANN, A. G., art. 'Jesajas' in Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Encyklop.*, sect. ii., Bd. xv. 387-390 (1838).

MOVERS-KAULEN. Wetzer's and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 1847, i. 338.

LÜCKE, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*², 1852, pp. 274-302, regarded i.-v. as a Jewish writing which was interpolated by a Jew before Origen, and after his time, in the fourth century, by a Christian in i. 5, iii. 13-iv. 24. vi.-xi. was written in the second half of the third century or earlier.

BLEEK, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, pp. 994-998.

EWALD, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*³, 1868, vii. 369-373.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 1866, pp. 157-167.

DILLMANN, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, pp. v.-xviii.; art. 'Pseudepigrapha' in Herzog's *Real-Enc.* xii. 359, 360. I will deal with this scholar's work under § 13.

RENAN, *L'église chrétienne*, 1879, pp. 528, 529.

JELLINEK, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vi., 1877, pp. xxxvii. sq. This writer makes no contribution to the explanation of our book.

BISSELL, *Apocrypha of O. T.*, 1880, pp. 669, 670.

STOKES, art. 'Isaiah, Ascension of,' in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 1882, iii. pp. 298-301. This is a most excellent piece of work, but hardly trustworthy as to its conclusions.

DEANE, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 236-275, summarizes well the results of previous research.

THOMSON, 'Books that influenced our Lord,' 1891, pp. 451-455.

ZÖCKLER, *Die Apokryphen des alten Testaments*, 1891, pp. 439, 440.

HARNACK, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 854-856, ii. 573-579, 714 sq.

CLEMEN, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja, ein ältestes Zeugnis für das römische Martyrium des Petrus,' *Z. f. W. T.*, 1896, 388-415. This is a learned article of Clemen. Few, however, will be prepared to accept his critical analysis of the book, and still fewer the date he assigns to the Jewish Christian

Apocalypse, iii. 13–iv. 22. On the other hand, the balance of evidence appears to be in favour of his main thesis, that we have in this work the oldest testimony to the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome.

ZELLER, 'Der Märtyrertod des Petrus in der Ascensio Jesaiae,' *Z. f. W. T.*, 1896, 558–568.

CLEMEN, 'Nochmals der Märtyrertod des Petrus in der Ascensio Jesaiae,' *Z. f. W. T.*, 1897, 455–465.

SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüdischen Volks*³, 1898, iii. 280–285, gives a short account of our book, and the references to it in 'Patristic literature.' He appends a very full bibliography.

ROBINSON, 'The Ascension of Isaiah,' in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 499–501. A splendid article.

BEER, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 119–123. An excellent introduction but unhappily confined to ii.–iii. 12, v. 2–14.

BARTLET, *The Apostolic Age*, 1900, pp. 521–524. This scholar assigns iii. 13–v. 1 to the years 64–66 A.D.

§ 13. DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK.

All writers on the *Ascension*, save Laurence, recognise a plurality of authorship. For the most part they agree in assigning i.–v. to one source and vi.–xi. to another. Ewald was the first to distinguish the works of three different authors:—

i. vi. 1–xi. 1, 23–40.

ii. xi. 2–22, iii. 13–iv. 22.

iii. i. 1–iii. 12, v. 1–16, xi. 41–43.

This analysis has undoubtedly much to recom-

mend it. Dillmann remodelled it and put forward the following hypothesis, which is in some respects superior, in others inferior, to that of Ewald.

- i. The history of the Martyrdom of Isaiah, of Jewish origin: ii. 1 – iii. 12, v. 2–14.
- ii. The Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin: vi. 1 – xi. 1, 23–40.
- iii. The above two constituents were put together by a Christian writer, who prefixed i. 1, 2, 4^b–13, and appended xi. 42, 43.
- iv. Finally, a later Christian editor incorporated the two sections iii. 13 – v. 1 and xi. 2–22, and added as well the following verses, i. 3, 4^a, v. 15, 16, xi. 41.

Dillmann's view has, on the whole, been accepted by Harnack, Schürer, Deane, and Beer. Harnack, it is true, is in doubt as to the unity of the Christian Apocalyptic Vision iii. 13 – v. 1, xi. 2–22. All these scholars have been influenced by Gebhardt's statement that in the *Greek Legend* there is not a trace of iii. 13 – v. 1, xi. 2–22, and that, accordingly, these sections were absent from the text when the *Greek Legend* was composed. Thus, according to Gebhardt, Dillmann's analysis is confirmed by external evidence.

But Gebhardt's statement is wrong. Thus in *Greek Legend*, ii. 6, the words τὴν ὄρασιν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα are derived from iv. 19. Again in ii. 38 ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν θεοί, καὶ πλὴν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός are more nearly related to iv. 6, 8 than to x. 13. Again, ii. 11 ὁ κρατήσας τοῦ κόσμου comes from iv. 2 of our

book, and *εἰς ἀπωλείας ἐκπέμψει βυθόν* in the same passage appears to be founded on iv. 14. But the most striking passage is ii. 39 where the corrupt text *καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ᾄδου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* is drawn literally from xi. 19, 20 of the *Ascension*.

The writer of the *Greek Legend*, therefore, was acquainted with the two sections in question. Furthermore, since elsewhere (pp. xxii.-xxiv.) we have shown that xi. 2-22 was an original constituent of vi.-xi., we are obliged to deny the validity of divisions ii. and iv. in Dillmann's theory.

Clemen, on very different grounds, has attacked Dillmann's hypothesis and sought to replace it by a much simpler one. According to this scholar the earliest part of the *Ascension* was a Jewish Christian Apocalypse, consisting of iii. 13-iv. 22, and written between the years 64-68, and the rest of the *Ascension* originated under the guidance of this passage. This theory of Clemen does not solve the problem.

We shall now attempt to discuss the problem *de novo*. In the first place the work is composite. This is obvious, and has been all but universally recognized from the fact that ii. 1-iii. 12 has been forcibly sundered from v. 1^b-14 by a piece of writing alien to it, iii. 13-iv. 22.

But the arbitrariness and disorder are not confined to this passage. This will be best shown if we compare the chronological order of the events narrated in the book with the order in which they are actually narrated.

Testament of Hezekiah¹, iii. 13^b—iv. 18—fifteenth year of Hezekiah (i. 4).

Isaiah's Vision, vi. — xi. 1—40—twentieth year of Hezekiah (i. 6, vi. 1).

Hezekiah gives commands to Manasseh in the presence of Isaiah, &c.: Isaiah's prophecy, i. 1—2^a, 6^b—13—twenty-sixth year of Hezekiah (i. 1).

Manasseh becomes king and puts Isaiah to death, ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 1^b—14—at least four years later than the date last mentioned.

A writer could hardly arrange his work in this topsy-turvy manner if he were writing it first-hand². On the other hand, if he was dealing with existing materials which did not admit of disintegration (such as vi.—xi., and in a less degree iii. 3^b—iv. 18) and easy incorporation into his work, the present disorder of the work becomes more intelligible.

Having recognized the general fact of the compositeness of the work, we must now proceed to

¹ See pp. xiii—xiv, xlv. 2, 29.

² Though modern scholars have not, so far as I am aware, noticed this strange medley, the writer of the *Greek Legend* was conscious of it, and recast the whole work. In order to avoid manifest inconsistencies he changed or omitted the dates before him. Thus Hezekiah's admonition to Manasseh he puts in the twenty-fifth year (twenty-sixth in *Ascension*), and omitting the date of Isaiah's vision (the twentieth year, i. 6, vi. 1) he represents it as subsequent to the admonition referred to. Hezekiah's vision belonging to the fifteenth year is almost without a reference. The date would have been in the way, but the reason more probably is that its contents were only remotely connected with the purpose the author of the *Gk. Leg.* had in hand.

details, and here, to some extent, we find ourselves at variance with our predecessors in this field.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah = i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-13^a, ii. 1-8, 10-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14. With Dillmann, Gebhardt, Schürer, and many other scholars, it is clear that we must assume the section on the Martyrdom as having been originally an independent work. The limits of this section, according to Dillmann, are ii. 1-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14. Dillmann rightly pointed out that the reasons assigned for Isaiah's martyrdom in these sections are quite different from those given in their adjoining contents, iii. 13, v. 1^a, v. 15, 16 (xi. 41). The last three have the appearance of editorial additions.

But the extent of the Martyrdom in our book is greater than that attributed to it by Dillmann. Other fragments survive in chapter i. Thus in ii. 1 the words 'he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah' suggest the questions, What commands were these? and when were they given? Now we find the probable answer to the latter question in i. 1, 2^a, in which Hezekiah summons Manasseh before him in the presence of Isaiah and Josab. The answer to the former question is still preserved in our text, though obscurely, owing to editorial additions. Thus in i. 6^b we learn that Isaiah gave certain commands to Manasseh. These are referred to in i. 7, ii. 1. What these commands were is not recorded in our book, but they are found in the Latin fragments preserved in the *Opus Imperfectum* (quoted in notes on pp. 8, 9), which go back

not to our text but to the original Martyrdom. There we find the explanation of many difficulties in our text. Thus in the first place we discover the reason for Isaiah summoning Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year, for the Latin supplies it: 'cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam.' In the next place, the object with which Hezekiah summoned Manasseh is not, as in our text, to become the depositary of certain visions (i. 2^b-6^a), but to receive certain directions as to his religious duties, the government of the kingdom, &c.: 'Vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa.' Now the final editor of our book, whose interests were centred in the visions, omitted these words, and attributed quite a different object to Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh. Hezekiah, he tells us, in i. 2, 6, summoned Manasseh 'in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen' (i.e. iii. 13^b-iv. 18), 'and also those which Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him' (i.e. vi.-xi. 40). Hence we conclude that i. 2^b-6^a are editorial additions.

Thus the Latin passage referred to confirms a conclusion we should have arrived at independently. The Latin passage goes back apparently to the Martyrdom when existing in an independent form.

We have already seen that i. 1, 2^a, 6^b are derived from the original Martyrdom, but still more of this chapter comes from this source, indeed from 6^b to the close. This follows from the Latin passage

which either quotes or implies a knowledge of i. 7, 10, 12, 13. The term 'Beloved' in i. 13^a is most probably an editorial change; for the Latin quotes the words and gives 'Deus.' The last clause 'and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved' is no doubt from the editorial hand, and likewise a clause in verse 7. It brings the Jewish work on the Martyrdom into some connexion with the Christian elements of the *Ascension*.

The Testament of Hezekiah = iii. 13^b–iv. 18, and the *Vision of Isaiah* = vi.–xi. 1–40. With these two remaining constituents of our text we have now to deal.

We have elsewhere given reasons (pp. xiii–xiv, 2, 29) for regarding the former as having at one time existed independently. As it stands in the *Ascension* it is certainly mutilated, and without beginning or end.

The evidence is still stronger for the original independence of vi.–xi. 1–40. Thus the archetype of this section existed independently in Greek, inasmuch as the Latin and Slavonic versions L² S presuppose the independent circulation of G² in Western and Slavonic countries. Thus G², which preserved the independence of its archetype, differs in many notable respects, for better or worse, from G¹, which represents the form in which it was republished by the editor of the entire work.

Between the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah there are so many similarities of thought and diction that it is not unreasonable to assume that, though they appear to have been

independent works, they were the work of one and the same writer, or the work of two closely related writers.

Thus the following expressions and ideas are common to the two works:—The mention of the ‘seven heavens,’ iii. 18, iv. 14, 16, and *passim* in vi.–xi.; ‘garments’ (= the spiritual body), iv. 11, vii. 22, viii. 17, 26, &c.; ‘angel of the Holy Spirit,’ iii. 16, vii. 23, &c.; the blasphemous claim of the Antichrist, iv. 6, 8, x. 12, 13; judgement of the angels, and destruction of the world, iv. 18, x. 12.

On the other hand, it is not improbable that the Christian Testament of Hezekiah was based on an earlier Jewish work; for Hebrew or Aramaic idioms survive in the Greek, as εἰς καὶ εἰς καὶ εἰς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις in iii. 27. This Semitic idiom is reproduced, so far as possible, literally in the Ethiopic. The πολλοὶ καὶ πολλοί in iii. 19 seems to be simply a mistake for πολλοί. It has not the support of the Ethiopic.

To sum up: *the conditions of the problem are sufficiently satisfied by supposing a single editor, who had three works at his disposal, the Martyrdom of Isaiah of Jewish origin, and the two independent works, the Testament of Hezekiah, and the Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin. These he reduced or enlarged as it suited his purpose, and put them together as they stand in our text.* Some of the editorial additions are obvious, as i. 2^b–6^a, 13^a, ii. 9, iii. 13^a, iv. 1^a, iv. 19–v. 1^a, 15, 16, xi. 41–43.

§ 14. THE DATES OF THE VARIOUS CONSTITUENTS
OF THE 'ASCENSION.'

The Martyrdom (= i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-13^a, ii. 1-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14). The martyrdom is quoted by the *Opus Imperfectum* (pp. 8, 9 notes), Ambrose (p. 40 note), Jerome (p. 18 note), Origen (pp. xii, xiii, xlvi, xlvii, 17 note), Tertullian (p. 41 note), and it can hardly be denied by Justin Martyr (p. 14 note). It was probably known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). This brings us, if the last reference is true, to the first century A.D. And this is no doubt the right date; for it is most improbable that works written by Jews in the second century should attain to circulation in the Christian Church.

The Testament of Hezekiah (= iii. 13^b-iv. 18). This vision, or testament, was written between 88-100 A.D. The *terminus ad quem* we have arrived at on pp. 30, 31, the *terminus a quo* on pp. lxxi, lxxii.

The Vision of Isaiah (= vi. - xi. 1-40). The later recension of this vision (G²) was used by Jerome (p. 81 note), a more primitive form of the text by Hieracas (p. 67 note), according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvii. 3), by the Archontici (*Haer.* xl. 2). This shows that the book was in circulation towards the close of the third century. But it is much earlier attested by the *Actus Petri Vercellenses* (p. 77 note). This takes the Vision back to the second century, or at latest to early in the third. The Protevangel of James was apparently acquainted with it (see

notes on xi. 4, 8, 11), and I do think it is reasonable to explain the agreement between Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* xix. and xi. 16 (see note), otherwise than that the former is dependent on the latter. Thus the composition of the Vision in its primitive form G belongs to the close of the first century.

When the final editor put these works together in the form in which we now have them, it is impossible to say with any definiteness. Since the Greek papyrus fragment, which supposes the completed work, belongs to the fifth or sixth century, and presents many corruptions and variations from the text presupposed by E L¹, the work of editing is thrown back to the third century or earlier. The Latin version, which is found on a fifth or sixth-century palimpsest, and represents a corrupt and traditional form of L¹, demands such a date or an earlier one. When we consider also that the probable date of the Ethiopic version is the fifth century, it is probable that the work of editing goes back to early in the third century, or even to the second.

§ 15. THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH, AND THE ORIENTAL INFLUENCES APPARENT IN IT.

The legend of the Martyrdom took its origin, no doubt, in 2 Kings xxi. 16. Although Josephus does not mention it, it was certainly a Jewish tradition. That Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh is mentioned in the Talmud (*Jebam*, 49^b). Simeon ben Azzai found a statement to this effect in the

genealogical roll which he discovered in Jerusalem (Strack, *Einleitung in d. Talmud*², p. 82). In the *Babylonian Talmud* (trad. par M. Schwab, xi. 49) we have a tradition that shows traces of Eastern influences, and in some respects approaches the account in the *Ascension*. It is there recounted that Isaiah concealed himself from Manasseh in a cedar tree, but that the end of his cloak projecting from the tree betrayed his hiding-place, and thereupon Manasseh had the tree sawn in two with Isaiah in it.

The legend was known to the Apostolic age, if, as is generally assumed, we have in Heb. xi. 37 ἐπίσθησαν, a reference to the specific mode of Isaiah's martyrdom. But, even if this be doubtful, there is the evidence of the *Ascension* (i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14) which cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A.D. In the next century Justin Martyr quotes from our text (see p. 41, note), though without naming it, and likewise Tertullian (see same reference). When we come to Origen we find many references to the account of Isaiah's martyrdom in the *Ascension*. Thus in his Epistle to Africanus, ix (Lommatzsch, xvii. 31) καὶ τοῦτον παράδειγμα δώσομεν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἱστορούμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς μαρτυρούμενα (Heb. xi. 37) . . . Σαφὲς δ' ὅτι αἱ παραδόσεις λέγουσι πεπρίσθαι Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ ἐν τινὶ ἀποκρύφῳ τοῦτο φέρεται· ὅπερ τάχα ἐπίτηδες ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ῥεραδιούργηται, λέξεις τινὰς τὰς μὴ πρεπούσας παρεμβεβληκότων τῇ γράφῃ ἢ ἡ ὅλη ἀπιστηθῇ.

Again, on Matt. xxiii. 37 (Lommatzsch, iv. 237, 238) Origen appeals to the testimony of our book: 'Propterea videndum, ne forte oporteat ex libris secretioribus, qui apud Iudaeos feruntur, ostendere verbum Christi, et non solum Christi, sed etiam discipulorum eius . . . Fertur ergo in scripturis non manifestis serratum esse Iesaiam' (see also *ad Matt.* xiii. 57, quoted on p. xii, and in *Jesajam homil.* i. 5, quoted on p. 17 note).

Now that we have shown that the tradition of Isaiah's martyrdom was familiar to Jew and Christian from the first century onward, it is noteworthy that the form in which it is recorded appears to be derived from Eastern sources. What I refer to particularly is to martyrdom by means of *a wooden saw at the instigation of Satan*. To explain what I mean, I will make use of Larionoff's translation from the Persian of the 'Histoire du Roi Djemchid et des Divs' (*Journal Asiatique*, pp. 59-83, Juillet-Août, 1889), and his learned notes on this legend.

Larionoff regards the *Zend Avesta* as the source of the various legends of this nature which reappear in Jewish, Persian, and Arabic works. The hero's name, according to the *Zend Avesta*, is Yima Khsaêta, i. e. Djemchid. The story is summarized by Darmesteter (*Zend Avesta*, traduction nouvelle, 1892, i. 86, ii. 17, 18):—After a reign of 1000, or according to other authorities 616½ years, Yima was dethroned for his blind pride in accepting divine worship, and sawn in two by the serpent of

three heads, Azhi Dahâka, and Spityura (*Yasht*, xix. 34 sqq., 46). Dahâka then ruled and laid waste the land for 1000 years, at the close of which he was overthrown and cast into chains. Before the end he was to be set free for a period (*Yasht*, xiii. 61).

Turning now to the above Persian writing translated by Larionoff, we find that when Djemchid's throne was seized by Zohak, the man of serpents, he fled into the wilderness. One hundred years later, Ahriman and Biver (Zohak) having come upon him there, God caused a tree to open itself in order that Djemchid might conceal himself therein. Ahriman and Zohak accordingly failed to find him till Iblis informed them. Thereupon they ordered the tree to be sawn in twain. After several failures, this attempt succeeded on the third day, and Djemchid was killed. Again, in the *Shah-nameh* (trad. par J. Mohl, i. 47) this legend reappears, where it is told that, after having remained hidden for 100 years, Djemchid was discovered on the borders of the Chinese sea, and sawn asunder by Zohak.

From Jewish and Christian sources the legend passed over to the Mohammedans. The historian Tabari (*Journal Asiatique*, p. 64) tells how that when Isaiah admonished Joakim, the successor of Amon, on account of his evil deeds, the Israelites sought to slay him. Thereupon Isaiah fled, and took refuge in a tree which had opened at God's command to receive him. But Iblis seized his

cloak, and, when the tree closed, a piece of the cloak remained outside and betrayed Isaiah's hiding-place to his pursuers (cf. *Jerusalem Talmud* above), who thereupon sawed the tree in which Isaiah was (*Chronique de Tabari*, traduite par M. Zotenberg, i. 490, 491)¹.

§ 16. VALUE OF THE 'ASCENSION' FOR THE HISTORY OF OUTLYING RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

Seeing that in § 16 I deal at length with the question of the *Antichrist Legend*, of which a special development appears in the *Ascension*, I can only briefly draw attention to a few other points that cannot be omitted in this connexion.

1. *The Seven Heavens*. The conception of the seven heavens which prevailed in certain sections of Judaism is here abandoned. No evil is allowed to enter any of the heavens. Satan is cast down to the Firmament under the first heaven. On the other hand, the five lower heavens are only in partial communication with the sixth and seventh. For a comparison of the various descriptions of the Seven Heavens in Judaism and Early Christianity, see my edition of the *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxx-xlvii.

2. *Rise of Docetism*. Traces of this appear in xi. 7-11, where the birth of Christ is represented as taking place without any natural pangs. ix. 13 does not necessarily fall under this head.

¹ For an admirable and concise note on this question see Beer (*Apoc. u. Pseudepig. des Alten Testaments*, ii. 122, 123).

3. *Peculiar conception of the Trinity.* The Son and the Holy Spirit receive adoration and worship, ix. 27-36, but they in turn worship God, ix. 39, 40. Moreover, the Holy Spirit is spoken of as an angel, the Angel of the Spirit, or the Angel of the Holy Spirit, just as, in the *De Principiis*, i. 4, Origen writes that, according to his Hebrew teacher, the two Seraphim seen by Isaiah in the vision (Is. vi.) were the only begotten Son and the Holy Spirit ('duo illa Seraphim, quae in Esaia senis alis describuntur clamantia adinvicem et dicentia: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: de unigenito Filio Dei et Spiritu Sancto essent intelligenda').

The Holy Spirit is often designated, either as the Angel of the Spirit, iv. 21, ix. 39, 40, x. 4, xi. 4, or the Angel of the Holy Spirit, iii. 16, vii. 23, ix. 36, xi. 33. In two of these passages, iii. 16 and xi. 4, He is identified with Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation. This certainly is the case in xi. 4, and all but certainly in iii. 16.

4. *The use of the phrase 'One like a Son of Man.'* This phrase, with a Messianic meaning, is found in the addition peculiar to SL² in xi. 1, but, as we have shown elsewhere (see p. xxvi), is most probably derived from the archetype G; for the use of such an expression subsequent to the first century of the Christian era is hardly conceivable. It is easy to understand its rejection by the editor of G¹, as he shows signs of early Docetism. For other instances of its use see Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14.

5. *Doctrine of the Resurrection.* This doctrine is

very spiritually represented on the later Pauline lines in iv. 15-17, viii. 14, ix. 17, 18. Immediately after death the faithful receive their 'garments' or spiritual bodies (as in 2 Cor. v. 1-8); their 'thrones' and 'crowns,' which signify the consummation of their blessedness, they do not receive till after the ascension of Christ (ix. 17, 18). This date of the consummation of the righteous would not agree with the Pauline teaching.

§ 17. THE ANTICHRIST, BELIAR, AND NERONIC MYTHS, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT FUSION.

The actual significance of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths, and the dates of their fusion with each other, as attested by the *Ascension of Isaiah*, present us with the most difficult question in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic literature.

It fairly bristles with problems. Many of these, it is true, have already been solved, and others are on the way to solution. Nevertheless, a large number still bid defiance to the student and investigator. This failure, hitherto, is largely to be attributed to the erroneous views which have prevailed on the nature of Apocalyptic and the *Antichrist Legend*, as Gunkel and Bousset have shown at some length. In this field the services of these scholars have been truly epoch-making. It is with the writings of the latter scholar that we are here more immediately concerned; particularly with his *Antichrist Legend*, his Commentary

on Revelation, and his article 'Antichrist' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. These works, while most helpful and stimulating in many directions, do not deal satisfactorily with the relations of Beliar and the Antichrist, and their account of the fusion of the latter with the Neronic Saga is wanting in lucidity and consistency. The aim of the present chapter is to touch briefly on the history of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths, before the fusion of any one of them with another, or of each with all, and next to mention the various passages where such fusion is attested, with their approximate dates. Thus I shall deal with

I. *The independent development of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths.*

II. *The fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of Beliar, and subsequently, and independently, with the Neronic myth.*

III. *The fusion of all these myths together.*

I. *The independent development of (i.) the Antichrist, (ii.) Beliar, (iii.) Neronic myths.*

(i.) *The Antichrist myth.* The term 'Antichrist' is comparatively late, though the thought signified by it is early. Thus it was not coined till far on in the first century of our era; for it is found only in the Johannine Epistles—1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. The idea, however, is expressed in Dan. xi. 36, 'he shall exalt himself . . . above the God of gods' (spoken of Antiochus), and in 2 Thess. ii. 4, 'he that opposeth himself (ὁ ἀντικείμενος) . . .

against all that is called God.' This idea, before its fusion with that of Beliar, implies a being of human origin, whereas Beliar, who came subsequently to be identified with the Antichrist, was originally a superhuman or Satanic being.

That Antichrist denotes a *god-opposing being of human origin*, we shall now proceed to prove. The earliest historical personage identified with him was Antiochus Epiphanes. The language applied to this king by the writer recalls, though it may be unconsciously, the old Babylonian Saga of the Dragon's assault on the gods of heaven. Thus in viii. 10 it is said of him: 'It waxed great even to the host of heaven; and some of the host and of the stars it cast down to the ground and trampled upon them.' These words describe in symbolical terms Antiochus' attack on the heathen deities. This attack is mentioned again in xi. 36, 37 in plain, unfigurative language. The same verses describe the god-opposing character of Antiochus: 'He shall magnify himself above every god and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods (LXX *ὁψωθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα θεόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἑξαλλα λαλήσει*) . . . neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers.'

The next historical character to whom epithets befitting the Antichrist are applied is Pompey the Great, who committed the unpardonable act of profanation, by entering the Holy of Holies after his conquest of Jerusalem. Thus, in the Psalms of Solomon (48-40 B.C.) he is called 'the Dragon'

(ὁ δράκων), ii. 29. Is there an allusion here to the Dragon myth¹? If so, it is at most only an unconscious survival. Pompey is described as 'the sinner,' ii. 1 (ὁ ἁμαρτωλός), the personification of sin (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας—the reading of the inferior uncials). He is also called 'the lawless one' (ὁ ἄνομος), xvii. 13, an attribute of Beliar. But since his soldiers are designated 'the lawless ones' (οἱ ἄνομοι), xvii. 20, the epithet may mean no more than heathen as in 1 Cor. ix. 21, and probably in Acts ii. 23, 'by the hand of lawless men' (διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων). 'Lawlessness' (ἀνομία) in 2 Cor. vi. 14 is specifically heathen. The epithet 'lawless' is, if technically used, proper to the Beliar myth (see below).

The next reference to the Antichrist is to be found in the Apocalypse of Baruch xxxvi.—xl. (date uncertain, before 70 A.D.). The rise of the Fourth Kingdom (= Rome) is referred to xxxix. 5, and subsequently the head of the Roman Commonwealth or Empire, xxxvi. 5, xxxix. 3, xl. 1. After all his hosts have been destroyed he is brought before the Messiah to Mount Zion to receive his sentence of destruction, xxxvi. 5–11, xl. 1, 2. In 4 Ezra v. 1–6 we have the signs of the last times recorded in great fullness. Amongst these the rise of the Fourth Empire (= Rome) is foretold, v. 3, 4, and subsequently the reign of Antichrist under the enigmatical words 'He shall rule, whom they that dwell upon the

¹ On the mythological origin of this expression see Cheyne's art. 'Dragon' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i.

earth look not for.' It is not improbable that the Antichrist in this passage, also, is to be regarded as of Roman origin.

In all the above passages the Antichrist is a god-opposing being *of human not of superhuman origin, of Gentile not of Jewish descent.*

In the Johannine Epistles of the New Testament (1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7) the Antichrist is a collective name for the false teachers¹ who have gone forth from the bosom of the Church. Neither this nor any other conception of Antichrist is to be confused with that of the pseudo-Christ (*ψευδόχριστος*) of Matt. xxiv. 24, Mark xiii. 22: the Antichrist in these Epistles is a deceiver (*πλάνως*). The personal Antichrist is most probably referred to in John v. 43, 'If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.'

(ii.) *The Beliar myth.* In the Old Testament Beliar does not appear as a proper name: see Bennett and Cheyne's article 'Beliar,' in vol. i. of *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. For Beliar conceived as a person we must come down to pseudepigraphal literature. In this literature Beliar, for the first time, attains to personality. Thus in *Jubilees*, i. 20, we read: 'Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people . . . and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee.' Since, elsewhere, Satan is conceived as the

¹ Closely allied to this conception is that of the false prophet in Rev. xvi. 13, who is described at length in xiii. 11-17. Of this characterization of the Antichrist, however, we shall treat subsequently.

accuser of the brethren (cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Eth. En. xl. 7; Rev. xii. 10), Beliar is to be regarded as a Satan, or the Satan¹. In the last passage, Rev. xii. 10, Satan is identified with the Dragon which stormed the heavens, and Beliar, who has his abode in the firmament, *Asc. Is.*, vii. 9, appears to be a Jewish transformation of this monster of Babylonian mythology. Thus it is through the Beliar constituent of the developed Antichrist myth that the old Dragon Saga² from Babylon gained an entrance into the eschatologies of Judaism and Christianity. To return, Beliar like Satan possesses authority in the world of evil agencies; thus it is he that sends seven evil spirits against man to work his undoing, Test. xii Patriarchs *Rub.* ii. Possibly in 2 Cor. vi. 15, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial,' Beliar may be identified with Satan; see, however, below. Again, just as the name Satan belonged to a number of evil spirits (see *Eth. En.*, xl. 7), so apparently did Beliar. Thus in Test. xii

¹ This identification appears throughout the Christian pseud-épigraph *The Questions of Bartholomew*, ed. Bonwetsch, 1897. It will be sufficient to quote iv. 25, ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Βελίαρ λέγει· Εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομά μου, πρῶτον ἐλεγόμεν Σαταναήλ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐξάγγελος θεοῦ· ὅτε δὲ ἀπέγνων ἀντίτυπον τοῦ θεοῦ [καὶ] ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου Σατανᾶς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄγγελος ταραρῶχος. This tradition is attested before 70 A.D.: see the *Slavonic Enoch*, xviii. 3; xxix. 4, 5; xxxi. 4. According to this last and other Jewish writings Satan was originally regarded as an angel of God, and thus quite different from the Babylonian Dragon. Hence we have here a syncretism.

² See Cheyne's art. 'Dragon' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i.; Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 155.

Patriarchs *Levi* 3, it is said 'the spirits of deceit and of Beliar' will be punished, and in *Levi* 18 that Beliar himself will be bound. For other references see notes on i. 8 of our text and below. From the above evidence we may conclude that *at the beginning of the Christian era, if not much earlier, Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit.* In the sequel we shall, I think, recognize that Beliar was never regarded as aught else than a Satanic spirit, until the Beliar myth was amalgamated with that of Antichrist.

(iii.) *The Neronic myth.* Since we have here to deal only with the early and independent development of the Neronic myth, our present task is simply to show that soon after the death of Nero the myth became current that (a) Nero had not really died, but was still living; and (b) that he would soon return from the far East to take vengeance on Rome.

(a) When Nero, with the help of a freedman, committed suicide and was cremated (Suetonius, *Nero* 49), so great was the public joy that the people thronged the streets in holiday attire (*Nero* 57). All, however, did not share in the general rejoicing, nor yet in the belief of Nero's death. Thus Tacitus writes that there were many who pretended and believed that he was still alive (*Hist.* ii. 8, 'vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque'), and Suetonius declares that edicts were issued in his name, as though he were still alive and would return speedily to destroy his enemies (*Nero* 57,

'edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri'). That this belief gained a wide currency very soon after Nero's decease, is shown by the fact that within a year after it (69 A.D.) an impostor had already appeared under his name. The pretender in this movement was put to death in Cythnus by Calpurnius Asprenas (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9, Dio Cassius, lxiv. 9).

(b) That Nero had taken refuge in the far East probably formed a constituent of the myth from the outset¹; for we are told that prophecies made during his lifetime had pointed to the East as the scene of his future greatness. Some of these declared that he would make Jerusalem the seat of his empire, and others that he would finally recover the sovereignty of the world (Suet. *Nero* 40, 'Sponponderant tamen quidam destituto Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restitutionem'). It was, probably, such vaticinations as these, combined with the fact that Nero had already established friendly relations with the Parthian king Vologeses I (*Nero* 57), that led Nero, as the end drew nigh, to think of fleeing to the Parthians (*Nero* 47).

In conformity with this expectation we find that the second pseudo-Nero appeared under Titus on the Euphrates, about 80 A.D., and was recognized by the Parthian king Artabanus (Zonaras xi. 18). Finally, in the reign of Domitian, about 88 A.D., a

¹ See further evidence for this statement below in the *Sibylline Oracles*, pp. lix-lx.

third pretender came forward among the Parthians, and all but succeeded in hurling Parthia against Rome (Tac. *Hist.* i. 2, 'mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio'; Suet. *Nero* 57).

Even as late as 100 A.D. the belief was current that Nero was still alive. Thus Dio Chrysostomus, *Orat.* xxi. 10, καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι οἴονται. But this statement is hyperbolical.

The Nero myth was thus firmly rooted among the common folk of the Gentile world within the first decade after his death. Within the same decade it had established itself in the eschatology of Hellenistic Judaism. This statement can be proved from the following passages in the *Sibylline Oracles*. Thus in v. 143-147, which belongs to the oldest sections of the book, and was written 71-74 A.D. (see 155-161) as Zahn (*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1886, 337 sqq.) and Bousset rightly assert, the flight of Nero from Babylon (= Rome) to the Parthians is mentioned—

Φεύζεται ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἄναξ φοβερὸς καὶ ἀναιδής,
ὃν πάντες στυγέουσι βροτοὶ καὶ φῶτες ἄριστοι·
ᾧλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ γαστέρι χεῖρας ἐφῆκεν,
εἰς ἀλόχους ἤμαρτε καὶ ἐκ μιαρῶν ἐτέτυκτο.
ἦξει δ' ἐς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν παμβασιλῆας . . .

Nero's return is foretold in 361 sqq.—

ἔσσεται ὑστατίῳ καιρῷ περὶ τέρμα σελήνης
κοσμομανῆς πόλεμος καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος ἐν δολότητι.
ἦξει δ' ἐκ περάτων γαίης μητροκτόνος ἀνὴρ . . .
ὃς πᾶσαν γαῖαν καθελεῖ καὶ πάντα κρατήσει.

Early in the next decade¹ we find other testimonies to the prevalence of this myth. Thus in iv. 119-122 (circ. 80 A.D.) Nero is described as a fugitive to Parthia—

καὶ τότε ἅπ' Ἰταλίας βασιλεὺς μέγας οἶά τε δρήστης
 φεύξεται ἄφαντος ἄπυστος ὑπὲρ πόρον Εὐφρήταο,
 ὃς ποτε δὴ μητρῶον ἄγος στυγεροῖο φόνοιο
 τλήσεται ἄλλα τε πολλὰ κακίστη χειρὶ πιθήσας.

and in iv. 137-139 as returning to assail the West at the head of a vast host—

ἐς δὲ δύσιν τότε νείκος ἐγειρόμενον πολέμοιο,
 ἥξει καὶ Ῥώμης ὁ φυγὰς, μέγα ἔγχος αἰείρας,
 Εὐφρήτην διαβὰς πολλαῖς ἅμα μυριάδεσσιν.

In the New Testament. This widespread expectation has left its memorial also in the New Testament. The first passage referring to the embattled might of the kings of the East marching against Rome is Rev. xvi. 12, 'And the sixth poured out his bowl upon the great river, the Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way might be made ready *for the kings that come from the sunrising.*' But in xvii. the traces of this myth are far more abundant and unmistakable. Indeed, as very many scholars have already observed, this chapter in original form was a symbolic description by a Jewish writer of Nero's returning at the head of the Parthian kings. Nero is the eighth king

¹ With later testimonies from the *Sibylline Oracles* as to the Neronic Myth in this stage we are not here concerned: they will be found in v. 93 sqq., viii. 70, 71, 145, 146.

mentioned in xvii. 11, yet he is one of the seven spoken of in the same verse, the last of whom was Vespasian. The chapter, however, was subsequently worked over and adapted to the form of the later Neronic Myth. Thus verses 8, 11^a, 14, 15 tell of Nero redivivus. He is 'the beast' 'that was and is not and is about to come up out of the abyss' (verse 8), and again, in the same verse, the beast which 'was and is not and shall have his parusia' (παρέσται). Similarly in verse 11^a. By excising, with Bousset, 6^b, 8, 11^a, 14, 15, we can in large measure recover the original form of the Jewish document which prophesied the destruction of Rome by Nero and the Parthian kings. These kings are symbolically described in verses 12, 13, 'And the ten horns that thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but they receive authority as kings, with the beast, for one hour. These have one mind and they give their power and authority unto the beast.'

II. *The fusion of the Antichrist myth (i.) with that of Beliar before 60 A.D.; and (ii.) independently with that of Nero redivivus, 88-100 A.D.*

(i.) As a result of this fusion the Antichrist is regarded as (a) *A God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers.* This appears to have been effected on Christian soil before 50 A.D. (b) *A purely Satanic power, before 70 A.D.*

(a) 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, according to the usual interpretation, presents an indubitable instance of

this fusion. Thus, on the one hand, we have Beliar. 'The man of lawlessness' (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας) is all but certainly a translation of Beliar; for ἀνόμημα is the LXX rendering of it in Deut. xv. 9, and ἀνομία in 2 Kings xxii. 5, and παράνομος is frequently found as its equivalent, when it is used as an epithet: Deut. xiii. 13; Judges xix. 22, xx. 13; 2 Kings xvi. 7, xx. 1, xxiii. 5, &c.

In the next place it is Beliar appearing as the Antichrist; for the words 'he that opposeth himself . . . against all that is called God' (ὁ ἀντικείμενος . . . ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεόν) form an excellent definition of the Antichrist. If 2 Thess. is an authentic writing of St. Paul (and the evidence appears to me to point decidedly in this direction), we have here the earliest evidence for the fusion of these myths (circ. 50 A.D.¹), and also for *the humanization of the Beliar myth through its fusion with that of Antichrist*; for hitherto Beliar had been conceived as a Satanic or superhuman being². The Antichrist thus comes to be conceived as *a God-opposing man armed with miraculous or Satanic powers*.

We should next observe that in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 the myth appears to have a purely *religious* signification and not a *political* one as in Rev. xiii. 1-10, xvii. Thus in 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7 the Roman empire

¹ Schmiedel's view which regards 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 (see his most excellent Commentary *in loc.*, p. 43) as a Beliar-Neronic myth (68-70 A.D.) is at conflict with the law of development as well as with all the evidence accessible on the subject.

² The passage in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 63-74, will be discussed later.

is referred to as the power which checks the manifestation of the Antichrist, whereas in Rev. xiii. 1-10, xvii., it is the Roman empire itself that is the Antichrist. In no case could 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 have been written after 70 A.D. This section, whether of Pauline authorship or not, is in its main features a Christian transformation of a current Judaistic myth.

In 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 the Antichrist appears as a human sovereign armed with miraculous powers. In Rev. xiii. 11-17 he is a false teacher rather; hence this conception is more akin to that which prevails in the Johannine Epistles. Though both in John and Rev. xiii. 11-17 the Antichrist is human, in the latter passage he is armed with Satanic powers and 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by reason of the signs which it was given him to do in the sight of the beast' (xiii. 14). His task is to make the inhabitants of the earth worship the first beast (i.e. Beliar Nero), whose death-stroke had been healed (xiii. 12). The reference in this passage is most probably to the priesthood which was attached to the cultus of the Caesars (Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, Bousset), and had as the chief seat of its activity the province of Asia. This Antichrist is designated 'the false prophet' in xvi. 13.

Again, it is possible, as Bousset says, that 'the abomination of desolation' in Matt. xxiv. 15, which belongs to the Judaistic Apocalypse introduced among the genuine utterances of our Lord, is to be

interpreted as the Antichrist taking his seat in the temple of Jerusalem; cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4. This would constitute the original sense of the Apocalypse: its application to Rome would be an afterthought.

The same fusion of these conceptions may be attested also in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Thus in Dan. 5 the Messiah is represented as making war on Beliar and stripping him of his captives (ποιήσει πρὸς τὸν Βελίαρ πόλεμον . . . καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λάβη (*sic*) ἀπὸ τοῦ Βελίαρ ψυχὰς ἁγίων). Both the date and the nationality of this writer are uncertain. In this passage, however, as well as in *Levi* 18, where the Messiah is represented as binding Beliar, Beliar may be conceived merely as Satan (cf. Eph. iv. 8).

Sibylline Oracles, ii. 167, 168 (circ. 200 A.D.) should probably be cited under this head—

καὶ Βελίαρ θ' ἥξει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει
ἀνθρώποις·

(b) *The Beliar Antichrist* = a purely Satanic power before 70 A.D. (or 30 A.D.?). This stage of the myth is found in Rev. xi. 7, 'And when they shall have finished their testimony, *the beast that cometh up out of the abyss* shall make war with them and overcome them and kill them.' The Antichrist in this instance makes his advent *in Jerusalem* (see verse 8), therefore before 70 A.D. This form of the myth is quite independent of that which appears in Rev. xiii. and xiv., where it is amalgamated with the Neronic Myth and assumes a political character.

It is not clear whether 2 Cor. vi. 15, 'what concord hath Christ with Beliar?' should be reckoned under this head or under i. 2. On the other hand it may not be wrong to recognize in the *Assumption of Moses*, x. 1. 2, an instance of this compound conception.

'And then His (God's) Kingdom will appear
throughout creation

And then Satan will be no more

And sorrow will depart with him.

Then the hands of the angel (Michael) will be
filled

And he will be appointed chief

And he will avenge them of their enemies.'

If this passage comes rightly under this head, then the fusion of the ideas of Beliar and Anti-christ must be anterior to 30 A.D.

'(ii.) *Fusion of the Antichrist Myth with that of the Nero redivivus*¹. This fusion could hardly have taken place before the first half of Domitian's reign, when the last Neronic pretender appeared. As soon, however, as the hope of the return of the living Nero could no longer be enter-

¹ It is quite possible that the passages which I have classed under this head might on equally cogent grounds be reckoned under III. The course adopted in the text has been followed owing to the appearance of the Dragon (i. e. Satan or Beliar) and the Neronic Antichrist on the same canvas in Rev. xiii. 1-10. But this fact is in itself far from decisive. Moreover, the simple Neronic myth appears to need some infusion of the Beliar myth in order to develop the expectation of Nero redivivus, or Nero as a semi-demonic power.

tained, the way was prepared for this transformation of the myth. The living Nero indeed was no longer expected to return from the East, but Nero¹ was to be restored to life from the abyss by the Dragon, i.e. Satan. This expectation is recounted in Rev. xiii. First the beast that comes up out of the sea with ten horns and seven heads is clearly to be identified with the Roman empire (xiii. 1). To this beast the Dragon gives his power and his throne (xiii. 2). But one of his heads (i.e. Nero) had been as it were smitten unto death, but the death-stroke was healed, that is, Nero was restored to life, xiii. 3, 14. Nero, so restored, spoke 'great things and blasphemies,' and authority was given to him to reign for 'forty and two months,' that is the three and a half years for which, according to universal tradition, the Antichrist was to rule (see p. 29 note). Further references to Nero redivivus as the Antichrist will be found in xvii. 8: 'The beast, that thou sawest, was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and to go

¹ That Nero is referred to under the mystical number 666 (Rev. xiii. 18) may be regarded as established. This interpretation was arrived at nearly seventy years ago. We obtain the number 666 by transliterating *Nepwv Kaiσap* into Hebrew, and adding together the sums denoted by the Hebrew letters. Thus קסר נרון (נ=50, ר=200, ו=6, ך=50, ק=100, ס=60, ר=200)=666. This solution is confirmed by the fact that it is possible to explain by it an ancient (Western?) variant for the number 666, i.e. 616. This latter, which is attested by Irenaeus (V. 30. 1), the commentary of Ticonius, and the uncial C, can be explained from the Latin form of the name Nero, which by its omission of the final *n* makes the sum total 616 instead of 666.

into perdition'; and again, 'when they beheld the beast, how that he was, and is not, and shall come.' Finally, in verse 11 of the same chapter the identification of Nero redivivus with the Antichrist is inevitable. 'And the beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven, and he goeth to perdition.'

In the above passages Nero redivivus and the Roman Empire are identified. The former is regarded as an incarnation of all the might and horror of the latter.

III. *Fusion of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths in various degrees and forms.*

From this fusion the myth emerges in three forms, which owe their diversity in the main to the three variations of the Neronic myth which enter into the combination. These forms are: (i.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as alive.* The Antichrist has here a political significance, and is human. (ii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in the form of the dead Nero.* The Antichrist has here no political significance, and is a Satanic being. (iii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.*

(i.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as living*—before 90 A.D. We have seen above, from documentary evidence, that before 80 A.D. the myth had gained wide circulation both among Gentiles and Jews, that Nero

was still living in the East, and would speedily return to avenge himself on Rome. We have further seen that long before 80 A.D. the minds of both Jews and Christians were familiar with the expectation of the Antichrist pure and simple, and of the Antichrist possessing the attributes of Beliar or Satan, and so denoting a God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers, or a truly Satanic being. So strong was the tendency of such mythical currents to merge in a common stream that it is not surprising to find this coalescence achieved in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 63-74. This passage is unhappily of uncertain date, though no doubt before 90 A.D., since Nero is still regarded as alive. Its significance, however, cannot be mistaken. Beliar comes as Antichrist, and is descended from Augustus (ἐκ Σεβαστηνῶν)¹. That this descendant of Augustus is Nero there is no room for doubt. The lines in question are

ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελίαρ μετόπισθεν
καὶ στήσει ὀρέων ἕψος, στήσει δὲ θάλασσαν
ἡέλιον πυρόεντα μέγαν λαμπράν τε σελήνην
καὶ νέκρας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει . . .
καὶ δύναμις φλογέεσσα δι' οὐδατος ἐς γαῖαν ἥξει
καὶ Βελίαρ φλέξει καὶ ὑπερφιάλους ἀνθρώπους,
πάντας, ὅσοι τούτῳ πίστιν ἐνεποιήσαντο.

To assign these lines to 30 B.C., as Gfrörer, Hilgen-

¹ The excision of 61^b-63^a as an interpolation by Bleek, Lücke and Schürer only serves to aggravate the confusion of the text.

feld, Bousset, and other scholars have done, is impossible unless the Σεβαστηνοί=the inhabitants of Σεβαστή, i.e. Samaria. In that case the passage would come under II. i. (b).

(ii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as Antichrist in the form of the dead Nero.* In due time the belief that Nero was still alive in the East began to die. The time of its extinction must naturally have varied according to temperament and locality. It is accordingly difficult to assign definite dates. Since, however, the latest pretender to the Neronic rôle came forward in 88 A.D., we may not unreasonably infer that from that year the belief began to lose its grip on the common folk—on none others had it ever any real hold—and to decline steadily till it finally disappeared. No doubt during the next twenty to forty years it crops up sporadically, but even during that period its place has been taken by two rival and stronger forms of the same saga.

These new forms of the saga may have already been evolved in the later years of Vespasian. The older form, with which we have now to deal, is at all events not later than 90–100 A.D. This phase of the Antichrist Myth is found in the present work, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, iv. 2–4, ‘And after (the world) is consummated, Beliar, the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother: who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute

the plant which the Twelve Apostles have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hand.

4. This ruler in the form of that king will come, &c.'

From this passage it is manifest that the belief in Nero being still alive had already been abandoned. Nero's history belongs to the past. It is recorded in iv. 2-3. In such a case, if the Apocalyptic writer is bent on retaining the Neronic element, one of two courses is open. Either Beliar must come in the form of the dead Nero, or Nero must be recalled to life by a Satanic miracle. The first course is adopted by the writer of the *Ascension*, the second by the author of Rev. xiii, xvii. 8, 11^a. The latter representation we have discussed already. Our present concern is with the former, and particularly with its probable date. This is a question of importance; for it has been objected on the one hand by Zeller that this form of the myth belongs to the second century (*Z.f. W. T.*, 'Der Märtyrertod des Petrus in der Ascension Jesaiae,' 1896, 558-568), and on the other by Harnack that it cannot be earlier than the third (*Gesch. d. altchristl. Litteratur*, ii. 573-579).

Zeller is moved to make this assertion on grounds really foreign to the subject at issue, such as the date of the Simon Magus romance, and the distinction which is already drawn in iii. 24, 29, between bishops and presbyters, a distinction that, in his opinion, was not established before the second half of the second century. Into the merits

of these questions it is needless to enter at present. We must rather turn to Harnack, who backs up his view with the statement that it cannot be proved that the conception of the returning Nero as the Antichrist prevailed in Christian circles of the second century. In the face of Rev. xiii, and Rev. xvii. 8, 11^a, and certain passages in *Sibylline Oracles*, v, which severally belong to various years of the period 88-150, we cannot understand on what grounds such a statement can be maintained.

In pages 714-716 of the same work, Harnack has rightly recognized that the Antichrist conception in the *Ascension* is compounded of two ideas: (1) that Nero would return as the Antichrist; (2) that the devil is Antichrist. Now we have seen above, in II. i. (b), that the latter expectation did prevail, most probably before 30 A.D., and certainly before 70 A.D., and also that the former expectation is in all likelihood attested in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 63-74 (see III. i. above), before 90 A.D., and certainly in Rev. xiii, xvii. 8, 11^a, not later than 100 A.D., and possibly as early as 90 A.D. There is thus no real difficulty in the evolution of such a myth as appears in the *Ascension* before 100 A.D.

Seeing, therefore, that, probably as early as the close of Vespasian's reign, the materials were at hand for the formation of the myth, we may very reasonably set down 88 A.D. as the earliest probable date for the form of the myth, which is presented in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. We have found else-

where (see pp. xliv, 30, 31) that the section in which the form in question occurs cannot be later than 100 A.D. Hence 88-100 is the approximate date for this phase of the Antichrist legend.

(iii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.* It is quite possible that the phase of the Antichrist myth which I have given under heading II. (ii.) should appear here (see note on p. lxxv). In that case this development would belong to the reign of Domitian.

In the *Sibylline Oracles*, v. 28-34 (written in the reign of Hadrian), the enigmatical account of Nero appears to involve all the above elements. Thus it is Nero redivivus that is described; for the author of the lines is writing two generations after Nero's death. In the next place he is called in semi-mythological language 'the serpent' (herein we have the Beliar element), and finally he makes himself equal to God. The lines bearing on our subject in this book are 28, 29, 33, 34:—

πεντηκόντα δ' ὃ τις κεραίην λάχε, κοίρανος ἔσται
δεινὸς ὄφης¹ . . .

ἀλλ' ἔσται καὶ ἄϊστος ὁ λογίος· εἴτ' ἀνακάμψει
ισάζων θεῷ αὐτόν· ἐλέγξει δ' οὐ μιν ἔοντα.

Book v. 214-227 belongs more clearly to the above classification. According to this passage, Nero is to return aloft through the air, upborne by the Fates. His achievements are portrayed in 219-225.

¹ This designation of Nero recurs in xii. 81, 264. See also ix. 41, where the reference is obscure.

In Book viii, of which lines 4-429 belong to the close of the second century, the various myths have so thoroughly coalesced that Nero is no longer regarded as a man but as a Satanic monster.

He has himself become the Dragon, viii. 88 (*πυρφόρος ὅσσε δράκων*), and assumed the monster's form, viii. 157 (*θῆρα μέγαν*).

It is needless here to pursue the ramifications of this myth further, than to state that so thoroughly did the Neronic element in the composite Antichrist saga gain the upper hand in the East, that in Armenian the word Nero became the equivalent for Antichrist (see Conybeare in Bousset's *Antichrist Legend*, p. 282).

SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION.

a, b, c, denote the Ethiopic MSS. described on p. xv.

u, ch, denote the Slavonic MSS. described on p. xxv.

G denotes the lost Greek archetype of G¹ G².

G¹ denotes the lost Greek text from which E L¹ were translated,
and on which the Gk. Leg. was based. See pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

G² denotes the Greek text from which S L² were translated, of
which II. 4 - IV. 2 has now been recovered. See pp. xxviii-
xxxiii.

E denotes the Ethiopic Version based on *a, b, c*.

S denotes the Slavonic Version.

L¹ denotes the Latin Version from G¹ (consisting of II. 14-
III. 13; VII. 1-19).

L² denotes the Latin Version from G² (consisting of VI-XI).

Gk. Leg. denotes the Greek Legend printed on pp. 141-148.
See also pp. xxvii-xxviii.

hmt = homoioteleuton.

[¹] The use of these brackets in S L² means that the words so
enclosed, though only in one of these authorities, are also
found in E, and therefore go back to G.

[²] The use of these brackets in G² L¹ L² or S means that the
words so enclosed are found only in one of these authorities,
and may or may not go back to G.

[³] The use of these brackets in the English translation of E
or in L¹ means that the words so enclosed are found in G¹,
and not in G²: the words so enclosed in S L² are found in
G², but not in G¹. In certain cases the words peculiar either
to G¹ or G² are derived from G.

() The words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor
in E L¹ L² S, but in the Greek fragment they are restorations,
being undecipherable in the papyrus.

< > These brackets are used only in the Greek fragment.
Words or letters so enclosed were omitted in the papyrus.

* * The words so enclosed are emendations of the text....

† † The words so enclosed are corrupt.

[] The words so enclosed are interpolated.

THE
ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

TRANSLATION

i. 1. And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year i. 1, 2^a =
of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he Martyr-
called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. dom of
Isaiah.
2. And he called him into the presence of Isaiah

i. 1. In the *Greek Legend* it is the twenty-fifth year.

Of the reign. Lit. 'in the reign'; but I take the phrase to be equal to ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείως Ἑζεκίου. Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 42, xiv. 27; Prol. of Eccles.; Hag. i. 1, ii. 1, &c.

2. *Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet.* The word prophet here is no doubt to be taken with Isaiah and not with Amoz. Amoz is mentioned in the Old Testament in 2 Kings xix. 2 and Isa. i. 1, ii. 1, &c. In iv. 22 he is wrongly identified with Amos, the eighth-century prophet—a confusion that the writer shares in common with many of the Greek and Latin Fathers. This mistake on the part of the latter may be due to the fact that the LXX inaccurately represents יחזקאל the prophet and אמוז the father of Isaiah by one and the same form Ἀμῶς. One and the same form also is used in Ethiopic for the two names. On the other hand there was an old Talmudic tradition to the effect that Amoz, the father of Isaiah, was a prophet also. In *Megilla*, 10^b, the writer seeks to prove by a very obscure line of argument that Amoz, the father of Isaiah, was a prophet. If

i. 2^b-6^a =
editorial
addition.

the son of Amoz the prophet, and into the presence of Jôsâb the son of Isaiah, in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen: 3. And of the eternal judgements and the torments of Gehenna, and of the * prince *

this was even a current tradition, the confusion in iv. 22 becomes still more intelligible.

Jôsâb. This name is found in Isa. vii. 3 : יֶשָׁב, Ἰασούβ. In the Ethiopic version of our book, it is found variously as Jôsêb, Jôsâb, Jôsab, Jôsêb.

2^b-5^a describe the vision of Hezekiah which he saw in the fifteenth year of his reign. These verses were inserted by the editor to prepare for the vision which is recounted in iii. 13-iv. 22. They give a brief description of it. This vision may in all probability be taken to be the testament of Hezekiah (see below). The evidence for this conclusion we shall now give. The vision is definitely ascribed to Hezekiah in verse 2 : 'which the king himself had seen.' In verse 4 the same idea recurs: 'words . . . which he himself had seen in the fifteenth year of his reign during his illness,' and most probably in verse 5 : 'the written words which Samnas the scribe had written'; and again later in the same verse according to MS. a : 'words . . . which only the king had seen.' That this idea is not an invention of the Ethiopic translation is clear from the *Greek Legend*, i. 2, which speaks of 'The words which Hezekiah the king himself had seen during his illness' (see p. 139). Nay, more, Georgius Cedrenus (see p. 29) quotes iv. 12 of our book as derived from the 'Testament of Hezekiah' (Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου). Though little value need be attached to the evidence of Cedrenus individually, yet the rest of the evidence, when combined with it, is sufficient to show that the final editor of our apocrypha had seen and used a book purporting to be a work of Hezekiah, and iii. 13-iv. 22 appears to be the Testament in question.

3. This verse gives the contents of Hezekiah's vision or prophecy.

Of the eternal judgements. *bc* read, 'of the judgements of this world.' MSS. do not give genitive here but the accusative.

Gehenna. Mentioned only in iv. 14.

of this world, and of his angels, and his authorities and his powers, 4. And the words of the faith of the Beloved which he himself had seen in the

*And of *the prince* of this world.* So Dillmann proposes. *a* reads, 'which is the eternal place of punishment': *bc* 'and of the place of punishment of this world.' For phrase see ii. 4, iv. 2, x. 29. The reference is to the Antichrist in iv. 2.

Angels . . . authorities . . . powers, i. e. Ἄγγελοι, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις. The very same list is found in 1 Pet. iii. 22 ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων. Cf. Eph. i. 21, iii. 10, vi. 12; Col. i. 16, ii. 10, 15.

4. *The Beloved.* This Messianic title is found throughout most of the book: i. 4, 5, 7, 13; iii. 13, 17, 18; iv. 3, 6, 9, 18, 21; v. 15; vii. 17, 23; viii. 18, 25; ix. 12. There are good grounds for believing this title pre-Christian. These are so excellently given by Canon Robinson in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 501, that I take the liberty of reproducing them here. (1) 'It is used in the Old Testament (ὁ ἡγαπημένος, LXX) as a title of Israel; e.g. Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26, where it renders "Jeshurun," as it does also in Isa. xlv. 2; again in Isa. v. 1, 7 ὁ ἡγαπημένος and ὁ ἀγαπητός render יְיָ and יֵיָ respectively. It was natural, therefore, that, like the titles "Servant" and "Elect," it should be transferred from the people to the Messiah. (2) At the period when the Gospels were written "the Beloved" and "the Elect" were practically interchangeable terms, for Matthew writes ὁ ἀγαπητός μου (xii. 18) in citing Isa. xlii. 1, where the Hebrew is יְיָ (LXX, ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου); and Luke (ix. 35) substitutes ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος for ὁ ἀγαπητός in the words spoken in the Transfiguration. (3) These two substitutions suggest that, whatever may have been the original meaning of the phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mark i. 11, ix. 7), both Matthew and Luke regarded ὁ ἀγαπητός as a separate title, and not as an epithet of υἱός. And it is interesting to note that the old Syriac version emphasized this distinction by rendering "My Son and My Beloved." (4) In Eph. i. 9 St. Paul uses ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ as equivalent to ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ in a context in which he is designedly using terms derived from Jewish sources. (5) Certain passages of the LXX where ὁ ἀγαπητός occurs were explained by Christian interpreters as Messianic (Ps. xlv. (xlv.)

fifteenth year of his reign during his illness. 5. And he delivered unto him the written words which Samnas the scribe had written, and also those which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, had given to him, and also to the prophets, that they might write and store up with him what he himself had seen in the

tit. ; Zech. xii. 10). (6) Lastly we have several passages in early Christian writings in which *ὁ ἡγαπημένος* is used as a title of Christ, e. g. Barn. iii. 6, iv. 3, 8. Cf. *Clem. Rom.* lix. 2, 3 ; *Ign. Smyrn.*, inser. ; *Herm. Sim.* IX. xii. 5 ; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 1 ; *ὁ ἀγαπητός* is also used, but usually with *υἱός* or *παῖς* (*Herm. Sim.* V. ii. 6 ; *Mart. Polyc.* 14 ; *Ep. ad Diogn.* 8 ; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 24 ; in the last three cases in a liturgical formula).⁷

Fifteenth year of his reign during his illness. See 2 Kings xx. 1-6 ; Isa. xxxviii. 1-20. According to the Old Testament text Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, and his illness fell out fifteen years before he died. Hence the date harmonizes with the Old Testament chronology. This verse is almost wholly reproduced in the *Greek Legend* : see i. 2 (p. 141).

5^a. *The written words which Samnas the scribe had written.* These words appear to relate to the vision of Hezekiah which was written out by Shebna the scribe after declaration of the king. The writing (מִכְתָּב) composed by Hezekiah during his illness (Isa. xxxviii. 9) may have suggested the idea in our text.

Samnas. See also vi. 17. In *Greek Legend*, i. 3 Σωμνάς. In the LXX the Hebrew form שִׁבְנָה is reproduced by Σωμνάς or Σοβνάς. See 2 Kings xviii. 18, 26 ; Isa. xxii. 15, xxxvi. 3, 11, 22, xxxvii. 2.

5^b-6 describe the vision of Isaiah, vi.-xi. 40, which he saw in the twentieth year of Hezekiah's reign, vi. 1.

Those which Isaiah . . . had given him. This is evidently the vision which Isaiah saw in the twentieth year of Hezekiah. See next verse.

Which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, had given to him and also to the prophets. So *bc.* *a* reads, 'which Isaiah the son of Amoz and the prophets also had given to him.'

Store up with him what he himself had seen in the king's house. Cf. *Greek Legend*, i. 2. The vision is that of Isaiah recorded

king's house regarding the judgement of the angels, and the destruction of this world, and regarding the garments of the saints and † their † going forth, and regarding † their † transformation and the persecution and ascension of the Beloved. 6. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, Isaiah had seen the words of this prophecy and had delivered them to Jôsâb his son. And whilst he (Hezekiah) gave i. 6^b-13^a= Martyrdom of Isaiah. commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, 7. Isaiah said to Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: 'As the Lord liveth, whose name has not been sent into this world, and as the Beloved of my Lord

in vi.-xi. It is specially mentioned that this vision was experienced in the king's palace; see vi. 10-15. *a* reads, 'store up with him what the king alone had seen'; *b* (with a grammatical correction), 'store up with him the vision which had been in the king's house.'

Judgement of the angels. The only references to this judgement are found in x. 12, iv. 18.

Destruction of this world. See x. 12, iv. 18.

Garments of the saints. See vii. 22, viii. 14, 26, ix. 9, 24, 25 (xi. 35), iv. 16, 17.

† *Their † going forth, and regarding † their † transformation.* The pronouns are all but certainly wrong. The words should refer to the Messiah. Cf. iii. 13 of the Greek [ἡ] ἐξέλευσις [τοῦ ἀγα]πητοῦ . . . [καὶ ἡ] μεταμόρφωσις αὐτοῦ; also *Greek Legend*, i. 2. Thus these words could refer to iii. 13 as well as the account in vi.-xi.

The persecution and ascension of the Beloved. The former is mentioned in iii. 13 (cf. iv. 13, ix. 14, xi. 19, 20). The ascension in ix. 16, x. 14, xi. 23-32, iii. 18, iv. 13.

7. Manasseh was barely more than eight in the twenty-sixth year of Hezekiah's reign.

As the Lord liveth, &c. The familiar Hebrew idiom כִּי יְיָ הוֹיָה. The Greek is to be found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 8, iii. 13.

The Spirit which speaketh in me. Cf. ix. 36.

liveth, and the Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words will be made of none effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of my body. 8. And Sammael Malchîrâ will serve

And as the Beloved . . . in me liveth. Editorial addition.

These commands. Referred to in the close of i. 6 and in ii. 1.

I shall depart, &c. There seems to have been a loss of the words 'from this life' or 'from life' in his Ethiopic text. See *Greek Legend*, i. 8, 13.

8. *Sammael* = סמאל. Sammael was originally one of the chief archangels. But with a view to make the earth his kingdom he tempted Eve (*Jalkut Shim Beresh*. 25). Thenceforward he appears as the chief of the Satans (*Debarim rabba*, 11), and as the angel of death (*Targ. Jer.* on Gen. iii. 6). Moreover, just as Michael was the angelic patron of Israel, so Sammael was its special foe (*Shem. rabba*, 18). See Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, 169, 218, 219, 253, from which these statements have been drawn.

Sammael is mentioned also in i. 11; ii. 1; iii. 13; v. 15, 16; vii. 9; xi. 41. On the various activities of Sammael and his relation to Beliar, see later notes on this verse.

Malchîrâ. Whence this name is derived I know not. It appears here to be a surname of Sammael. The name recurs in v. 8 (MS. *a*) as *Milchîras*, where see note. In xi. 41 Sammael has the surname Satan.

And he will become a follower of Beliar. Since these words most probably go back to a Hebrew original, we shall render: 'so that he will become,' &c. Cf. ii. 4.

Beliar. Mentioned also in i. 9; ii. 4; iii. 11, 13; iv. 2, 14, 16, 18; v. 1, 4 (*a c*), 15. The form Berial is simply a corruption of the Ethiopic version; for in the Greek version on iii. 11, 13 we have Βελίap, and in the Latin version in the same verses Beliac, a slip of the scribe for Beliar. In many cases the Ethiopic MSS. still retain the correct form: *c* always right except in v. 1: *a* right in i. 9 and v. 4: *b* in iv. 16. In v. 4, however, this reading seems corrupt. In *Jubilees*, i. 20, we find Belchôr, and in xv. 33 of the same work Bêlêar and Biliar in the two best MSS. All these forms point

Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he will become a follower of Beliar rather than of me :

to Beliar. Beliar is spoken of also in 2 Cor. vi. 15 ; in *Jubilees*, as we have already noticed, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the *Test. XII Patriarchs*. In *Jubilees* the references are i. 20, 'spirit of Beliar' ; xv. 33, 'sons of Beliar.' In the former passage Beliar is conceived as an evil spirit. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 167, Beliar is to come as the Antichrist and work many signs : while, according to iii. 63-73, he is to proceed from the emperors of Rome, and after working many great signs and deceiving even the elect he and his followers are to be burnt up. In the *Testaments of his XII Patriarchs*, Beliar appears at times as the source of immoral deeds and at times as the Antichrist. Thus he is the source of impurity, Reub. 6, and of lying, Dan. 5. He cannot overcome a chaste man, Reub. 4, and flees from men who beware of wrath and lies, Dan. 5. He sends seven evil spirits against man, Reub. 2. His works are to the Law of the Lord as darkness unto light, Lev. 19 (cf. 2 Cor. vi. 15). The spirits of Beliar will be punished, Lev. 3. The Messiah will war against him and wrest from him his captives, Dan. 5, and bind him, Lev. 18. Beliar is closely connected with the tribe of Dan : see 5, also Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, 26, 171, 172. On the derivation and Old Testament meanings of the words, see *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, cols. 525-527.

Relation of Sammael to Beliar. In some respects their functions are identical, but in others they are clearly distinguishable. They are identical in the following respects. Both Sammael and Beliar dwell and rule in the firmament, vii. 9, iv. 2 : both take possession of Manasseh, Sammael, ii. 1 ; Beliar, i. 9, iii. 11, v. 1 : both are wroth with Isaiah for his visions, Sammael, v. 15 ; Beliar, iii. 13, v. 1, both have Isaiah sawn in sunder through Manasseh, Sammael, xi. 41 ; Beliar, v. 15 : both are ultimately to be overcome, Sammael, to be destroyed, v. 15 ; Beliar to be cast into Gehenna, iv. 16. But in certain respects they are to be differentiated, and Sammael herein appears to be the inferior of Beliar. Thus Sammael exerts himself to make Manasseh the subject of Beliar, i. 8 (ii. 4). Beliar, moreover, has his subordinate kings (Satanic or human ?), iv. 16 ; he is the prince (or king) of this world, i. 3, iv. 2 ; and, as in the *Sibyllines*, he is the Anti-

9. And many in Jerusalem and in Judea he will cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar will dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be sawn asunder.' 10. And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments, and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. 11. And Isaiah said unto him: 'The counsel of Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought will avail thee.' 12. And on that day Hezekiah resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. 13. And Isaiah said to

christ, iv. 2. This earth will be the scene of his parusia, iv. 2, and of his manifestation, iv. 18.

9. *True faith.* Literally, 'faith of truth' or 'of righteousness.'

Beliar will dwell, &c. In the *Greek Legend* Beliar is replaced by Satan, just as Sammael in verse 11: see i. 9, where much of this verse is reproduced.

10. See *Greek Legend*, i. 10.

11. *Counsel of Sammael . . . is consummated.* The *Greek Legend*, i. 11, is clearer: δὲ γὰρ πληρωθῆναι τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Σατανᾶ κτλ. Observe that the familiar term Satan replaces Sammael.

Nought will avail thee. Cf. *Greek Legend*, i. 11 οὐκ ὠφελήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδέν.

12. *And on that day.* Emended from bc = 'on this day and': a = 'on those words.' See Critical Note, where *Greek Legend* is quoted. These words have hitherto been wrongly connected with the preceding verse.

13. *I shall inherit the heritage, &c.* See viii. 12.

i.-ii. 1. The sense and partly the diction of many clauses in i.-ii. 1 are reproduced in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* Homil. i. (printed among the works of Chrysostom, vol. vi. xx-xxi, Montfaucon). See also Fabricius, *Codex Pseud.* p. 1094; Laurence, 149; Dillmann, p. 65. 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia (ii. 1) obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui sanctam et omnia beneficia Dei pro merito eius collata in ipsum, et (i. 8, ii. 4) stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo, qui solet insurgere super genus humanum ad evertendum,

Hezekiah : 'the Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and the purpose of thy heart will not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved.'

i. 13^b = editorial addition.

ii. 1. And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father

ii. 1-iii. 12 = Martyrdom of Isaiah.

gesturus omnia, quae Deum ad iracundiam provocarent. Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, (i. 1, 6^b) vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. (i. 7) Et dixit ad eum Esaias : vere quia non descendunt verba tua in cor eius, sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici (i. 10, 12) Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere, dicens : quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix Esaias propheta, dicens : (i. 13) irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum hoc, videns Ezechiae religionem, quia plus amabat Deum quam filium suum.' I have italicized the words that are drawn from our book and added the references. On value of this text see Introd., pp. xl.-xli.

8-12. A somewhat different account of this interview of Isaiah and Hezekiah is found in the Talmud Berachoth, 10^a. 'What is the meaning of the words "Thou shalt die and not live"? "Thou shalt die in this world and not live in the next world." He said : "Wherefore is all this?" He answered him : "Because thou hast not practised fruitfulness and increase." He rejoined : "Because it was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit that unprofitable children would spring from me." He replied : "What concern hast thou in the secrets of the All Merciful? Thou shouldest have done what was commanded thee, and the Holy One, blessed be He, may do what pleases Him." He replied thereto : "Give me thy daughter : perhaps my merits and thine together will bring it about that profitable children may spring from me." Then replied he : "The judgement is already determined regarding thee."

ii. 1. *Manasseh . . . forgat.* These words represent a paronomasia in Hebrew, מְנַשֶּׁה מְנַשֶּׁה. This was observed by the author

but forgot them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him. 2. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served Satan and his angels and his powers. 3. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah (from) the words of wisdom and from the service of God. 4. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar;

of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. See p. 8. 'Providentia Dei sic eum (i. e. Manasseh) dispensavit vocari, quia obliturus fuerat.' See *Greek Legend*, iii. 2. The same play on words is found in *Genesis* xli. 51.

Commands of Hezekiah. See i. 6, 7.

Sammael abode, &c. See note on i. 8.

2. This verse is found in its entirety in *Greek Legend*, iii. 2.

3. Turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah. Such is the obvious and literal translation of the Ethiopic text. The Ethiopic verb (rendered 'turned aside') is used in this sense in the next verse and in iv. 9; v. 8. This rendering is supported by the *Greek Legend*, iii. 3 ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Dillmann (followed by Beer) translates: 'mutavit in domo patris sui ea, quae coram facie Ezechiae fuerant.' This rendering is based on a rare idiom, in accordance with which the word 'house' can stand in a locative sense without a preposition after verbs meaning 'sojourning,' &c., as in *Gen.* xxiv. 23; xxxviii. 11; *Luke* xix. 5. Such a verb is not indeed expressed in *Num.* xxx. 11; the sense, however, implies it. Since, however, our text neither expresses nor admits of such a verb, Dillmann's rendering is very questionable, even if the *Greek Legend* was not decisive on this point.

(From) the words of wisdom and from the service of God. The text makes these words the object of the verb. I have supplied the preposition in accordance with the *Greek Legend*, iii. 3 ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως.

4. Beliar, the angel of lawlessness. See on iv. 2.

Beliar . . . the ruler of this world. Cf. i. 3; x. 29; *John* xii. 31; xvi. 11 ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου: 2 *Cor.* iv. 4 ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος

for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which were spread abroad in Jerusalem. 5. And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John of Anathoth, and by (Zadok) the chief of the works. 6. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. 7. And, when Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship

τούτου : Eph. vi. 12 πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου : ii. 2 τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.

Matanbûchûs. So MSS. *ac.* *b* reads 'Matanbakas.' In v. 3 it appears as Mèchêmbêchûs. It has been conjectured to be derived from מְחִיבָה שְׁמָה = worthless gift : see Lücke, i. 282.

Made him strong. So rightly emended by Dillmann.

In apostatizing. See 2 Kings xxi. 9, which gives this idea. G² less good : 'in apostasy.'

5. See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 (LXX) ἐκκληδονίζετο καὶ ἐφαρμακεύετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο. Also 2 Kings xxi. 6. See Greek : also *Greek Legend*, iii. 3.

[*And adultery*]. Bracketed as an addition on the Ethiopic. Wanting both in G and *Greek Legend*, iii. 3.

Persecution. See 2 Kings xxi. 16.

[*Belachîrâ and*]. I have bracketed these words as they are absent from the Greek. Moreover the name is evidently introduced for the first time in ii. 12.

Anathoth. See *Encyclopaedia Biblica* in loc.

(*Zadok*). Supplied from the Greek.

6. 2 Kings xxi. 17 ; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18.

of Satan and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. 8. And there also there was much lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. 9. And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain. 10. They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going astray of Israel. 11. And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two

l. 9 =
editorial
addition.

7. *His wantonness.* Greek has πομπήν αὐτοῦ : *Greek Legend*, iii. 8 ἄσωριαν.

9. This verse, which could not have appeared as it stands in the Jewish Martyrdom of Isaiah, is an editorial addition drawn largely and almost verbally from vi. 7. The clause 'withdrew and settled on the mountain' is repeated from ver. 8 ; the misleading phrase 'his son' and the clause 'many of the faithful . . . ascension into heaven' are the editor's own.

Habakkuk. Eth. has Enbâqôm = Greek Ἀμβακούμ.

11. *Herbs.* Dillmann refers to 2 Kings iv. 38 sqq. This living on herbs may be designed to prepare them to receive supernatural disclosures. A similar preparation was made by Daniel, x. 2, 3. In 4 Ezra ix. 26, Ezra, when preparing for a divine revelation, declares : 'De herbis agri manducavi.' Similarly in xii. 51 'Sedi in campo septem diebus . . . et manducabam de floribus solummodo agri, de herbis facta est esca mihi in diebus illis.' See Clemen, *Z. f. W. T.* 1896, p. 396.

years of days on the mountains and hills. 12. And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false

12-16 introduce Belchîrâ and give certain details of his history. The subject of verse 11 is resumed in iii. 1.

12. *Belchîrâ*. See ii. 5, 12, 16; iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 15. There are many difficulties connected with this name in our book. The first is concerned with the form of the word. Thus it has four forms in the Greek Papyrus Fragment: ii. 12 Βελχείρα; iii. 12 Βελχείρα; and Βεχείρα ii. 16; iii. 1; and Μελχείρα iii. 6. The first appears to be merely a variant of the second. Next the form Βεχείρας occurs once in iii. 10 of the *Greek Legend*. In the Latin Fragment iii. 1, 11 only Bechira is attested. The same variance prevails within the Ethiopic version. Thus we find Belchîra attested by *a* in ii. 12; iii. 11; v. 2: Balchîra by all MSS. in iii. 1, 6; v. 3, 5, 15; and by *bc* in ii. 5, 12; iii. 12; v. 2, 12; and by *b* in v. 4; Belachîrâ by *a* in ii. 5: Melâchîrâ by *a* in v. 12: Milchîrâs by *a* in v. 8; Îbchîrâ by *a*, Abchîrâ by *b* in ii. 16. Now as regards Îbchîrâ it is clear that it goes back to Βεχείρα. Balchîra is simply a later orthographic variant of Belchîra, which, though only found in *a*, is clearly the older form. Belachîrâ is very closely akin to Greek forms of the name in ii. 12 and iii. 12 of the Greek Fragment. Thus with the exception of Melâchîrâ in v. 12 (*a*), Milchîrâs in v. 8 (*a*), and Μελχείρα in ii. 6, G¹, all the above forms go back to Βεχείρα and Βελχείρα.

But what are we to make of Μελχείρα in iii. 6, of Melâchîrâ in v. 12 (*a*) and the closely related forms—Malchîrâ in i. 8, Milchîrâs in v. 8? We may dismiss Malchîrâ i. 8 from consideration as a surname of Sammael. As regards the rest they are clearly variants or equivalents of Belchîrâ; for over against Μελχείρα in iii. 6 all MSS. of E give Balchîrâ, and rightly according to the context. In like manner Milchîrâs and Melâchîrâ are equivalents of Balchîrâ, for whereas the former are attested only by *a*, the latter is read by *bc*. They are, however, ancient variants, for if we turn to the *Greek Legend*, we find frequent mention of a false prophet Μελχίας. It is this Melchias in the *Legend* who addressed to Isaiah the words attributed to Milchîrâs in *a* in v. 8 (*a*) of our book. And just as Milchîrâs clearly

prophet, whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab, king of Israel, had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal, had himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. 13. And he, Micaiah,

stands for an impersonation of the devil (see v. 9) and is actually so designated by Ambrose on Ps. cxviii, so Melchias is in the *Legend* called Διάβολος by Isaiah. Melâchîrâ in v. 12 is the same as Milchîrâs in v. 8, and as Μελχίας in the *Greek Legend*. Thus at an early date in the tradition the name of the false prophet was sometimes written as Belchîrâ (with its variants) and Melchîrâ (with its variants). From the presence of *l* in the great majority of the variants, it follows that Βελερπά is a secondary form of Βελχερπά. Gesenius, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 244-246, derives Belchîrâ from בִּלְקָרְיָה = קָרְיָהּ = בעל = lord of the world.

Zedekiah, the son of Chenâan = Σεδεκίας υἱὸς Χανανά (B Xavavá A) = יְדַקְיָה בֶן-כְּנַעְנָה. See 1 Kings xxii. 11. The Greek Fragment gives Σ. v. Xavaví.

Bethlehem. Bethany in the Greek.

Hezekiah the son of Chanânî. Undoubtedly the same as the Zedekiah just mentioned. Indeed, as the Greek Fragment shows, for Hezekiah we should read Zedekiah. This is not a mere slip of the Ethiopic translation; for it appears from the *Chron. Pasch.* (p. 98 B ἦσαν ψευδοπροφήται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι ν' and 96 C ψευδοπροφήται Σεδεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι τετρακόσιοι—quoted by Dillmann, p. 66) that these two different Greek transliterations of the same Hebrew name were current. As the Greek proves, however, they have no right in our text.

Brother of his father. This Zedekiah was an uncle of Belchîrâ.

Of Baal. This is an error on the part of the writer. He has confounded the prophets mentioned in 1 Kings xxii. 6 with those mentioned in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

Smitten. 1 Kings xxii. 24.

Son of Amâdâ, Son of Imlah. Various forms assumed by this name in Greek MSS. are Ιεμαα, Ιεμιλα, Ιεμλα. See Holmes and Parsons, LXX on 2 Chron. xviii. 8.

had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. (And he was) with Zedekiah the prophet: they were with Ahaziah the son of *Ahab, king in Samaria*. 14. And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr because he had slain the prophets of God. 15. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and their teacher Jâlerjâs of Mount †Joel †, had heard—16. Now he was a brother of Zedekiah—

13. (*And he was*). Supplied from G².

Ahab, king in Samaria. See Critical Note *in loc.*

14. *Of Têbôn of Gilead*. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1 (LXX) ὁ Θεσβεΐτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ. Here we observe that our text takes יְבִישׁבֵּי in 1 Kings xvii. 1 as signifying ἐκ Θεσβῶν or 'from Thisbe,' a town of Naphtali. So also Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13. 2 προφήτης . . . ἐκ πόλεως Θεσεβώνης τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας. This Thisbe (Θισβή) is mentioned in Tobit i. 2. Further, it omits ὁ Θεσβεΐτης, as does MS. A of the LXX. The above Hebrew word, according to the Massoretic punctuation, = 'of the sojourners of.'

Prophesied regarding Ahaziah. See 2 Kings i. 1-6.

Leba Nâsr. Corrupt for Salmanassar. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxii. 6 and 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Dillmann).

15. †Joel †. See note 16, p. 87.

16. *Now he was a brother*. For 'he' E has Ἰβχिरָא (a), G² Βεχίρᾱ. I have followed L, which omits this name. But the more natural rendering of E would be: 'Now that Belchirâ was a brother,' &c. In verse 12 Belchirâ is said to be a nephew of Zedekiah. Grenfell and Hunt appear to be right in relating the 'he' to Jâlerjâs.

†*Aguarôn*†. Corrupt for Gomorrha. Gomorrha used contemptuously for Samaria. See iii. 10.

(*Slew*). Supplied from G²L¹.

when they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of † Aguarôn † and (slew) Micaiah.

iii. 1. *And Belchîrâ* recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan. 2. And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr, king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and taken the nine (and a half) tribes captive, and led them away to the *mountains* of the Medes and the rivers of Tâzôn; 3. This (Belchîrâ), whilst still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared Hezekiah. 4. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem. 5. And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to

iii. 1. *And Belchîrâ* recognized. Text corrected from G² L¹.

Confederate with him. According to G² we should have the same verb here as in the preceding sentence: 'was an adherent of.'

2. *Alagar Zagâr*, i. e. Salmanassar.

(*And a half*). The words in brackets are supplied from the Greek and Latin. Israel is so designated also in the Apoc. Bar. lxii. 5, lxxvii. 19, lxxviii. 1; also in the Syriac and Arabic versions of 4 Ezra xiii. 40 and in John of Malalas, p. 158. See my Apoc. Bar., p. 124.

Mountains. E = ὄρια, 'boundaries,' corrupt for ὄρη, as in G¹ L¹, yet see note on p. 89.

Tâzôn, i. e. Gozan. See 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11.

the region of Bethlehem. And *they* persuaded . . . 6. And Balchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying: 'Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste and (against the children of Judah and) Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (bound) with hooks and iron chains': 7. But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. 8. And Isaiah himself hath said: 'I see more than Moses the prophet.' 9. But Moses said: 'No man can see God and live'; and Isaiah hath said: 'I have seen God and behold I live.' 10. Know,

5. *They* persuaded . . . E reads, 'he persuaded,' but G² gives plural. As Grenfell and Hunt propose, we should most probably supply Belchîrâ as object of the verb and the false prophets as its subject.

6. *Those who.* The Greek and Latin give 'the prophets who.' (*Against the children of Judah and*). Supplied from L¹.

(*Bound*) with hooks and iron chains = ἐν γαλεάγραις καὶ ἐν πέδαϊς. The words are clearly based on 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 'The captains . . . took Manasseh in chains (or with hooks) and bound him with fetters.' Since the LXX renders κατέλαβον Μανασσὴ ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸν ἐν πέδαϊς, our text is independent of it. Γαλεάγρα is a LXX rendering of מִקְלָה in Ezek. xix. 9.

7. G² makes an addition here against E and L¹.

8-9. These verses are referred to by Origen, *In Iesaiam Homil.* i. 5 (Lommatzsch, xiii. 245, 246) 'Aiunt ideo Isaiam esse sectum a populo quasi legem praevaricantem et extra scripturas annuntiantem. Scriptura enim dicit: "nemo videbit faciem meam et vivet." Iste vero ait: "Vidi Dominum Sabaoth." Moses, aiunt, non vidit et tu vidisti? Et propter hoc eum secuerunt et condemnauerunt eum ut impium.'

9. *No man can see God, &c.* Exod. xxxiii. 20.

I have seen God, &c. Isa. vi. 1.

therefore, O king, that *he is lying*. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the prophets before Manasseh. 11. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king. 12. And the words of Belchira pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah. 13. For Beliar was in great wrath against Isaiah by reason of the vision, and because of the exposure wherewith he had exposed Sammael, and because through him the going forth of the Beloved from the seventh heaven had been made known, and His transformation and His descent and the likeness

Testament
of Heze-
kiah = iii.
13^b—iv.
18.

10. *He is lying*. Emended with L¹G². See Crit. note. Text = 'they are lying prophets.' But verses 8—10^{ab} refer to Isaiah only.

Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, &c. Based on Isa. i. 10: 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.' Cf. Jerome's *Comm. in Ies.* i. 10 'Aiunt Hebraei ob duas causas interfectum Isaiam: quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhæ eos appellaverit, et quod, domino dicente ad Moysen Non poteris videre faciem meam, iste ausus sit dicere Vidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum.' The same tradition is found in the Talmud, *Jebam.* fol. 49^b.

11. *Beliar*. See note on i. 9.

12. I have connected 'and the words . . . exceedingly' with verse 12 and not with 11 as in preceding editions. 'Exceedingly' is an addition of E.

13. *The exposure*. G² has here the word *δευγματισμός* which is only found once elsewhere. Cf. Matt. i. 19 for the verb.

The going forth of the Beloved, &c. These words describe the contents of vi.—xi.

into which He should be transformed (that is) the likeness of man, and the persecution wherewith He should be persecuted, and the tortures wherewith the children of Israel should torture Him, and the coming of His twelve disciples, and the teaching, and that He should before the Sabbath be crucified upon the tree, and should be crucified together with wicked men, and that He should be buried in the sepulchre, 14. And the twelve who were with Him should be offended because of Him: and *the watch of* those who watched the sepulchre: 15. And the descent of the angel of the Christian Church, which is in the heavens, whom He will summon in the last days. 16. And that (Gabriel)

The coming of His twelve disciples, and the teaching. The terser form of G² may be right: ἡ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητεία. Here the words appear to mean the instruction given to the Twelve, but in verse 21 the instruction given by the Twelve.

Before the Sabbath be crucified upon the tree, and should. These words are not found in G², but are supported by our text in xi. 20.

14. *Offended because of Him.* Matt. xxvi. 31.

**The watch of* those who were watching.* So emended with G² by a slight change of vocalization from corrupt text of (a) 'those watchers also were watching'; bc attempt to emend: 'the watchers also watching.' Cf. Matt. xxviii. 4.

15. *Angel of the Christian Church.* Cf. Rev. ii. 1, 8, 12, &c. G² has simply 'Church,' but the Ethiopic phrase means nothing more.

Whom He will summon. The text may also be rendered 'who will summon.'

16. *And that (Gabriel) the angel of the Holy Spirit.* I have with the Greek connected these words with those that follow rather than with those that precede, as earlier editions, and accordingly have placed them in verse 16. This angel is, as Grenfell and Hunt assume, Gabriel. This name fills the lacuna in the G² (see also next note). He and Michael, according to the

the angel of the Holy Spirit, and Michael, the chief of the holy angels, on the third day will open the sepulchre: 17. And the Beloved sitting on their shoulders will come forth and send out His twelve

Greek, open the Sepulchre. This agrees with the Gospel of Pet. 9, which tells that two angels descended and stood on the tomb. In Matt. xxviii. 2 only one angel is mentioned as descending, but in Luke xxiv. 4, John xx. 12 two angels appeared after the Resurrection. In E the verb 'will open' is in the singular, but the Greek is decisive, and its evidence is supported by verse 17.

Angel of the Holy Spirit. Cf. iv. 21, vii. 23 (viii. 14), ix. 36, 39, 40, x. 4, xi. 4, 33; Herm. Mand. xi. 9 ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. Here and in xi. 4 this angel appears to be Gabriel, but elsewhere in the book to be the Holy Spirit.

Michael, the chief of the holy angels. The mention of Michael in this connexion points to the writer being a Jewish Christian. Michael is not again referred to in this book save in the Latin version ix. 23, 42.

17. *The Beloved.* The Ethiopic has 'that Beloved.' Here as frequently the Ethiopic has rendered the definite article by the demonstrative.

Sitting on their shoulders, i. e. of the Angel of the Holy Spirit and of Michael. Cf. Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12; Gospel of Pet. 10 τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπορθοῦντας.

Will come forth and send out His twelve disciples. These words are loosely quoted in the Rest of the Words of Baruch ix. 18 Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ἐπιλέξεται ἑαυτῷ δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωνται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. In the work cited these words are put into the mouth of Jeremiah. When the people heard them they were enraged, and said ix. 20 ταῦτα πάλιν ἐστὶ τὰ ῥήματα τὰ ὑπὸ Ἡσαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀμὼς εἰρημένα, λέγοντος ὅτι, Εἶδον τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. See Rendel Harris' edition, pp. 20-21, 64.

His twelve disciples. 'The Twelve' are mentioned elsewhere in 13, 14, 21, iv. 3, and xi. 22. The expression is a stereotyped one. This usage of course springs from the Gospels. It does not include St. Paul. Cf. Acts vi. 2; Rev. xxi. 14. In this sense it is used by St. Paul himself, 1 Cor. xv. 5. In the above passage it cannot

disciples: 18. And they will teach all the nations and every tongue of the resurrection of the Beloved, and those who believe in His cross will be saved, and in His ascension into the seventh heaven whence He came: 19. And that many who believe in Him will speak through the Holy Spirit: 20. And many signs and wonders will be wrought in those days. 21. And afterwards, on the eve of His approach, His disciples will forsake the teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and their faith, and their love

include St. Paul; for the reference is to the commission given to the Apostles before the Ascension. The very next words iii. 18a are based on command given in Matt. xxviii. 19. Even as late as the third century, in the list of the Twelve given by the 'Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles,' the name of St. Paul is not included. On the other hand he figures as one of the Twelve in the Greek of the Apology of Aristides (ch. xv).

18. Cf. Matt. xxviii. 19, where the Ethiopic rendering of *μαθητεύω* is the same as here, though the meaning of *μαθητεύω* is here different.

Believe in His cross. Cf. ix. 26.

Ascension. The Ethiopic word means rather 'resurrection.'

21. On the thought of the verse cf. Acts xx. 29, 30; 1 Tim. i. 6, iv. 1, 12; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Pet. ii. 1.

Afterwards. Not in Greek.

Teaching. Gk. *προφητεία*. See verse 13, where the same thought is expressed by *μαθητεία*. It is noteworthy that the word here is not *διδασχῆ*. Yet if this portion of the Ascension of Isaiah were late, there could hardly fail to be here the stereotyped expression *διδασχῆ τῶν δώδεκα*.

Their faith. G² reads 'the faith.' In this case *πίστις* should be taken objectively as equivalent to 'the Christian faith,' as in the Pastoral Epistles, 1 Tim. i. 19 (see Bernard *in loc.*), iv. 1, 6, v. 8, &c.; Jude iii. 20.

Their love and their purity. These words relate to the inward disposition, and connote respectively a man's duty to his

and their purity. 22. And there will be much contention on the eve of [His advent and] His approach. 23. And in those days many will love office, though devoid of wisdom. 24. And there will be many lawless elders, and shepherds dealing wrongly by their own sheep, and they will ravage (them) owing to their not* having* holy shepherds. 25. And many will change the honour of the garments of the saints for the garments of the covetous, and there will be much respect of persons in those days and

neighbour and to himself. The latter is more than chastity, and signifies purity of life and motive (see Bernard, 1 Tim. iv. 12).

It is noteworthy that the above three substantives are found together though not in the same order in 1 Tim. iv. 12, where Timothy is bidden to be a pattern for believers ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πίστει, ἐν ἀγνείᾳ.

22. *Much contention.* The Ethiopic translator is far afield here as he not unfrequently is when he meets the word αἵρεσις. Instead of 'much contention' read 'many heresies.' Compare 2 Pet. ii. 1 'Among you also there shall be false teachers who shall privily bring in destructive heresies.'

[His advent and]. These words I have bracketed as a duplicate rendering of ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν αὐτόν.

24. *They will ravage (them) owing to their not having holy shepherds.* Instead of 'holy' the Greek gives 'pure.' The above rendering is based on an emendation of α, which as it stands = 'they will ravage owing to their not . . . the holy shepherds.' The dots indicate a *vox nulla*, which however by a change of one letter = διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν as we actually have in G². The words 'holy shepherds,' which in α is in the nominative, should be in the accusative as G² has it. G² = 'who will be ravaged through not having pure shepherds.'

25. *Garments of the saints.* A special form of dress is here designated. Harnack (*Chronol. d. Altchristlichen Litteratur*, 575) conjectures that the dress here referred to is that of the ascetics.

Covetous. Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 1, α ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις . . . ἔσονται . . . φιλάργυροι.

lovers of the honour of this world. 26. And there will be much slander and vainglory at the approach of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit will withdraw from many. 27. And there will not be in those days many prophets, nor those who speak trustworthy words, save one here and there in divers places, 28. On account of the spirit of error and fornication and of vainglory, and of covetousness, which shall be in those, who will be called servants of that One and in those who will receive that One. 29. And there will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other. 30. For there will be great jealousy in the last days; for

26. *Much slander.* There is here a dittography in E which = 'slanderers [and slanderers] much,' i. e. two different plural forms in E of the same singular, or rather the first word means 'slander.' See Crit. Note.

27. *Prophets.* There is no mention of the apostles. Their age therefore seems past, and that of the prophets to have taken their place as in Rev. where the apostles are only mentioned once as living contemporaries xviii. 20 (ii. 2 ?) but the prophets throughout : cf. x. 7, xi. 18, xvi. 6, xviii. 24, &c.

Trustworthy words. Since G² here is merely *ισχυρά* and E is a literal rendering of that word, we are forced by the context to give it an unnatural meaning. It is hardly possible to believe that *λαλοῦντες ισχυρά* is aught else than a bad rendering of a Semitic original. The rest of the verse points also in this direction. I find that *ισχυρός* is used once as a rendering of *יָצִיב* by Aquila and Theodotion in Deut. vii. 9.

Save one here and there in divers places. G² shows that the idiom is thoroughly Semitic : *ἡ εἷς καὶ εἷς(s) καὶ εἷς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις.*

28. *The spirit of error.* This phrase is found in 1 John iv. 6. Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1.

Covetousness. See verse 25.

Receive that One, i. e. the Beloved. Cf. iv. 9.

every one will say what is pleasing in his own eyes.
 31. And they will make of none effect the prophecy of the prophets which were before me, and *these* my visions also will they make of none effect, in order to speak after the impulse of their own heart.

IV. 1. And now Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son, *these* are the days of the *completion of the world*. 2. After it is consummated, Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea, he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man,

30. *Every one will say, &c.* Cf. *Hermas, Sim. ix. 22.*

31. *These*. MSS. give $\lambda\alpha$ = 'which' corrupt for $\lambda\alpha$ = ~ 'these.'

iv. 1. See Critical Note, p. 95.

Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son. Editorial addition.

2. *Beliar, the great ruler.* See note on ii. 4. The Ethiopic may be rendered 'angel' or 'archon' or 'ruler.' From iv. 4, however, where the same Ethiopic word is a rendering of $\delta\rho\chi\omega\nu$, it is obviously a rendering of the same word here.

King of this world. In ii. 4 he is called 'the ruler of this world': in x. 29 'the prince of this world.' The two latter = $\delta \delta\rho\chi\omega\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\omicron\varsigma\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$. See note on ii. 4.

From his firmament. This firmament is subsequently referred to in vi. 13, vii. 9-12, x. 29, as the dwelling-place of Sammael (and probably of Beliar). Unlike St. Paul, who in some way conceived evil powers to have their abode in heaven—Eph. vi. 12 $\tau\omicron \nu \pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\alpha \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ —the writer of this book admits them to no higher place than the firmament which lies immediately below the first heaven. See my edition of the Slavonic Enoch, xxix. 5 note.

Lawless king. In ii. 4 'the angel of lawlessness.' In 2 Thess. ii. 3 the Antichrist is 'the man of lawlessness.' Lawlessness is the characteristic of Antichrist: see Introduction, pp. liv, lxii.

Slayer of his mother. For other references to the matricide see *Sibyll. Or.* iv. 121, v. 145, 363, viii. 71, &c.

2-3. *Who himself (even) this king* 3. *Will persecute the plant, &c.*

a lawless king, the slayer of his mother: who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved

We must here follow the Greek (see p. 95). MS. b of E, it is true, comes very near to this: 'who himself (is) the king of this world and he will persecute the plant.' See Critical Note *in loc.*

It is quite clear that these words and the rest of verse 3 belong to the historical Nero. The rest of the passage has to do with the Antichrist only.

3. *Will persecute.* It is of importance to observe that, just as in Revelation (xvii. 6; xix. 2), the persecution under Nero is the only persecution known to this writer. Hence he was not acquainted with that of Domitian, Tacitus, *Agric.* 44: this persecution extended to Palestine: Hegesippus in Eusebius, *Hist.* iii. 19-20.

The plant which . . . have planted. From the Greek τὴν φυτείαν ἣν φυτεύουσιν we seem bound to conclude that the writer was acquainted with Matt. xv. 13 πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου, where φυτεία is used apparently for the first time in existing literature as the equivalent of the classical Greek φυτόν or φύτευμα. It naturally means 'a planting.' The idea goes back to the Old Testament. Judah was 'the plant' of God's delight, Isa. v. 7. This thought is adopted by the Enochic writers and developed in various directions. Thus Israel is 'the plant of righteousness' (Eth. En. xciii. 5), 'the plant of uprightness' (Eth. En. xciii. 2), &c. See my edition of Enoch, x. 16 note. The writer in the text has taken over this idea from Judaism and applied it naturally to the Christian Church. It is only, therefore, in point of diction and not of thought that our text is dependent on Matt. xv. 13; for there the phrase is applied to doctrines and not as here to the Church.

The Twelve Apostles. St. Paul is not included in the Twelve by this writer, though the doctrine of the resurrection taught in iv. 16-17 is certainly derived from 2 Cor. v. See note on iii. 17.

Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands. The Greek is peculiar, τῶν δώδεκα . . . ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται. The missing word of three letters I have supplied by εἰς in the Greek text, p. 95. Thus we have τῶν δώδεκα εἰς. From E, however, we should expect ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα (cf. Acts xxi. 8 ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ

have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands. 4. This ruler in the form of that king will come and there will come with him all the powers of this world, and they will hearken unto him in all that he desires. 5. And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will

and Rev. xxii. 11 ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ = 'one of the seven'). This idiom is found in Ethiopic, though not so frequently as in Hebrew.

Of the Twelve one will be delivered up. It is probable that it is St. Peter whose martyrdom is referred to here. The reference can only be to St. Peter or St. Paul; for the martyrdom took place under Nero. That it is St. Peter rather than St. Paul appears to follow from the inference drawn on iii. 17 that our writer does not include St. Paul in the number of the Twelve. I am not aware of any writer who does so till half a century later.

4. *This ruler.* MSS. *ab* add 'Berial' against *c* and Greek.

With him all the powers of this world. In Rev. xx. 7-9 Satan assembles the nations from the four corners of the earth to attack the camp of the saints and the holy city. A closer parallel is to be found in Rev. xvi. 14, where the kings of the whole world are gathered together 'unto the war of the great day of God.' This expectation that all the kings and nations of the earth should combine against Israel goes back as far as Ezekiel xxxviii. 2-xxxix. 16. See also Zech. xiv. 2 sq.; *Eth. En.* lvi. xc. 13, 16; *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 319-322, 663-674. By early Christian writers this expectation was transformed so that the assault of the world powers was conceived as directed against the young Christian Church.

5. *The sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour.* Similar portents are attributed to the Beliar Antichrist in *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 64-66, which may be a contemporary work of a Hellenistic Jew. It is quoted on p. lxviii of the Introduction. The same idea as one of the signs of the end of the world is reproduced by the author of 4 Ezra v. 4 'Si autem tibi dederit altissimus vivere, et videbis post tertiam turbatam,

Et relucescet subito sol noctu

Et luna interdie.'

The Antichrist will make fire come down from heaven (Rev.

make the moon to appear at the sixth hour. 6. And all that he hath desired he will do in the world: he will do and speak like the Beloved and he will say: 'I am God and before me there has been none.' 7. And all the people in the world will believe in him. 8. And they will sacrifice to him and they will serve him saying: 'This is God and beside him there is no other.' 9. And the greater

xiii. 13), and perform signs and lying wonders (Rev. xiii. 14, xix. 20; 2 Thess. ii. 9). For later Christian references to such magical wonders of the Antichrist see Bousset's *Antichrist Legend*, 175 sqq.

6. *He will do and speak like the Beloved.* So *ac.* *b* reads 'He will make himself like to the Beloved.' The Antichrist is the caricature of Christ. Like Him he is to have his advent and his manifestation and to be a worker of miracles: and as Christ is at the head of the kingdom of God, so he is supreme over the kingdom of evil.

I am God and before me there has been none. See iv. 8, x. 13. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4 where the Antichrist 'exalteth himself above all that is called God . . . setting himself forth as God.' In *Sibyll. Or.* v. 33, 34 (=xii. 85, 86) it is said of Nero redivivus: *εἶτ' ἀνακάμψει | ἰσάζων θεῷ αὐτόν.* This no doubt is the blasphemy on the part of the Neronian Antichrist mentioned in Rev. xiii. 5, 6: 'And there was given to him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and he opened his mouth for blasphemy against God.' The impious claims of Caligula were never forgotten by the Jews. Philo writes (*Leg. ad Caium*, ii. 569) *ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν οὐ λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός.* The claims of the Caesars are most probably answerable for this particular feature in the Antichrist Legend. Domitian went to still greater lengths in this direction, Suetonius, *Domit.* 13 'Domitianus et Deus noster hoc fieri iubet. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter.'

7, 8. Cf. Rev. xiii. 4, 8, 12.

9. This deceiving of the faithful is attributed to false Christs in Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22. Only those who were faithless in their lives according to 2 Thess. ii. 10-12 should succumb to the deceits of the Antichrist.

number of those who shall have been associated together in order to receive the Beloved, he will turn aside after him. 10. And there will be the power of his miracles in every city and region. 11. And he will set up his image before him in every city. 12. And he shall bear sway three

Associated . . . to receive the Beloved. Thus the Christians had organizations designed to keep them ready for the Parusia. Cf. iii. 28; iv. 13.

10. See verse 5. The lying wonders spoken of here contain an allusion probably to the trickery of the priesthood devoted to the worship of the emperors throughout the cities of the East.

11. *Set up his image before him in every city.* In Rev. xiii. 14 the false prophet commanded those 'that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, who hath the stroke of the sword and lived,' i.e. Nero redivivus. In both these passages the image is set up with a view to the divine worship of the Antichrist. The historical ground for such an expectation is furnished by the command of Caligula that his statue should be placed in the temple and sacrifices offered to it. See Philo, *De Leg. ad Caium*, §§ 44 sqq.; Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 8. 2. Images of the Roman emperors were erected in various cities of the East, and to these divine honours were paid. Caligula ordered Petronius, the Governor of Syria, to compel the Jews to join in the worship paid to him by the other provinces of the empire. The attempt to enforce such worship in the synagogues of Alexandria, though carried out at the cost of much bloodshed, failed finally, and the altar raised at Jamnia to the emperor was actually razed to the ground. This defiance of the imperial authority led to the above-mentioned orders of Caligula for the erection of his statue in Jerusalem.

12. *Three years and seven months and twenty-seven days.* Computed according to the Julian reckoning this period amounts, as Lücke (*Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, ii. 285) has pointed out, to 1335 days, the actual number found in Dan. xii. 12 and adopted therefrom by our writer. This period points back to the 'time and times and half a time' in Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7; Rev. xii. 14, in other words three and a half years. The same period is

years and seven months and twenty-seven days.
13. And many believers and saints having seen

otherwise described as forty-two months in Rev. xi. 2, xiii. 5, or as twelve hundred and sixty days in Rev. xi. 3, xii. 6, in which case the month is reckoned at thirty days, or as 1290 days in Dan. xii. 11 and the *Διαθήκη Ἐξεκίου* (see Clemen in the *Z. f. W. T.*, 1896, pp. 404 sq.).

The above three and a half years has a special significance in apocalyptic literature as the period of the reign of Antichrist, or the period of the last and worst woes; cf. Rev. xiii. 5, xii. 6, 14. It is referred to as 'the times of the Gentiles' in Luke xxi. 24, which belongs to the interpolated Jewish Apocalypse. This apocalyptic period has affected also Luke iv. 25 and James v. 17. For though the famine in Elijah's time lasted, according to 1 Kings xviii. 1, three years, it is said in Luke iv. 25 and James v. 17 to have lasted three and a half years. The same period is mentioned in 4 Ezra v. 4 'Thou wilt see it (the Roman Empire) troubled after the third (time).' The Latin is 'post tertiam' which = *μετὰ τὴν τρίτην*. With this we should understand *ῥραν* rather than *ἡμέραν* as Blass.

This verse is reproduced in Cedrenus (ed. Bonn. i. 120-121): *ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ Ἐξεκίου βασιλείῳ Ἰουδα λέγει Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης κρατῆσαι τὸν ἀντίχριστον ἔτη γ' καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ, γινόμενα ἡμέρας αςγ'. καὶ μετὰ τὸ τὸν ἀντίχριστον βληθῆναι ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ, ἐλθεῖν τὸν δεσπότην τῶν ὅλων Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν καλῶν τε καὶ κακῶν*. Two difficulties present themselves here. The first concerns the name which Cedrenus assigns to our book, the *Testament of Hezekiah*, though attributing the Vision to Isaiah. The name we take to be rightly transmitted, see pp. xiii-xiv. 2 note. The attribution of the words recorded to Isaiah may refer to Isaiah's interpretation of Hezekiah's Vision or may be a mere error of Cedrenus. The statements made in i. 2, 4 undoubtedly convey the idea that the book relates to the visions of Hezekiah. See note on i. 2.

The second difficulty has to do with the number 1290. This number is not found elsewhere with a like meaning except in Dan. xii. 11. I cannot discover any satisfactory solution of this difficulty, nor yet which of the two authorities has preserved the number correctly.

13. Dillmann renders differently: 'Et multi (quidam erunt)

Him for whom they were hoping, who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ, [after that I, Isaiah, had seen Him who was crucified and ascended]

fideles et sancti quum viderunt eum quem ipsi sperabant . . . et credentes quoque in eum—ex iis pauci, &c.’ This translation appears to be doubly erroneous. It is against the sense of the context and against the grammar. It is against the context ; for this recounts the triumphs of the Antichrist at the close of the Christian era and not the conversion of men to Christianity who had personally seen Christ. Hence the words which Dillmann adds ‘quidem erunt’ are to be rejected. But even if he were right, the text would be senselessly tautological. The thought of ‘credentes in eum’ is already given by ‘fideles.’ It is against the grammar ; for the literal rendering of the Ethiopic should be not ‘et credentes quoque in eum’ but ‘et ii quoque qui credebant in eum.’ The equivalent of ‘quoque’ in the Ethiopic is a particle, and is suffixed to the relative and not to the verb. In other words we have here a second class, distinct from that just mentioned. The first is composed of believers who had seen Christ, the second of believers who had not. To this question we shall return presently.

The words ‘And many believers and saints . . . believers in Him’ represent a *nominativus pendens* in E, which reflects in all likelihood a similar phenomenon in G ; for in the *Greek Legend*, which was built on the Greek of the Ascension, this anomaly is found in the following passages : ii. 1 ; iii. 11, 19. Hence we may restore the Greek as follows : καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν πιστοὶ καὶ ὅσιοι ἰδόντες εἰς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἤλπιζον τὸν σταυρωθέντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν Κύριον Χριστὸν [μετὰ τὸ ἐμὲ Ἡσαΐαν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀναβάντα], οἱ δὲ καὶ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν—ὀλίγοι ἐξ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.

We see that two classes of the faithful are discriminated in this verse ; believers who had seen Christ personally and believers who had not. That this distinction was a familiar one in the first century of our era is clear from the New Testament.

Thus in St. John xx. 29, ‘Because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed’ ; and 1 Pet. i. 8, ‘whom not having seen ye love.’ A kindred thought appears in St. Luke x. 23, ‘Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see ; for I say

and those also who were believers in Him—of these few in those days will be left as His servants,

unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see and saw them not.'

Of the above two classes our text declares that few will be left. We have therefore, here, a guide to the date of this section of the book. Though somewhat vague, it is sufficiently definite to enable us to conclude that the author cannot have written later than 100 A.D. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 32. 8) holds that with the martyrdom of Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, the last of those who had seen and heard Christ had passed away. (παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακούσαι κατηξιωμένων.) Simeon's death, which took place under Trajan (*H. E.* iii. 32. 3 ἐπὶ Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος), has been assigned to various years between 102 and 110 A.D. Hence only a few, as our text has it, of those who had been personal followers of Christ could have been living between 90 and 100 A.D. Another passage in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39. 4, 7) should be adduced here as bearing on the present question. In this passage Papias, who is quoted by Eusebius, claims to have met two men, Arision and John the Elder, who had been personal followers of our Lord. Papias was bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century. His book (*Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*) may be set down to the third or fourth decade in that century; that his meeting with John and Arision was in the first we may reasonably infer if we combine this passage of Papias with that quoted above.

Thus we conclude that our text points to 100 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem*. We have elsewhere seen that the form of the Antichrist myth attested in the text could hardly have arisen earlier than 88 A.D. Hence the composition of the above section goes back to 88–100 A.D.

We must deal now with individual points of interpretation in this verse.

For whom they were hoping. See second note on iii. 9. For this idea compare Luke ii. 25, where Simeon is described as 'waiting for the consolation of Israel'; also 1 Tim. i. 1, 'Christ Jesus our hope'; Col. i. 27; Ignatius, *Magn.* 11. In St. John v. 45 we have an exact parallel in diction, Μωσῆς, εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλπίζατε.

[After that I, Isaiah . . . who was crucified and ascended]. This

while they flee from desert to desert, awaiting the coming of the Beloved. 14. And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two days the Lord

awkward clause is an editorial addition made to adapt the Testament of Hezekiah to its present context.

Few will be left. Cf. St. Luke xviii. 8, 'when the Son of man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?'

Flee from desert to desert. This flight of believers before the Antichrist is a familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypses. Thus this flight is enjoined in the Jewish Apocalypse interpolated in Mark xiii. 14-16, 'when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (i.e. the Antichrist) . . . let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains,' &c. In Rev. xii. 14 it is said that the stay of believers in the wilderness, whither they had fled (xii. 6) would be for 'a time and times and half a time,' that is for three and a half years, the period during which Antichrist should be supreme, as we have already seen. For references in later Christian writers to this subject see Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, pp. 212-217.

For instances of such flights to the desert owing to persecutions in the past see 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13, xix. 4, 8, 9, 13; 1 Macc. ii. 28, 29; 2 Macc. v. 27, vi. 11, x. 6; Pss. Sol. xvii. 19; Heb. xi. 37, 38.

Awaiting the coming of the Beloved = ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ. Cp. 1 Cor. i. 7; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. ix. 28; also 1 Thess. i. 10.

There is thus in this verse no occasion for resorting to heroic measures with Bousset (*Antichrist Legend*, p. 138), who proposes to excise 'who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ . . . His servants while they,' to insert a negative before 'were hoping.' The text would in this case contain a reference to the Antichrist: 'And many believers and saints having seen him for whom they were (not) hoping will flee from desert,' &c. Such a cryptic reference to the Antichrist as the personage 'for whom they were not hoping,' after such a lengthy and explicit account as precedes would indeed be an anti-climax. The whole context is against Bousset's proposal.

14. It will be observed that the text reads merely 'three hundred and thirty-two days.' I have with Lücke, Gfrörer,

will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven, and He will drag Beliar into Gehenna and also his armies. 15. And He will give rest to the godly whom He shall find

and Dillmann inserted 'one thousand.' Dillmann is probably right in regarding 'two' as an Ethiopic corruption of 'five.' The text would then agree with iv. 12.

The Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven. Cf. 2 Thess. i. 7, 'At the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of His power.' See also Eth. En. i. 4, 9; Jude 14; 1 Thess. iii. 13.

Drag Beliar into Gehenna. In Rev. xix. 20 the two forms of the Antichrist are cast into the lake of fire = Gehenna. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xl. 2, where the Antichrist is slain by the hands of the Messiah; 2 Thess. ii. 8, where he is slain by the word of Christ. Destruction (ἀπώλεια) is the destination of the Neronian Antichrist, Rev. xvii. 8, 11.

15-17. The first resurrection.

15. *Give rest to the godly.* So also in 2 Thess. i. 6, 7, 'If so be that it is a righteous thing with God to recompense those that afflict you with affliction and you that are afflicted with rest at the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ from heaven' (ἀνταποδοῦναι . . . ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἀνεσιν). This rest, which is connected with the parusia, is synonymous with 'the times of refreshing' which are to 'come from the presence of the Lord,' Acts iii. 19 (ὅπως ἂν ἔλθῃ καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου). Cf. also Heb. iv. 1.

Whom He shall find in the body. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 17, 'Then we that are alive that are left shall be caught up together with them in the clouds.' In earlier literature a special blessing is pronounced on those who survive the coming of the kingdom. Dan. xii. 12; *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 371 ὁ μακαριστός, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐς χρόνον ἔσσεται ἀνὴρ (so most though not the best MSS.); Pss. Sol. xvii. 50 μακάριοι οἱ γινόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις. But according to certain writers those who were to participate in this blessing must be found in Palestine on the advent of the kingdom. See my note on xxix. 2 of the Apocalypse of Baruch. The idea goes back to Joel ii. 32.

in the body in this world, [and the sun will be ashamed]: 16. And to all who because of (their) faith in Him have execrated Beliar and his kings. But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed, they will descend

[*And the sun will be ashamed*]. Though these words are not found in the chief MSS. of the LXX which presuppose a different text to the Massoretic, they are in one uncial and seventeen cursives, which add them after the ordinary text of the LXX according to Parsons and Holmes' edition. Since the Ethiopic version of Isaiah xxiv. 23 agrees exactly with the LXX, the interpolation is not due to an Ethiopic scribe, but was made in the Greek text.

16. *Beliar and his kings*. Have we here a reminiscence of the intermediate stage of the Neronic myth which is partially preserved in Rev. xvii? See Rev. xvii. 12-13: also Introduction, pp. lx-lxi.

The saints will come with the Lord. Cf. 1 Thess. iii. 13, 'At the coming of our Lord Jesus with all His saints' · iv. 14, 'Even so them that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.'

With their garments which are stored up on high in the seventh heaven. This idea goes back to 2 Cor. v. 1, 'If the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' In the Slavonic Enoch xxii. 8-10, the garments of the blessed are said to be composed of God's glory. They are 'garments of life,' Eth. En. lxii. 16; cviii. 12. Compare also Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2. In the next place since according to the Ascension of Isaiah the final abode of the blessed is heaven, the spiritual bodies, or garments of the faithful, are said to be already there.

Whose spirits are clothed. Only the righteous shall have spiritual bodies. This is the Pauline doctrine: see my *Eschatology*, pp. 390 sqq. It is to be observed further that as their spirits are already clothed (see also ix. 9, where the departed righteous are represented as already vested in these garments or

and be present in the world, and He will strengthen those, who have been found in the body, together with the saints, in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in this world. 17. And afterwards they will turn themselves upward in their garments, and their body will be left in the world. 18. Then

spiritual bodies), they have in reality already attained to the resurrection. This is also the later Pauline teaching: see above-quoted work, pp. 395, 399 sqq.

Will descend and be present in the world. This view is contrary to all the teaching of the New Testament, save of Rev. xx. 1-6; for it implies a stay, whether long or short, on earth of the saints who have descended from heaven with Christ. There is no reference to this event in vi.-xi. Apparently a feast is to be celebrated; for it is said that Christ will minister to the faithful.

He will strengthen those, who have been found in the body . . . in the garments of the saints. If the text is right, it may be best taken as follows: 'He will strengthen those who have been found in the body together with the saints (who are) in the garments of the saints'; i. e. He will bless together the living saints who are on earth, and the departed and glorified saints who have come down from heaven. But the text may be corrupt. Thus the clause 'those who have been found in the body' is misleading if taken by itself. It is not 'the living' that will be blessed, but 'the living saints.' Hence omit 'together with' before 'the saints,' and read 'the saints who have been found in the body.' But again the verb 'will strengthen' seems wrong. It is ἐνισχύσει, which may be a corruption of ἐνδύσει or ἐπενδύσει. Then we should have: 'He will clothe the saints who have been found in the body with the garments of the saints.'

The Lord will minister to those who have kept watch, &c. From Luke xii. 37. Our text does not agree with the Ethiopic version of Luke. The words 'minister' and 'kept watch' go back to the Lucan διακονήσει and γρηγορούντας.

17. The words 'and their body will be left in the world' show that this verse does not refer to the saints that had accompanied the Lord, but to the saints 'who had been found

the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke the things of heaven and the things of earth and the mountains and the hills and the cities and the desert and the forests and the angel of the sun and that of the moon, and all things wherein Beliar manifested himself and acted openly in this world, and there will be [a resurrection and] a judgement

in the body.' The awkwardness of the clause 'will turn themselves upward' belongs to the text. It could also be translated 'will return above'; but this could not be said of those who had not yet been above. Or again, if instead of $\alpha\theta\alpha$ = 'above' we read $\eta\alpha\theta\alpha$ = 'from above,' as in ix. 9, the first half of the sentence could be rendered: 'And afterwards they will be transformed in their garments from above.' With this we might compare Phil. iii. 21, 'who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of His glory': also 1 Cor. xv. 52, 53, 'We shall all be changed . . . for this corruptible must put on incorruption.'

18. *Angel of the sun.* Cf. Rev. xix. 17, 'An angel standing in the sun.' See Eth. En. lx. 12-21, on the angels or spirits of the thunder, hoar-frost, mist, rain, &c. : lxxv, lxxx, on the angels of the stars. Also Rev. vii. 1, 2, on the angels of the winds; xiv. 18, the angel of fire; *Jubilees*, ii, on the angels fire, hail, hoar-frost, thunder, &c.

That of the moon. So bc. a reads 'the moon.'

Beliar manifested himself. The Antichrist reveals or manifests himself (2 Thess. ii. 3) just as the Christ.

The second resurrection and the judgement of the wicked.

There will be [a resurrection and] a judgement in their midst. This statement, if genuine, is peculiar. It seems to identify the resurrection with the raising of wicked men to judgement. The righteous dead have already been raised; for they accompanied the Lord at His parusia, iv. 14-16: the living righteous have been transformed and removed from this world, iv. 15-17. Accordingly, if the text is authentic, there is taught in iv. 14-17 a resurrection to life in which only the righteous have part, and in iv. 18 a resurrection to condemnation which does not take place till all the risen and glorified

in their midst in those days, and the Beloved will cause fire to go forth from Him, and it will consume all the godless, and they will be as though they had not been created. 19. And the rest of the words of the vision is written in the vision of Babylon. 20. And the rest of the vision regarding the Lord, behold, it is written in the parables according to my words which are written in the book which I publicly prophesied. 21. And the descent of the Beloved into Sheol, behold, it is

iv. 19-v. 1^a
- editorial
addition.

righteous have been raised to heaven. Such a view of the first and second resurrections would be unique. It does not agree with Rev. xx. 4, 11-13, the only passage where these two resurrections are mentioned in the New Testament. For in Revelation the first resurrection is that in which only the martyrs participate, and the second is the general resurrection, in which the rest of the departed righteous and all the wicked dead are raised to judgement. Nor does it harmonize with the interpolated (?) verses in John v. 28-29, where the general resurrection is spoken of as a resurrection of life to the righteous, and a resurrection of judgement to the wicked. Nor, again, does it agree with the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection, though the writer has undoubtedly assimilated some of the chief elements of that doctrine, as we have seen above. I have therefore bracketed the words 'a resurrection and.' The text then would deal only with the judgement of the wicked.

Will cause fire to go forth, &c. Cf. 2 Thess. i. 8, ii. 8; Is. xi. 4; 4 Ezra xii. 33, xiii. 38, 49: see my Apoc. Baruch xxix. 3, note. The Ethiopic is literally 'will cause fire to ascend.' I have taken it to be an awkward rendering of ἀνήσει πῦρ.

As though they had not been created. From Job x. 19 (Dillmann). The text seems to teach annihilation.

19. *The vision of Babylon.* Cf. Isa. xlii. 1 (LXX) ὅρασις ἣν εἶδεν Ἡσαίας υἱὸς Ἀμὸς κατὰ Βαβυλῶνος.

21. *The descent of the Beloved into Sheol . . . is written in the section, where the Lord says: 'Behold, my Son will understand.'*

written in the section, where the Lord says: 'Behold, my Son will understand.' And all these things, behold they are written [in the Psalms] in the parables of David, the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah, and Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and in the rest of the Psalms also which the angel of the Spirit inspired, 22. (Namely) in those which have not the name written,

This quotation is taken from Isa. lii. 13, where the LXX has Ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου. Παῖς has been rendered 'son' by the Ethiopic translator. It is hard to recognize in Isa. lii. 13-liii. any reference to his Descent in Hades. Perhaps it is in the LXX of liii. 8 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον. The last three words imply מִן הַפְּשָׁעִים וְנָעַם, which Cheyne accepts as the original text over against the Mass. לְמוֹ נָעַם. The LXX phrase may have been interpreted in this way by early Christians.

[In the Psalms] in the parables. 'In the Psalms' may be regarded as an explanatory marginal gloss on 'in the parables' (= ἐν ταῖς παραβολαῖς), which was subsequently incorporated in the text; παραβολή goes back of course to לְפָסֶק and must bear in such cases the meaning of the latter. In the present instance 'parable' (= לְפָסֶק) means 'song' or 'poem,' as in Pss. xlix. 4; lxxviii. 2; Job xxvii. 1; xxix. 1.

Dillmann, on the other hand, takes the words 'in the Psalms' as a general title embracing 'the parables of David' and 'the proverbs of Solomon.'

Ethan, the Israelite. Here the text shows dependence on the LXX. See titles of Pss. lxxviii. and lxxxix, where Ethan is called τῷ Ἰσραηλείτῃ; and 1 Kings iv. 27, where he is surnamed τὸν Ἑβραηλίτην (A, Ζαρείτην B).

Inspired literally = caused to speak.

22. In those which have not the name written. I.e. the Psalms to which no author's name is prefixed. For 'in those' (bc), α reads 'and in those.'

and in the words of my father Amos, and of Hosea the prophet, and of Micah and Joel and Nahum and Jonah and Obadiah and Habakkuk and Haggai and Zephaniah and Zechariah and Malachi, and in the words of Joseph the Just and in the words of Daniel.

My father Amos. See note on i. 2.

Amos, and of Hosea, &c. We have here a list of the twelve Minor Prophets. The order in which they are enumerated is neither that of the Hebrew nor of the LXX, but comes nearer to the latter. The list of these prophets in 4 Ezra i. 39, 40 follows the order of the LXX. It is remarkable that there is no mention of Isaiah and Jeremiah in our text. The prophecies of the former, it is true, have been referred to elsewhere (see iii. 31, iv. 19, vi. 1), and as the writer claims to be Isaiah, such an omission may seem natural. The same peculiar phenomena, however (as Nitzsch has remarked), are attested by 4 Ezra i. 39, 40, where not only are Isaiah and Jeremiah omitted but also Daniel.

Words of Joseph the Just. This book is probably with Dillmann to be identified with the pseudepigraph *Προσευχὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ* (see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V. T. i.* pp. 761-769; Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volkes*, iii. 265, 266). It appears on several lists of extra-canonical books and is said to have consisted of 1100 *στίχοι*. Marshall (*Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 778) has drawn attention to its antichristian character. The only existing fragments of this work, for the preservation of which we are indebted almost exclusively to the writings of Origen, clearly betray this animus. See *In Joan.* tom. ii. c. 25 (Lommatsch, i. 147, 148), *Fragm. Comment. in Genes.* tom. iii. c. 9 (Lommatsch, viii. 30, 31) *Philocalia*, c. 23 (Lommatsch, xxv. 223, 224). In all these passages it is not Joseph, however, but Jacob who is the speaker. Jacob claims in these to be 'an angel of God,' 'the first servant in God's presence' (*ὁ ἐν προσώπῳ θεοῦ λειτουργὸς πρῶτος*), whereas the angel who wrestled with Jacob and who was identified by Christians with the Messiah was only eighth in rank. But, most remarkable of all, Jacob declares himself to be the 'first-begotten of every creature animated by God' (*πρωτόγονος πάντος ζώου ζων-*

Martyr-
dom of
Isaiah = v.
1^b-14.

v. 1. On account of these visions, therefore, Beliar was wroth with Isaiah, and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw. 2. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because of Isaiah. 3. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing] deriding; 4. And Balchîrâ said to Isaiah: 'Say: "I have lied in all that I have spoken,

μένου ὑπὸ θεοῦ). This phrase undoubtedly recalls Col. i. 15 *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*.

On the other hand, Nitzsch (*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 228, 229) thinks that the Joseph referred to in the text is Joshua the son of Josedek, mentioned in Sir. xlix. 12, or Joseph the husband of Mary, Matt. i. 19 (*ὁν δίκαιος*).

v. 1. And he sawed him in sunder. With these words the martyrdom of Isaiah is resumed which broke off at ii. 12.

3. Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs. So all MSS. There is no asyndeton as Beer supposes. So Zohak acts with the aid of Ahriman. See Introd. pp. xlvii-xlviii. Dillmann emends into 'Belchîrâ and Mechêmbêchûs,' because the verbs 'stood up' and 'deriding,' are in the plural. We must rather change the verbs into the singular. Balchîrâ is the tool of Beliar, and is identified with him in verse 9. This identification appears also in Ambrose: see on verse 4. For Mechêmbêchûs see ii. 5.

[Laughing] deriding. 'Laughing' is a doublet: there is no copula in *ab*. It is added in the late MS. c.

4-8. Balchîrâ (*b*. Beliar *ac*) tempts Isaiah.

4. Say: 'I have lied in all that I have spoken.' These words and part of verse 8 are quoted (as Laurence, p. 148, discovered) in the Commentary of Ambrose on Ps. cxviii (ed. Bened. vol. i. 1124): 'Fertur prophetae cuidam, et plerique ferunt, quod Esaiæ, in carcere posito, cum mole imminentis urgeretur exitii, dixisse diabolum; Dic quia non a Domino locutus es, quæ dixisti, et omnium in te mentes affectusque mutabo, ut qui indignantur injuriam absolutionem in te conferant.'

and likewise the ways of Manasseh are good and right. 5. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are good.” 6. And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. 7. But Isaiah was (absorbed) in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them (not). 8. And Balchîrâ spake thus to Isaiah: ‘Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee. 9. And Isaiah answered and said: ‘So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and all thy house. 10. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body.’ 11. And they seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a wooden

7. *Saw them (not).* The negative must be supplied as in vi. 10.

8. *Balchîrâ.* So bc. *a* ‘Milchîrâs.’ See notes on ii. 12, v. 3. Balchîrâ, the tool of Beliar, again proceeds to tempt Isaiah. See quotation from Ambrose in note on verse 4.

9. *So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed.* So b. *a* is secondary: ‘So far as I am concerned, accursed—that is to say—’ The curse is directed against the false prophet as a man: hence ‘all thy house,’ and also against him as a plenipotentiary of Satan: hence ‘all thy powers.’ Both these aspects are recognized in the *Greek Legend*: κατὰ θεμά σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε.

11. *With a wooden saw.* *Greek Legend*, iii. 16 ἐν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ πρισθῆναι αὐτόν. Hence the passage in Justin Mart. *cum Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἰσαΐου, ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε, is all but certainly derived from our text. Cf. also Tertullian, *De Patientia*, 14 ‘His patientiae viribus secatur Esaias et de domino non tacet’; also *Scorpiae*, 8; Ps.—Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iii. 177.

saw. 12. And Manasseh and Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. 13. And to the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' 14. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he was sawn in twain. 15. This Beliar did to Isaiah through Balchîrâ and Manasseh; for Sammael was very wrathful against Isaiah from the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, on account of the things which he had seen regarding the Beloved, 16. And on account of the destruction of Sammael, which he had seen through the Lord, while Hezekiah his father was still king. And he did according to the will of Satan.

v. 15, 16 =
editorial
addition.

THE VISION WHICH ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOS SAW.

vi.-xi. 1-40
= Vision
of Isaiah. vi. 1. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, came Isaiah the son of Amoz, and Josab the son of Isaiah to Hezekiah to

For later references see Otto's note on Justin Mart. *cum Tryph.* cxx. 15. On the legend see Introd., pp. xlv-xlix.

12. *Balchîrâ*. So *bc.* *a* reads *Melâchîrâ*. See note on ii. 12.

[*And*]. I have bracketed 'and' as it seems an intrusion.

13. *The cup*. On the meaning of the phrase cf. Matt. xx. 22.

14. *Neither cried aloud nor wept*. See quotation from Tertullian on the endurance of Isaiah in note on v. 11.

vi. *Title*. I have with S connected the words 'in the twentieth year . . . king of Judah' with what follows, rather than with what precedes as E and L².

Jerusalem "from Galgalâ". 2. And (having entered) he sat down on the couch of the king, "and they brought him a seat, but he would not sit (thereon)". 3. "And when Isaiah began to speak the words of faith and truth with King Hezekiah", all the princes of Israel were seated and the eunuchs and the councillors of the king. And there were there "forty" prophets and sons of the prophets: they had come from the villages and from the mountains and the plains when they had heard that Isaiah was coming from Galgalâ to Hezekiah. 4. "And they had come" to salute him "and to hear his words. 5. And that he might place his hands upon them," and that they might prophesy and that he might

1. *From Galgalâ.* These words are supported by *Greek Legend*, i. 3, but omitted by S L².

2. (*Having entered*). I have restored these words since they are found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 1, S and L².

And they brought him a seat, but he would not sit (thereon). Though these words are omitted by S L², they are no doubt genuine, since they have the support of the *Greek Legend*, i. 5, see p. 141. Isaiah chooses the couch of the king and not a stool or seat to recline on. Is it because he is going to have a vision?

3. *And when Isaiah.* So *ab.* c 'And then.'

All the princes. MSS. insert 'and' before these words after a Semitic idiom; but if reading of c above is followed, the 'and' must be read.

Forty prophets. 'Forty' is omitted by S L², but *Greek Legend*, i. 3, supports text.

Villages. I take the Ethiopic to be a rendering of κώμαι in accordance with S L².

Galgalâ. On the various forms of this proper name see *Critical Notes*, 8, 12, 17, p. 101.

4, 5. These verses are very much curtailed in S L².

That they might prophesy and that he might hear their prophecy. This reading of ac is supported by S L²: 'annunciare ei

hear their prophecy: "and they were all before Isaiah." 6. And when Isaiah was speaking "to Hezekiah" the words of truth and faith, they all heard † a door which one had opened and † the voice of the Holy Spirit. 7. And the king summoned all the prophets and all the people who were found there, and they came. And Micaiah and the aged Ananias and Joel "and Josab" sat on his right hand (and 'on the left). 8. And it came to pass when they had all heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, they all worshipped on their knees, and glorified the God "of truth", the Most High "who is in the upper world and who sits on High the Holy One and" who rests among His holy ones. 9. "And they gave glory to Him" † who had thus bestowed a door in an alien

quae ventura erant.' *b*'s text is therefore secondary: 'that he might prophesy, that they might hear his prophecy.'

6. *A door which one had opened.* According to verse 9, this door is in the world. Hence Lücke's idea that it is in heaven—as in Rev. iv. 1—seems to be wrong. *E* seems corrupt. See note on verse 9, *S* runs: 'When he was speaking [all] the words of truth, the Holy Spirit came upon him and all heard and saw the words of the Holy Spirit.' *L*² is practically the same, see pp. 99–100.

7. *And they came.* *b* omits, but *S L*² support *a*.

Aged. *L*² and *S* connect this adjective also with Micaiah.

And Josab. Omitted by *S L*².

(*And on the left*). Added from *S*; cf. *L*².

8. *The Most High . . . who rests among His holy ones.* So LXX of Isa. lvii. 15 ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. The words that immediately precede in the LXX may have been in the mind of the writer: ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα ἅγιος ἐν ἀγίοις ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. See on x. 6.

9. *Who had thus bestowed . . . on a man.* Text corrupt. Read

world, had bestowed (it) on a man †. 10. And as he was speaking in the Holy Spirit in the hearing of all, he became silent "and his mind was taken up from him" and he saw not the men that stood before him, 11. Though his eyes indeed were open. Moreover his lips were silent "and the mind in his body was taken up from him." 12. But his breath was in him; "for he was seeing a vision. 13. And the angel who was sent to make him see was not of this firmament, nor was he of the angels of glory of this world, but he had come from the seventh heaven." 14. And the people who stood near did (not) think, but †the circle of the prophets (did)†, that the holy Isaiah had been taken up.

'who had bestowed such an excellence of words on a man in the world.' See Critical Note.

10. *And his mind was taken up from him.* Omitted by S L². The passage however is genuine. It was before the writer of the *Greek Legend*, i. 14 ἡρθη ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ.

Saw not. See v. 7.

11. *And the mind . . . from him.* This is practically a repetition of the clause in verse 10. Though S L² omit, it is probably genuine; for the three versions contain the repetition: 'he became silent' (verse 10), 'his lips were silent' (verse 11).

12. *His breath was in him.* L² gives: 'inspiratio sancti spiritus erat cum illo.' So S but that it omits sancti. But the *Greek Legend*, ii. 2, supports our text and rendering. It reproduces this clause: ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμφύσημα ζωῆς. Ἐμφύσημα is used by Symmachus in Job xxxvii. 10 to render הַנְּשִׁיף. The text of L² is secondary. It is an explanatory gloss on the other meaning of ἐμφύσημα = 'inspiration.'

13. *Firmament.* Cf. iv. 2, viii. 9-13.

14. *The people . . . did (not) think.* Negative is restored in accordance with S L².

† *The circle . . . (did)†.* Read with S L²: 'the prophets recognized.'

15. And the vision which the holy Isaiah saw was not from this world but from the world which is hidden from the flesh. 16. And after Isaiah had seen this vision, he narrated it to Hezekiah, and to Josab his son and to the other prophets who had come. 17. But the leaders and the eunuchs and the people did not hear, but only Samna the scribe, and †Îjôaqêm, and †Asaph the recorder; for these also were doers of righteousness, and the †sweet smell† of the Spirit was upon them. But the people had not heard; for Micaiah and Josab his son had caused them to go forth, when the wisdom of this world had been taken from him and he became as one dead.

Had been taken up. E gives 'had been taken away.' By changing the vocalization of one letter we get the proper sense which is attested by SL².

15. *The flesh.* E, which I have rendered idiomatically 'the flesh' means more usually 'his flesh.' SL² give 'all flesh.'

16. *And after Isaiah had seen this vision.* More fully in SL². See *in loc.*

Josab his son. From these words to their recurrence in vii. 1, SL² are wanting through homoioteleuton.

17. *Samna.* See note on i. 5.

Îjôaqêm, that is Joaqem or Joachim. Is this Joah (𐤍𐤏𐤍) LXX 'Ιωάχ) the son of Asaph mentioned in Isa. xxxvi. 3? If so, we should emend the text and read: 'Îjôaqêm the son of Asaph.' Dillmann identifies him with Eliakim mentioned in the same passage, but the form of the word is slightly more in favour of the former view.

These also were doers of righteousness. According to bc 'These also had deeds of righteousness.'

The †sweet smell†. E here = εὐδία, which may be a corruption of εὐδοκία. The same corruption is found in the Greek MSS. of Ecclesiasticus xliii. 26. Thus we should have: 'The good pleasure of the Spirit was upon them.' Or is εὐδία corrupt for εὐδομία?

And he became. a omits.

vii. 1. And the vision which Isaiah saw, he told to Hezekiah and Josab his sonⁿ and Micaiah and the rest of the prophets, (and) said: 2. *At this moment*, when I prophesied according to the (words) heard which ye heard, I saw a glorious angel not like unto the glory of the angels which I used always to see, but possessing such glory and †position† that I cannot describe "the glory"ⁿ of that angelⁿ. 3. And having seized me by my hand *he raised me on high*, and I said unto him: 'Who art thou, and what is thy name, and whither art thou raising me on high? for strength was given me to speak with him.' 4. And he said unto me: 'When I have raised thee on high [through the (various) degrees] and made thee see the vision, on account of which I have been sent, then thou wilt understand who I am: but my name thou dost not know: 5. Because thou wilt return into this thy body, but whither I am raising thee on high, thou wilt see; "for for this purpose have I been sent."ⁿ 6. And I rejoiced because he spake courteously to me. 7. And he said unto me: 'Hast thou rejoiced

vii. 2. *At this moment*. Emended. See Critical Note. Text = 'and this was.'

2. †Position†. E, which = function, administration or order (*τάξις*), seems corrupt. How is this to be reconciled with the reading of the L² and S: which is 'lumen'? L¹ has 'sanctam (claritatem).' See, however, *Greek Legend*, ii. 6.

3. *He raised me on high*. Emended. See Critical Note.

5. *Whither*. See verse 3. L and S have 'quando.'

For for this purpose have I been sent. Observe that L¹ has these words, though S L² omit them.

7. This verse appears at much greater length in the S L², but our text agrees with L¹.

because I have spoken courteously to thee?' And he said: 'And thou wilt see how a greater also than I am will speak courteously and peaceably with thee.' 8. And †His Father also who is greater† thou wilt see; for for this purpose have I been sent from the seventh heaven in order to explain all these things unto thee.' 9. And we ascended to the firmament, I and he, and there I saw Sammael and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein and the *angels* of Satan were envying one another. 10. And as above so on the earth also; for the likeness of that which is in the firmament is here on the earth. 11. And I said unto the angel (who was with me): '(What is this war and) what is this envying?' 12. And he said unto me: 'So has it been since this world was made until now, and this war (will continue) till He, whom thou shalt see will come

Will speak. S L² = 'wish to speak.' Cf. note on verse 5.

8. †His Father also who is greater†. Corrupt. L¹=*eminentiorem ipsius majoris*. So practically S save that it has a doublet. Hence read: 'One more eminent than the greater Himself.'

9. *The firmament, &c.* See x. 29-31, where the domain of the evil angels embraces two provinces, the firmament and the air.

Sammael and his hosts. So also L¹. S L² agree in presenting a slightly different text, and apparently less original. These two versions together with *Greek Legend*, ii. 9, give Satan instead of Sammael. For the presence of evil beings in the heavens or on their outskirts see my edition of the Slavonic Enoch, *Introd.* pp. xxx-xlvi.

Angels. E has 'words' = *λόγοι*, which I take to be a corruption of *ἄγγελοι*, which is the reading presupposed by L¹.

11. (*What is this war and*). Supplied from L¹. S L² = 'What is this war and envying and battle?' See x. 29.

12. *So it has been since this world was made.* S L² avoid this statement: see p. 106.

and destroy him. 13. And afterwards he caused me to ascend (to that which is) above the firmament: which is the (first) heaven. 14. And there I saw a throne in the midst, and on his right and on his left were angels. 15. "And (the angels on the left were) not like unto the angels who stood on the right", but those who stood on the right had the greater glory, and they all praised with one voice, "and there was a throne in the midst", and those who were on the left gave praise after them ;

Destroy him. Cf. x. 12. S L² add 'with the breath of His power.'

13. (*To that which is*). Here we have exceptionally to follow L² S against E L¹, and insert these words.

(*First*). Omitted by L¹ E : inserted from L² S.

14. *A throne*, i. e. an angel belonging to the order called 'Thrones,' Θρόνοι, mentioned in Col. i. 16; Test. Lev. 3; and in vii. 15, 21, 27, viii. 8 and xi. 25 of our present text, and *Greek Legend*, ii. 40. So the text of E L¹, and *Greek Legend*, ii. 12, in the present passage. S L² on the other hand, require the term to be construed in its ordinary sense; for they add 'and on it there sat an angel in great glory.' These words may belong to the original text; for they recur in vii. 19, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37.

15. The angels on the right are superior to those on the left. Cf. vii. 29, 30, 33, 34. This difference prevails till the sixth heaven : see viii. 6-7.

(*The angels on the left were*). These words are supplied from L¹. L² S omit the words 'And (the angels on the left were) not like unto the angels who stood on the right.' The omission seems due to homoioteleuton.

And there was a throne in the midst. The throne here may be an angel as in the preceding verse. The entire clause is omitted by S L², but L¹ supports our text.

And those who were on the left gave praise after them. Here E, which reads 'and they praised him and those who were on the left after them,' has inverted the order of the words.

but their voice was not such as the voice of those on the right, nor their praise like the praise of those. 16. And I asked the angel who conducted me, and I said unto him: 'To whom is this praise sent?' 17. And he said unto me: '(It is sent) to the praise of (Him who sitteth in) the seventh heaven: to Him † who rests in the holy world †, and to His Beloved, whence I have been sent to thee. [Thither is it sent.] 18. And again he made me to ascend to the second heaven. Now the height of that heaven is the same as from the heaven to the earth [and to the firmament]. 19. And (I saw there, as) in the first heaven, angels on the right and on the left, "and a throne in the midst, and the praise of the angels in the second

The true order is preserved in L¹ which I have followed in text. L¹ is here supported by S. L² is corrupt.

17. *To the praise of (Him who sitteth in) the seventh heaven.* I have emended the text. See Critical Note 3, p. 107. See also vi. 8. The subject is revived in x. 2.

†*Who rests in the holy world*†. So *a. b* gives 'who rests among the holy ones of the world.' Both are certainly wrong. L¹ has 'qui est perpetui saeculi.' L² S omit. The word 'rests' may have been borrowed from vi. 8. L¹ is here to be preferred. The original may have been τοῦ κατοικοῦντος τὸν αἰῶνα = 'who inhabiteth eternity.' See Isa. lvii. 15 quoted on vi. 8.

18. *Of that heaven.* L¹ S omit 'that,' which is probably a rendering of the Greek Article, as is frequently the case. Better therefore render 'of the heaven' as in L¹ S.

[*And to the firmament*]. Though this phrase goes back to G¹, for it is found in L¹, I have bracketed it as it is against the sense and is omitted by L² S.

19. (*I saw there, as*). Supplied from L¹ L² S.

19-20. *And the praise of the angels . . . in the second heaven.* Though L¹ is wanting from this verse forwards, our text has the support

heaven; and he who sat on the throne in the second heaven was more glorious than all (the rest).⁷¹ 20. And there was great glory in the second heaven, and the praise also was not like the praise of those who were in the first heaven. 21. And I fell on my face to worship him, but the angel who conducted me did not permit me, but said unto me: 'Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens—for for this cause I was sent to conduct thee—until I tell thee "in the seventh heaven". 22. For above all the heavens and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see.' 23. And I rejoiced with great joy, that those who love the

of *Greek Legend*, ii. 14. On the words 'he who sat on the throne in the second heaven,' see note on vii. 14.

21. *I fell on my face to worship him.* See Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9.

Worship neither throne nor angel. See vii. 14 note.

Which belongs to the six heavens. L², 'of that heaven': S, 'from heaven.'

For for this cause. Text reads 'whence.' But since the angel is from the seventh heaven (cf. vi. 13, vii. 8, 27), this cannot be right. The right text is supplied by L² 'propter hoc,' and S 'nam propter hoc.' All three renderings can be explained as equivalents of ὅθεν, as Dillmann conjectured.

Until I tell thee. The text could also be rendered, 'except Him whom I tell thee of.' This would agree with L², 'sed tantum quem ego dixero tibi.' On the other hand, *Greek Legend*, ii. 22, appears to support the rendering given above.

22. S L² (see p. 109) are clearly inferior to E in this verse. E alone gives the sense required by the next verse.

Thy throne. See viii. 26 note.

Thy garments. See iv. 16 note.

23. See the somewhat different version of S L², p. 110.

Most High and His Beloved will afterwards ascend thither by the angel of the Holy Spirit. 24. And he raised me to the third heaven, and in like manner I saw those upon the right and upon the left, and there was a throne there in the midst; but the memorial of this world is there unheard of. 25. "And I said to the angel who was with me;" for the glory of my appearance was undergoing transformation as I ascended to each heaven in turn: 'Nothing "of the vanity" of that world is here named.' 26. And he answered me, and said unto me: 'Nothing is named on account of its weakness, and nothing is hidden there of what is done.' 27. "And I wished to learn how it is known, and he answered me saying: 'When I have raised thee to the seventh heaven whence I was sent, to that which is above these, then thou shalt know that there is nothing hidden from the thrones and from those who dwell in the heavens and from the angels.'" And the praise wherewith they praised and the glory of him who

24. *There was a throne there in the midst.* So *b. ac* add against *b* and *L² S*, 'and one who sat.'

Memorial: practically = 'name,' as in Prov. x. 7, Eccles. ix. 5.

Is there unheard of: lit. 'is named.' This sense of *ὀνομαζέω* is found in Eph. v. 3.

25-27. The more remote each heaven is from the earth, the smaller is the impression made upon it by the things of earth. Yet none of the things of earth can escape the knowledge of the inhabitants of the heavens.

25. Slightly different order in *L² S*.

Glory of my appearance. *S L²* 'glory of my spirit.'

27. *S L²* are very defective here. *Greek Legend*, ii. 17, supports our text. See also ix. 19-23.

sat on the throne was great, "and the glory of the angels on the right hand and on the left was beyond that of the heaven which was below them". 28. And again he raised me to the fourth heaven, and the height from the third to the fourth heaven was greater than from the earth to the firmament. 29. And there again I saw those who were on the right hand and those who were on the left, "and him who sat on the throne was in the midst", and there also they were praising. 30. And the praise and glory of the angels on the right was greater than that of those on the left. 31. And again the glory of him who sat on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right, and their glory was beyond that of those who were below. 32. And he raised me to the fifth heaven. 33. And again I saw "those upon the right hand and on the left, and him who sat on the throne possessing greater glory than those of the fourth heaven". 34. And the glory of those on the right hand was greater than that of those "on the left [from the third to the fourth]". 35. And the glory

29. *Him who sat on . . . midst.* These words may be interpolated by a scribe who did not understand the technical meaning of 'throne.' See *Greek Legend*, ii. 18, also L²S.

29^b-30. Omitted by L² through homoioteleuton.

32. *He raised me.* SL² = 'I ascended.'

32, 33. Cf. fragment of Zephaniah Apocalypse in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77 καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἑθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.

32-36. Very defective in SL², verse 35 being wholly omitted.

34. [*From the third to the fourth*]. A disturbing gloss.

of him who was on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right hand⁷. 36. And their praise was more glorious than that of the fourth heaven. 37. "And I praised Him, who is not named and the Only-begotten" who dwelleth in the heavens, whose name is not known to any flesh, who has bestowed such glory on the several heavens, "and who makes great the glory of the angels, and more excellent the glory of Him who sitteth on the throne⁷."

viii. 1. And again he raised me into the air of the sixth heaven, and I saw such glory as I had not seen in the five heavens. 2. *For I saw* angels possessing great glory. 3. And the praise there was holy and wonderful. 4. And I said to the angel who conducted me: 'What is this which I see, my lord?' 5. And he said: 'I am not thy

36. See Slav. En. xviii. 9, on the singing of the angels in the fifth heaven.

37. SL² give a widely divergent text from the above. See pp. 112-113.

Who is not named = ἀπηντος. See quotation from Clem. Alex. under vii. 32, 33.

The Only-begotten. This phrase, though not here in SL², is found in viii. 7 of S and viii. 25 of both S and L². Our text presupposes John i. 16, 18, iii. 16, 18.

Such glory on the several heavens. L²S = 'such glory on the angels over the several heavens.'

viii. 1. *Glory.* SL² = 'great glory.'

In the five heavens. SL² = 'in the fifth heaven.'

2. *For I saw*. For this emendation under guidance of S and L², see Critical Note. MSS. give 'when I ascended' and connect these words with verse 1. At the close of this verse SL² add an additional clause: see p. 113.

5. *I am . . . thy fellow servant.* The word rendered 'fellow

lord, but thy fellow servant.' ¶6. And again I asked him, and I said unto him: 'Why are there not angelic fellow servants (on the left)?' ¶7. And he said: 'From the sixth heaven there are no longer *angels* on the left, nor a throne set in the midst, but (they are directed) by the power of the seventh heaven, where dwelleth He that is not named ¶and the Elect One, whose name has not been made known, and none of the heavens can learn His name¶. 8. For it is He alone to whose voice all the heavens and thrones give answer. I have ¶therefore been empowered and¶ sent to raise thee here that thou mayest see this glory, 9. And that thou mayest see the Lord of all those heavens

servant' more usually means 'companion,' but occasionally it is a rendering of σύνδουλος (Matt. xviii. 28, 31) as here. Cf. *Greek Legend*, ii. 11, where these words are found: οὐκ ἐγὼ Κύριος, ἀλλὰ σύνδουλός σου εἰμί. See Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9.

6. *Angelic fellow servants*. Literally = 'fellow servants of the angels.'

7. **Angels**. See note 10, p. 113. MSS. = 'and upward.'

(*They are directed*). I have supplied these words under guidance of L²S. The former gives 'ordinationem habent'; the latter = 'administrati sunt.'

Where dwelleth He that is not named = ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρρητος. This appears to be correct. L²S, which are corrupt, may in part be explained from it. S = 'ubi est celebris ille' = ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ ῥητός. L² = 'ubi est dives.' 'Dives' may represent ἀφθονος, corrupt for ἄρρητος (?).

And the Elect One. S = 'et unigenitus filius ejus.' L² has merely 'filius Dei.' The 'unigenitus' in S does not seem to be primitive, though the term occurs in vii, 37 of our text. See note on i. 4.

8. *Thrones*. S L² give 'angels'—a general for a specific term.

9-10. See S L², which omit 10 and give another turn to 9. Verse 10 anticipates what is recounted in x. 8 sqq.

and these thrones, 10. "Undergoing (successive) transformation until He resembles your form and likeness." 11. I indeed say unto thee, Isaiah; No man about to return into a body of that world has "ascended or" seen what thou seest or perceived what thou hast perceived and what thou wilt see. 12. For it has been permitted to thee in the lot of the Lord to come hither [and from thence comes the power of the sixth heaven and of the air]. 13. And I magnified my Lord with praise, in that through His lot I should come hither. 14. And he said: "Hear, furthermore, therefore, this also from thy fellow servant"; when from the body by the *will of God* thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment "which thou seest, and like-

11. See viii. 23. E = 'No man . . . has seen this or ascended or perceived what thou seest and what thou wilt see.' I have transposed 'has seen' and 'ascended' under guidance of *Greek Legend*, ii. 29. Next from S we see that the clause 'what thou seest' should follow after 'seen' and 'what thou wilt see' after 'perceived.'

12. *In the lot of the Lord* = through sharing in the lot of the Lord. See i. 13. E adds against SL² 'in the lot of the cross,' which I have taken to be a marginal explanatory gloss subsequently embodied in the text.

Hither, i. e. the seventh heaven.

[*And from thence &c.*]. I have bracketed these words as the interpolation of an Ethiopic scribe, based on viii. 7, not quite rightly apprehended.

13. *Should come hither*. S = 'am departing,' L² = 'am walking.'

14. *Hear . . . fellow servant*. SL² omit.

*From the body by the *will of God**. Emended. See Critical Note, p. 115. ac = 'from the alien body by the angel of the spirit thou hast ascended.' b = 'in an alien body the God of the spirit has made thee to ascend.'

Which thou seest . . . wilt see. L² S omit.

wise other numbered garments laid up (there) thou wilt seeⁿ, 15. And then thou wilt become equal to the angels of the seventh heaven.' 16. And he raised me up into the sixth heaven, and there were no (angels) on the left, nor a throne in the midst, but all had one appearance and their (power of) praise was equal. 17. And (power) was given to me also, and I also praised along with them and that angel also, and our praise was like theirs. 18. And there they † all named the primal Father † and His Beloved, "the Christⁿ" and the Holy Spirit, all with one voice. 19. And (their voice) was not like the voice of the angels in the five heavens, 20. [Nor like their discourse] but the voice was different there, and there was much light there. 21. And then, when I was in the sixth heaven I thought the light which I had seen in the five

Garment. See viii. 26; ix. 9, 24, 25; xi. 3. 5.

16. *No (angels) on the left.* S L² have 'no angels on the right or on the left,' but our text is correct: see above, viii. 7.

All had one appearance. This statement appears to be derived from Slav. En. xix. 1, 'There is no difference in their countenance,' where the angels of the sixth heaven are described.

17. See S L² for slight variations of the text.

18. † *All named the primal Father †.* So *ab. c* omits 'primal.' We should emend and read with S L², 'they praised the Father of all.'

Christ. This title, which goes back to G¹ and possibly to G (see x. 7 note), is found likewise in ix. 5, 13, 17, x. 7, in all of which passages it is absent from L³ S.

His Beloved. So *a. bc* 'the Beloved.'

19. *The five heavens.* S L² preferably 'in the fifth heaven.'

20. [Nor like their discourse]. A doublet. S L² omit.

21. *The light.* Text could be translated 'that light,' but the Greek article is frequently rendered by the demonstrative in Ethiopic.

heavens to be but darkness. 22. And I rejoiced and praised Him who hath bestowed such lights on those who wait for His promise. 23. And I besought the angel who conducted me that I should not henceforth return to the carnal world. 24. I say indeed unto you, "Hezekiah and Josab my son and Micaiah" that there is much darkness here. 25. And the angel who conducted me discovered what I thought and said: 'If in this light thou dost rejoice, how much more wilt thou rejoice, when in the seventh heaven thou seest the light, where is the Lord and His Beloved [whence I have been sent, who is to be called "Son" in this world. 26. Not (yet) hath been manifested He who shall be in the corruptible world] and the garments, and the thrones, and the crowns which are laid up for the righteous, "for those who trust in that Lord who will descend in your form. For the

Five heavens. L²S = 'fifth heaven.'

22. *Such lights.* L² 'such joy,' S 'such things.'

Wait for His promise. S L² = 'receive His mercy.'

23. See viii. 11.

24. S L² omit the proper names.

25. *Discovered what I thought and.* L²S omit.

The Lord . . . in this world. S L² = 'the heavenly Father and His Only-begotten Son.'

25, 26. I have bracketed the words 'whence I have been sent . . . in the corruptible world.' They are omitted by S L² and introduce confusion into the context. By excising them we restore unity to these verses. The interpolation is most probably due to an Ethiopic scribe. The unusual form of the Ethiopic in verse 26 supports this suggestion. In ix. 5, 13, 17, &c., the kindred phrases are derived from the Greek.

Who is to be called 'Son' in this world. Cf. ix. 5.

light which is there is great and wonderful". 27. And as concerning thy not returning into the body thy days are not yet fulfilled for coming here.' 28. And when I heard (that) I was troubled, and he said: 'Do not be troubled.'

ix. 1. And he took me into the air of the seventh heaven, and moreover I heard a voice saying: 'How far will he ascend that dwelleth *in the flesh*?' and I feared and trembled. 2. And "when I trembled, behold" *I heard* from hence another voice "being sent forth, and" saying: 'It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither; for here is his garment.' 3. And I asked the angel who was with me "and said": 'Who is he who forbade me and who is he who *permitted* me to ascend?' 4. And he said unto me: 'He who forbade thee, this is he *who is over* the praise-giving of the sixth heaven. 5. And He who *permitted* thee,

ix. 1. *In the flesh*. E here reads 'among aliens,' which I have taken to be corrupt as S L² give *in carne* and *Greek Legend*, ii. 23, ἐν σαρκί.

2. *And when I trembled, &c.* E is corrupt, but admits easily of emendation. See Critical Note, p. 118. As it stands, it runs: 'And he said unto me when I trembled: Behold, from hence another voice has come, being sent forth, and it says.'

From hence. This gives the wrong sense. *Greek Legend*, ii. 23, has ἐκ τῶν ἄνω. This is right in meaning, for the second voice is from the seventh heaven, the first voice being from the sixth: see verses 4, 5.

3. *Who *permitted*.* E has here 'turned to,' which gives a wrong sense of δ ἐπιτρέπων. The verse is found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 24.

4. *Who is over*. Unemended text = 'on whom is.' A slight change gives 'who is over' = δ ἐφ' ὧς ἐπί, *Greek Legend*, ii. 25.

5. *Permitted*. See on verse 3.

this is "thy Lord God, the Lord Christ, who will be called "Jesus" in the world", but His name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body.' 6. And he raised me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a wonderful light and angels innumerable. 7. And there I saw all the righteous "from the time of Adam. 8. And there I saw the holy Abel and all the righteous. 9. And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him", stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were "like angels", standing there in great glory.

Thy Lord. So *a. c* gives 'our Lord.' *Greek Legend*, ii. 25, has *ὁ Κύριος*, *L² S* 'filius Dei.'

God, the Lord Christ . . . world. In deference to Dillmann's opinion I formerly regarded these words and certain phrases in ix. 13, 17, x. 7 as interpolations, on the ground of the statement that follows: 'His name thou canst not hear,' &c. I now think that they go back to *G*. For in the first place they spring not from the Ethiopic scribe, but existed already in *G¹*. Thus x. 7 is found in the *Gk. Leg.* ii. 37. In the next, the words 'His name,' &c., do not refer to the earthly name of Christ, but to some secret name known only to the blessed. Cf. vii. 7. A similar idea is found in Rev. xix. 12 'He hath a name written which no one knoweth but He Himself.'

Thy body. So *c* and *S. b* and *L²* give 'body,' and *a* 'this body.'

7-10. We should observe that though all the righteous from the time of Adam are already possessed of their spiritual or resurrection bodies (see notes on iv. 16) as in Rev. vi. 11, they are represented as not yet enjoying perfect blessedness. They are not as yet crowned, nor have they as yet sat down on their thrones. These verses are very defective in *L² S*, which speak only of certain righteous individuals being already in heaven. That our text goes back accurately to the older Greek recension is proved by the *Greek Legend*, ii. 27, which reproduces the clauses which are missing in *L² S*.

9. *Like angels.* Cf. *Eth. En.* li. 4 (see note in my edition),

10. But they sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns of glory on them. 11. And I asked the angel who was with me: 'How is it that they have received the garments, but have not the thrones and the crowns?' 12, 13. And he said unto me: 'Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend "[will descend, I say] into the world in the last days the civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Apoc. Bar. li. 5, 9, 12. L²S omit this phrase.

11. *Who was with me.* L²S give instead 'and I said.'

Thrones. Cf. Rev. iii. 21; Luke xxii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 3.

Crowns. Cf. Rev. ii. 10, iii. 11, iv. 4; Jas. i. 12; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, 3. The idea is derived from the custom of crowning the victors in the games, as in 1 Cor. ix. 25; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Pet. v. 4. It is the reward for martyrdom, 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

Have not the thrones, &c. Text is very doubtful here, but the sense is as clear as in SL².

12-13. The angel replies that the righteous in the seventh heaven will not receive their thrones and crowns till the Beloved descends and becomes man on earth. From verse 18 it appears that it is not till Christ reascends into heaven that they receive them. See note on verse 18.

The text of E is almost unintelligible as it appears in the MSS. and in Dillmann's text. This is owing to a simple blunder on the part of a scribe, who transferred the words 'Nevertheless they see and know whose will be the thrones and whose the crowns' from their right position at the close of the sentence 'till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend [will descend, I say] into the world in the last days the Lord, who will be called Christ' to an impossible position immediately preceding it. That this restoration is right is established by S: see p. 120. L² is here corrupt though also helpful.

Will see Him descend . . . into the world in the last days. These words

Lord, who will be called Christ⁷. Nevertheless they "see and" know whose will be thrones, and whose the crowns when He has descended, and been made in your form, "and they will think that He is flesh and is a man⁷. 14. And the god of that world will stretch forth * his hand against the Son,* and they will crucify Him on a tree, and will *slay* Him not knowing who He is. 15. And thus His descent, "as you will see, will be hidden even from the heavens, so that it will not be known who He is⁷. 16. And when He hath plundered the angel of death, He will ascend on the third day, are wanting both in L² and S; but they are original; for they appear in *Greek Legend*, ii. 25; see p. 143.

Will think that He is flesh and is a man. 'Is flesh' and 'is a man' are parallel expressions. His divine nature will not be recognized.

14. *His hand against the Son*. So Dillmann rightly emends text. See Critical Note.

*Will *slay* Him.* So I have emended text with the guidance of SL². MSS. = 'and will lay hands upon Him,' and transpose these words before 'and will crucify Him.' See Critical Note.

15-17. The above verses in E vary so widely from those in L² and S, that it is impossible to reconcile them save in a few phrases. L² = 'And He will descend into Hades and make it and the phantoms (visiones = φαντάσματα) of hell desolate. 16. And He will seize the prince of death, and will plunder him, and will crush all his powers, and He will rise the third day, 17. Having certain righteous persons with Him, and He will send forth His preachers into the whole world and will ascend into the heavens.' S in the main agrees with L², but is very corrupt.

16. *Plundered the angel of death.* These words are found also in L². They have to do with the rescue of certain souls out of the hand of the angel of death. Christ holds the keys of it, Rev. ix. 1. The angel of death is again referred to in x. 8, xi. 19. The next verse states explicitly the deliverance of righteous

[and he will remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days]. 17. And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the "Lord Christ" ascend

souls from Hades. See Ignatius, *ad Magn.* ix; Matt. xxvii. 52, 53; *Evang. Nicodemi*, i. 1, xi. 1 (ed. Tischendorf). The above statement confirms the genuineness of the mention of the descent into Hades in ix. 15 of L²S. Sheol, where the angel of death abides (x. 8), is thus an intermediate abode; Hagucl or Abaddon (x. 8) is the final abode of the lost.

[*Remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days*]. This clause is wanting in SL². It is of course no creation of Ethiopic scribes. The Ethiopic translator found it already in his Greek text. The idea is a Gnostic one. It was held by the Valentinians and the Ophites (see Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 3. 2, 30. 14) as Lücke has already remarked (*Einleitung in d. Offenbarung*, i. 290). It was, nevertheless, an intrusion in the Greek text; for the many righteous mentioned in verse 17 are none other than the souls delivered from Hades, and the ascent mentioned in that verse is the ascent from Hades. This is clear from SL², which bring the resurrection of Christ and the deliverance of the souls from Hades together: ix. 16. 'surget tertia die. 17. habens quosdam iustos secum.'

17. *And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him*, i. e. from Hades, as I have shown in the preceding note. Yet the present form of the Ethiopic implies that the ascension here designed is not from Hades but from earth to heaven after the resurrection.

Whose spirits do not receive their garments, &c. So a. b omits negation against ac. c = 'who in their spirit have not received their garments.' L²S omit. Since all the righteous according to ix. 7 (E), and according to ix. 7 (L²S) a certain class of righteous men, are already in the seventh heaven arrayed in their garments or spiritual bodies, the spirits delivered from Hades can only have been the *imperfectly righteous*. As such they do not receive their spiritual bodies till Christ's ascent to the seventh heaven.

SL² add at the close of this verse: 'et mittet suos praedicatores in universum orbem terrarum et ascendet in coelos.' The former statement is made elsewhere in our text; see iii. 17, 18, xi. 22.

and they ascend with Him. 18. Then indeed they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns, when He has ascended into the "seventh" heaven. 19. And I said unto him that which I had asked him in the third heaven: 20. '*Show me how* everything which is done in that world is here made known.' 21. And whilst I was still speaking with him, behold one of the angels who stood nigh, more glorious than the glory of that angel, who had raised me up from the world, 22. Showed me a book, [but not as a book of this world] and he opened it, and the book was written, but not as a book of this world. And he gave (it) to me and I read it, and lo! the deeds of the children of Israel were written therein, and the deeds of those whom

18. *Then indeed they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns.* 'Garments and' should be omitted with SL². The class mentioned here are really the righteous already referred to in ix. 11-13, who, though clad in their garments, do not as yet possess their thrones and crowns. According to this verse they attain to these on the ascension of Christ.

Then. This mark of time is explained by the concluding clause of the verse.

19. See vii. 27. See p. 122 for slightly different and fuller forms of L² and S.

20. **Show me how* *. Emended in accordance with SL². See Critical Note. MSS. = 'And he said unto me.'

22. [*But not as a book of this world*]. SL² omit. A doublet. E 'books.' See two lines later.

On the heavenly books see my note on Eth. En. xlvii. 3.

Children of Israel. S L² = 'Jerusalem.'

*Of those whom *I* know (not).* MSS. = 'whom thou knowest.' I have emended in accordance with S 'quos ego non scivi.' The negative is not infrequently lost in Ethiopic MSS. L² and *Greek Legend*, ii. 31, speak of all men being judged.

I know (not), my son Josab. 23. And I said: 'In truth, there is nothing hidden in the seventh heaven, which is done in this world.' 24. And I saw there many garments laid up, and many thrones and many crowns. 25. And I said to the angel: 'Whose are these garments and thrones and crowns?' 26. And he said unto me: 'These garments many from that world will receive, believing in the words of That One, "who shall be named" as I told thee, "and they will observe those things, and believe in them, and believe in His cross: for them are *these* laid up". 27. And I saw a certain One "standing, whose glory surpassed that of all," and His glory was great "and wonderful. 28. And after I had seen Him", all the righteous whom I had seen "and also the angels whom I had seen" came to

23. *This world.* Greek Legend, ii. 32, 'that world'; SL² 'world.' SL² add after 'this world,' 'And I asked the angel: who is he yonder who excels all (S omit) the angels in his glory?' And he answered and said unto me: 'He yonder (S 'the pre-eminent angel yonder') is the great angel Michael ever praying on behalf of humanity.' These words go back to the second Greek recension. SL² again refer to Michael in ix. 29.

26. *Will receive.* L² 'ammittunt': S = 'destituuntur.' If the reading implied by SL² is not an error, the editor of G² meant the verse to refer to the Antichrist. But in that case verse 26 would be no answer to verse 25.

As I told thee. Better in SL²: 'regarding whom I told thee.'

These. Emended. *ac* read 'but for them are laid up'; *b* 'which for them are laid up' or 'for whom they are laid up.'

27-32. Vision and worship of the Second Person of the Godhead.

27. See SL² for a shorter version.

28. *And the angels . . . Abel, Seth, and.* SL² omit. Adam and Abel have already been mentioned in ix. 7.

Him. "And Adam and Abel and Seth, and all the righteous first drew near" and worshipped Him, and they all praised Him with one voice, "and I myself also gave praise with them", and my giving of praise was as theirs. 29. And then all the angels drew nigh and worshipped and gave praise. 30. And *I* was (again) transformed and became like an angel. 31. And thereupon the angel who conducted me, said to me: 'Worship this One,' and I worshipped and praised. 32. And the angel said unto me: 'This is the Lord of all the praisegivings which thou hast seen.' 33. And whilst *he* was still speaking, I saw another Glorious One who was like Him, and the righteous drew nigh and

My giving of praise was as theirs. S = 'their giving of praise was as that of those.' L² = 'the voice was as that of those.'

29. *All the angels drew nigh.* SL² = 'and then (L² omit them) Michael approached and worshipped and with him all the angels.'

30. **I* was (again) transformed.* According to vii. 25 Isaiah underwent transformation as he ascended into each heaven in turn. Accordingly he was transformed on entering the seventh heaven, and before he joined in its worship, ix. 28. When, however, he was brought before the Second Person of the Godhead, he was again transformed and became like an angel. I have accordingly with SL² emended E, which read: 'He (i.e. Christ) was transformed.' On the other hand, the text of ESL² on verse 33 supports E in verse 30. But as we shall see, they are all corrupt in that passage.

31. *Worship.* L²S add, and no doubt rightly, 'and praise.'

33-36, Vision and worship of the Third Person of the Godhead.

33. **He*.* So S. E wrongly, 'I'; for it is the angel that has been speaking. L² omits clause.

Like Him. L²S add 'in all things.'

worshipped and praised, and I praised together with them. But *my* glory was not transformed into accordance with their form. 34. And thereupon the angels drew near and worshipped Him. 35. And I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing. 36. And the second whom I saw was on the left of my Lord. And I asked: 'Who is this?' and he said unto me: 'Worship Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who

I praised. L² S = 'he praised.'

My glory was not transformed into accordance with their form. E reads 'His' instead of 'my,' and has the support of S L². We have here, however, a primitive error. In verse 30 Isaiah was transformed into the likeness of the *angels* and could thereby enjoy certain visions, but he was not transformed into the likeness of the *righteous*, and was on that account excluded from steadfastly beholding the ineffable vision in verse 37, which angels could not behold but only the righteous, verse 38.

34. At the close of this S adds: 'and the angel said unto me: "Worship Him and praise." And I worshipped Him and praised.' L² contains only the last sentence.

35-36. These verses were used by the heretic Hieracas. They are drawn ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικῶ Ἡσαίου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxvii. 3. In this work the quotation appears as follows: Ἐδειξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος περιπατῶν ἔμπροσθέν μου, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι, καὶ εἶπε, Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ εἶπα, Σὺ οἶδας, Κύριε; Λέγει, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπητός. καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ὅμοιος αὐτῷ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐλθών; Καὶ εἶπα, Σὺ γινώσκεις, τουτέστι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν σοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. It will be observed that this account is much fuller than that which is given in E or L² S, and that it preserves details which are only found separately in E and L² S. Thus E speaks of the Holy Spirit being 'on the left,' and this statement discovers itself in the above quotation. On the other hand the word 'ambulantem' in S ('ambulans' in L²) has its counterpart in περιπατῶν in the quotation. Thus the above text is more primitive than either E or S L², and may in some respects represent the lost archetype G.

speaketh in thee and the rest of the righteous.' 37. And I saw the great glory, the eyes of my spirit being open, and I could not thereupon see, nor yet could the angel who was with me, nor all the angels whom I had seen worshipping my Lord. 38. But I saw the righteous beholding with great power the glory of that One. 39. And my Lord drew nigh to me and the angel of the Spirit "and He said: 'See how it is given to thee to see God, and on thy account power is given to the angel who is with thee.' 40. And I saw how my Lord and the angel of the Spirit" worshipped, and they both together praised "God". 41. And thereupon all the righteous "drew near and" worshipped. 42. And the angels "drew near and" worshipped and all the angels praised.

x. 1. And thereupon I heard the voices and the

ix. 36. *Speaketh*. So S L² and i. 7, *Greek Legend*, ii. 13, instead of 'has spoken' as in E.

37-42. Vision and worship of the First Person of the Godhead.

37. Isaiah says that he saw and that forthwith he did not see. That is, he beheld for a moment but could not steadfastly behold. S L² give quite another idea. They declare that Isaiah did not see God at all, but this is against verse 39. Neither Isaiah nor the angels could steadfastly behold God: cf. *Eth. En.* xiv. 21, 'None of the angels could . . . behold the face of the Honoured and Glorious One, and no flesh could behold Him.' Only the glorified righteous could steadfastly behold Him, verse 38; *Rev.* xxii. 4. The Divine Being is so named in *Eth. En.* xiv. 20, 'The Great Glory sat thereon,' and x. 16 (note); xi. 32 of our text, 39. Cf. viii. 8-9.

41-42. After 'all the righteous drew near and worshipped' *ac* add 'and all the righteous.' S L² insert a reference to Michael as in verse 23.

giving of praise, which I had heard in each of the six heavens, ascending * and being heard * there : 2. And all "were being sent up to that Glorious One" whose glory I could not behold. 3. "And I myself was hearing and beholding the praise (which was given) to Him. 4. And the Lord and the angel of the Spirit were beholding all and hearing all". 5. And all the praises which are sent up from the six heavens are not only heard but seen. 6. And "I heard" the angel "who conducted me and" he said : ' This is the Most High of the high ones, dwelling in the holy world, and resting in His holy ones, who will be called by the Holy Spirit through the lips of the righteous "the Father of the Lord".' 7. And I heard the voice of the Most High "the Father of my Lord" saying to my Lord "Christ who will be

X. 1. *Ascending * and being heard * there.* Emended with L². E = 'which I had heard ascending hither' (b) or 'when ascending hither' (ac).

2. *Sent up, &c.* See vii. 16-17.

Whose glory, &c. ix. 37.

6. *And I heard . . . said.* L²S = 'And the angel said unto me.'

The Most High of the high ones . . . holy ones. Based on Isa. lvii. 15 ὁ ὑψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα . . . ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύμενος. See on vi. 8. S L² which give a different form of the earlier clauses (see p. 128) = εἰς αἰώνιος τὸν ὑψηλὸν αἰῶνα κατοικῶν.

Called. L²S = praised.

7. *Christ who will be called Jesus.* Though this and similar expressions in ix. 5, 13, 17 are omitted by S L², there are no valid grounds for regarding them as interpolations, as I have shown in the note on ix. 5. They go 'back to' G¹. This follows from the fact that the excised words are found in the *Greek Legend*, ii. 37, where indeed all this verse is found : see pp. 145-146.

called Jesus": 8. 'Go forth and descend through all the heavens, and thou wilt descend to "the firmament and" that world: to the angel in Sheol thou wilt descend, "but to Haguel thou wilt not go". 9. And thou wilt become like unto the likeness of all who are in the five heavens. 10. "And thou wilt be careful to become like the form of the angels of the firmament [and the angels also who are in Sheol]". 11. And none of the angels of that world shall know "that Thou art Lord with Me of the seven heavens and of their angels. 12. And they shall not know that Thou art with Me, *till* with a *loud*

8. *Angel in Sheol.* This is the angel of death already referred to in ix. 16. The angels in Sheol are mentioned in x. 10, and the 'angels' of death in x. 14. We might compare the expression in Rev. ix. 11, 'the angel of the abyss.'

Haguel = Abaddon or Gehenna in the sense of being the final abode of the lost. Cf. 'the abyss' in Rev. ix. 1, 2, xi. 7, xvii. 8, xx. 1, 3.

9-10. His descent was not to be concealed from the sixth heaven, x. 19, but from the five lower heavens and from the angels of the firmament, and from the angels in Sheol. This last statement I have bracketed, as the release of the souls in Sheol could not have been effected without a recognition of Christ on the part of the angels of Sheol.

10. L² S omit.

11. *None of the angels of that world shall know, &c.* Evidently based on 1 Cor. ii. 8, 'which none of the rulers of this world knoweth; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.'

That thou art Lord, &c. L² S omit, but *Greek Legend*, ii. 40, reproduces these words; see p. 146.

12. The angels of that world (i.e. the earth) will not learn that Christ is with God till the final judgement. For the emendation of this verse see p. 129. The text as it stands is unintelligible: 'And when with the voice of the heavens

voice I have called (to) the heavens, and their angels and their lights, (even) unto the sixth heaven, in order that you maystⁿ judgeⁿ and destroyⁿ the † princes † and angelsⁿ and godsⁿ of that world, and the world that is dominated by them: 13. For they have denied Me and said: "We alone are and there is none beside us." 14. And afterwards from the *angels* of death Thou wilt ascend to Thy place, and Thou wilt not be transformed in each heaven, but in glory wilt Thou ascend and sit on My right hand. 15. And thereupon the princes and powers

I have called both to their angels and their lights: and when I have made great the sixth heaven (or to the sixth heaven).' So *a.* *b* omits 'and' before 'when' (twice) and inserts 'thee' after both verbs. L² S omit this passage.

Called (to) the heavens. Cf. Ps. l. 4, where these words are used with reference to judgement as here.

Mayst judge . . . the †princes† . . . of that world. For 'princes' read 'prince,' as in SL². L² = 'wilt judge the prince of that world and his angels.' Cf. John xvi. 11, 'the prince of this world is judged.'

Destroy. Cf. vii. 12.

Gods of that world. 2 Cor. iv. 4, 'God of this world.'

And the world that is dominated by them. L² S omit, but the clause is implied by *Greek Legend*, ii. 38 τὸν κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων . . . κυριεύμενον.

13. *Alone are.* *Greek Legend*, ii. 38, adds 'gods,' but L² S support text. See note on iv. 6.

14. **Angels* of death.* See on x. 8. Emended from 'gods of death' by a slight change of vocalization. See Critical Note. The converse change was required in viii. 14.

*From the *angels* of death Thou wilt ascend.* So *ac.* *b* = 'and when Thou hast died and risen Thou wilt ascend.' L² omits clause but S gives 'quando e terra elevaberis.'

15. *Princes and powers . . . will worship Thee.* Cf. Phil. ii. 10; Heb. i. 6: see also Deut. xxxii. 43 (LXX).

Princes and powers † of that world †. From a comparison of L² S and *Greek Legend*, ii. 40 (see p. 144), it is clear that our text is

† of that world † will worship Thee.' 16. These commands I heard the Great Glory giving to my Lord. 17. And † so † I saw my Lord go forth from the seventh heaven into the sixth heaven. 18. And the angel who conducted me [from this world was with me and] said unto me: 'Understand, Isaiah, and see how the transformation and descent of the Lord * will appear *. 19. And I saw, and when the angels saw Him, "thereupon those in the sixth heaven" praised and lauded Him; for He had not been transformed after the shape of the angels there, "and they praised Him" and I also praised with them. 20. And I saw when He descended into the fifth heaven, that in the fifth heaven He made Himself like unto the form of the angels there, and they did not praise Him (nor worship Him); for His form was like unto theirs.

defective and the words 'of that world' are corrupt. We should read in their stead, 'and angels and all principalities.' So far we have the support of *Greek Legend*, ii. 39, and L² S, that is of G¹ and G² and therefore of the archetype. L² S add 'which are in heaven and on earth and under the earth.'

16. *These commands.* So *Greek Legend*, ii. 41 ταῦτα, S read τοῦτον or rather ἐκεῖνον.

The Great Glory. The text here (which is that of bc and L² S and *Greek Legend*, ii. 41) upholds our rendering on ix. 37.

17. † So †. L² S = 'then'; *Greek Legend*, ii. 41 = 'after these things.'

18. *From this world, was with me and.* I have bracketed these words: they are omitted by S L².

*How the transformation . . . of the Lord * will appear *.* Emended; a reads 'in order that thou mayst see the transformation of the Lord.' So a. b = 'in order that thou mayst know, &c.' S L² = 'quae (or quid) est transfiguratio eius.'

20. (*Nor worship Him*). I have added these words because being

21. And then He descended into the fourth heaven, and made Himself like unto the form of the angels there. 22. And "when they saw Him", they did not praise "or laud Him"; for His form was like unto their form. 23. And again I saw when He descended into the third heaven, "and He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the third heaven. 24. And those who kept the gate of the (third) heaven demanded the password, and the Lord gave (it) to them in order that He should not be recognized. And when they saw Him, they did not praise or laud Him; for His form was like unto their form. 25. And again I saw when He descended" into the second heaven, "and again He gave the password there; those who kept the gate proceeded to demand and the Lord to give. 26. And I saw when He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the second heaven, and they saw Him and they did not praise Him; for His form was like unto their form. 27. And again I saw when He descended" into the first heaven, "and there also He gave the password to those who kept the gate, and He made Himself like unto the

found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 42, they go back to G¹ and should therefore appear in E. S L² likewise attest them.

23-28. These verses are shortly summarized in L² S. With the exception of a few phrases *Greek Legend* fails us from this point forward.

24. *b* omits.

Password, or 'passport.' Since L² gives 'character' as the equivalent of the rare Ethiopic word here we may perhaps assume that *χαρακτήρ* stood in the Greek. S = 'signa.' Possibly the word 'sign' would best represent the sense.

form of the angels who were on the left of that throne⁷, and they neither praised nor lauded Him; for His form was like unto their form. ⁷28. But as for me no one asked me on account of the angel who conducted me⁷. 29. And again He descended into the firmament ⁷where dwelleth the ruler of this world⁷, and He gave the password ⁷to those on the left,⁷ and His form was like theirs, and they did not praise Him there; ⁷but they were envying one another and fighting; for here there is a power of evil and envying about trifles⁷. 30. And I saw ✓ when He descended ⁷and made Himself like⁷ unto the angels of the air, and He was like one of them. 31. And He gave no password; ⁷for one was plundering and doing violence to another.⁷

xi. 1. After this ⁷I saw, and⁷ the angel ⁷who spoke with me, who conducted me⁷, said unto me: 'Understand, Isaiah son of Amoz; for for this purpose have I been sent from God.' 2. ⁷And I indeed saw

29. *Where dwelleth the ruler of this world.* So also S, but L² omits.

30. The angels of the air are distinguished here from those of the firmament in verse 29. It is otherwise in vii. 9-10.

31. Everything is in disorder in the air. Hence no guardians of the gates.

One was plundering . . . another. So Greek Legend, ii. 9.

xi. 1. *Who spoke with me, who conducted me.* L³ S omit. One of the phrases (if not both) seems to be a marginal gloss.

2-22. These verses, save a clause of verse 19, are wanting in L² S, which omit all reference to Mary and Joseph and the birth of Christ, His work and crucifixion, and speak only of His life on earth. See pp. 133-135. This section, nevertheless, goes back to G. See Intro. pp. xxii-xxiv.

2. *Of the family of David . . . Mary.* Whether Mary as well as

a woman of the family of David the prophet, named Mary, a Virgin, and she was espoused to a man named Joseph, a carpenter, and he also was of the seed and family of the righteous David of Bethlehem Judah. 3. And he came into his lot. And when she was espoused, she was found with child, and Joseph the carpenter was desirous to put her away. 4. But the angel of the Spirit appeared in this world, and after that Joseph did not put her away, but kept Mary and did not

Joseph was descended from David as is here asserted it is impossible to establish conclusively from the New Testament. Several passages, however, could lend themselves to this interpretation as Luke i. 32, 69; Acts ii. 30; Rom. i. 3, 4; 2 Tim. ii. 8. However this may be, it can be proved that the belief was early established. Thus Julius Africanus (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7. 17) and Tertullian (*Adv. Iud.* 9) at the beginning of the third century taught it: Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 21. 5) in the latter half of the second century: Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* chaps. 43, 45, 67, 100, 120) at the close of the first half, and Ignatius (*Ad Ephes.* xviii. 2) at its beginning. It was thus an accepted fact in the first half of the second century. But this evidence, combined with that of the apocryphal Nativity of Mary and the very early Protevangel of James, is sufficient to make it very probable that this view prevailed towards the close at all events of the first century. The evidence of the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* cannot be adduced here as the date of the passage in question is still undetermined.

3. *Came into his lot.* Cf. *Protev. Iacobi*, ix. 1 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ Ἰωσήφ· σὺ κεκλήρωσαι τὴν παρθένον Κυρίου παραλαβεῖν εἰς τήρησιν ἑαυτῷ; xix. 1 ἐκκληρώσαμην αὐτὴν γυναῖκα.

3, 4. Cf. *Matt.* i. 20 sqq.

4. *Appeared in this world.* So *ac.* *b* reads 'appeared to him.'

Kept Mary. Cf. *Protev. Iacobi*, ix. 3, xiii. 1, for the use of this word in regard to Mary: in xiv. 2 we have an exact parallel to our text. There it is told that after the angel of the Lord had appeared to Joseph, the latter 'arose from his sleep and

reveal this matter to any one. 5. And he did not approach Mary, but kept her as a holy virgin, though with child. 6. And he did not live with her for two months. 7. And after two months of days while Joseph was in his house, and Mary his wife, but both alone, 8. It came to pass that when they were alone that Mary straightway looked with her eyes and saw a small babe, and she was astonished. 9. And after she had been astonished, her womb was found as formerly before she had conceived. 10. And when her husband Joseph said unto her: 'What has astonished thee?' his eyes were opened and he saw the infant and praised God, because into his portion God had come. 11. And a voice came to them: 'Tell this vision to no one.' 12. And the story regarding the infant was noised abroad in Bethlehem. 13. Some said: 'The Virgin Mary hath borne a child, before she was married glorified the God of Israel, who had given him this grace *and kept her*' (καὶ ἐφύλασσαν αὐτήν).

And did not reveal this matter to any one. In *Protev.* xv-xvi Joseph refuses to answer the questions of the priest regarding Mary's condition: καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐσίγησεν (xv. 4).

7. *His house.* So *a.* *bc* read 'the house.'

His wife. So *c.* *b* reads 'his espoused wife'—evidently a correction.

8. A somewhat less marvellous though kindred account is found in *Protev. Iacobi*, xix. 2.

9. *Her womb was found.* So *a.* *bc* read 'she found her womb.'

Conceived. *a* adds 'Him.'

10. *Her husband Joseph.* *b* omits for the same reason that it corrected verse 7. In *a* 'her husband' is erased.

11. This verse is undoubtedly related to *Protev. Iacobi*, xx. 4 καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα Σαλώμη, Σαλώμη, μὴ ἀναγγείλῃς ὅσα εἶδες παράδοξα.

two months.' 14. And many said: 'She has not borne a child, nor has a midwife gone up (to her), nor have we heard the cries of (labour) pains.' And they were all blinded respecting Him and they all knew regarding Him, though they knew not whence He was. 15. And they took Him, and went to Nazareth in Galilee. 16. And I saw, O Hezekiah and Josab my son, and I declare to the other prophets also who are standing by, that (this) hath escaped all the heavens and all the

14. This verse is practically cited in the *Actus Petri*, ch. xxiv. (p. 72, ed. Lipsius): 'Et alter propheta dicit honorificatum patrem: Neque vocem illius audivimus neque obstetrix subit.'

15. In Galilee. b omits.

16. (*This*) hath escaped, &c. What escaped the princes of this world is the virginity and the child-bearing of Mary. This being so, it is hard to avoid concluding that our text is the source of Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* xix καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκεὺς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου. Throughout x. 8-xi. 19 the concealment of the real nature of Christ is the entire theme, and as a subordinate factor of this the concealment of Mary's virginity. In the Epistle of Ignatius, on the other hand, the subject is introduced abruptly and obviously forms part of a received doctrine, such as is presented in our text. While Ignatius' words summarize admirably the teaching of our text, paragraph 9 of his letter to the Romans forms a protest against the Docetic tendency which was already at work and could perhaps appeal to xi. 17 of our author in supporting its claims.

The source of the above speculation is to be traced no doubt to 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8, 'The wisdom of God . . . which none of the rulers of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.' This statement involves the application made by our author to the Incarnation. The words of Ignatius formed a favourite quotation with the Fathers. Thus it is cited by Origen (*Hom. in Luc.*, Op. iii. p. 938 A; Eusebius, *Quaest. ad Steph.* i., Op. iv. p. 381; Ambrose

princes and all the gods of this world. 17. And I saw: In Nazareth He sucked the breast as a babe and as is customary in order that He might not be recognized. 18. And when He had grown up He worked great signs and wonders in the land of Israel and of Jerusalem. 19. And after this the adversary envied Him and roused the children of Israel against Him⁷, not knowing who He was, ⁷and they delivered Him to the king, and crucified Him, and He descended to the angel (of Sheol). 20. In Jerusalem indeed I saw Him being crucified on a tree: 21. And likewise after the third day rise again and remain days. 22. And the angel who conducted me said: 'Understand, Isaiah:' and I saw when He sent out the Twelve Apostles and ascended⁷. 23. And I saw Him, and He was in the firmament, but He had not changed

on *Luc. i. 27*, *Op. i. 1281* ('Non mediocris quoque causa est ut virginitas Mariae falleret principem mundi'). For other references see Lightfoot on the Ignatian Epistles.

19. *Descended to the angel (of Sheol)*. The words 'of Sheol' I have supplied from *Greek Legend*, ii. 39, where the words are quoted: καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ᾗδου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. The last two words form the beginning of the next verse. See also *x. 8, 10 (ix. 16)*. For 'descended to the angels' (*a*), *bc* read 'made him descend to the angels.'

21. *Days*. *ab* have simply 'days,' *c* 'forty days.' Dillmann is of opinion that originally the number 545 stood here, as in *ix. 16* (see note). The phraseology at all events is the same.

22. The sending forth of 'The Twelve' is recounted also in *iii. 17*, and in *ix. 17* in *L² S*. Cf. *Mt. xxviii. 18, 19*; *Acts i. 8, 9*. There is a further mention of 'The Twelve' in our text in *iv. 3*.

23. *Saw Him*. So *a. bc* 'Saw.'

Himself into their form, and all the angels of the firmament "and the Satans" saw Him and they worshipped. 24. And "there was much sorrow there, while" they said: 'How did our Lord descend *in our midst*, and we perceived not the glory [which has been upon Him], which we see has been upon Him from the sixth heaven?' 25. And He ascended into the second heaven, and He did not transform Himself, but all the angels who were on the right and on the left and the throne in the midst 26. Both worshipped Him and praised Him and said: 'How did our Lord escape us whilst

And worshipped. b omits.

23, 24. There is some difficulty connected with these verses. They ought to contain an account of the ascent through the firmament and the first heaven, for verse 25 describes the ascent into the second heaven. Our text confines the events to the firmament, whereas L² could be interpreted as referring only to the first heaven, for it speaks of 'the angels *above* the firmament.' S is doubtful. In any case the text of all three is defective. See L² S, p. 135.

24. *In our midst*. Emended with L² (S). See Critical Note. E = 'upon us.'

[Which has been upon Him]. Bracketed as a doublet. The verbs translated 'has been' differ in the Ethiopic.

Which we see . . . from the sixth heaven. Christ possessed the divine glory in His descent through the five heavens, i.e. from the sixth downward, though it was concealed. For 'we see' c reads 'thou seest,' an easier reading.

25, 26. Ascent into the second heaven.

25. And He ascended into the second heaven. L² S = 'And from the first heaven He ascended more glorious.' The comparative in L² S seems inconsistent with the context.

Who were on the right and on the left . . . midst. So S save that for 'the throne' it reads 'he that sat on the throne.' L² wrongly omits.

descending, and we perceived not?' 27. And in like manner He ascended into the third heaven, "and they praised and said in like manner." 28. And in the fourth heaven and in the fifth "also they said precisely after the same manner. 29. But there was one glory, and from it He did not change Himself. 30. And I saw when He ascended" into the sixth heaven, "and they worshipped and glorified Him". 31. But in all the heavens the praise increased (in volume). 32. And I saw how He ascended into the seventh heaven, and all the righteous and all the angels praised Him. And then I saw Him sit down on the right hand of that Great Glory whose glory I told you that I could not behold. 33. And also the angel of the Holy Spirit I saw sitting on the left hand. 34. And this angel said unto me: 'Isaiah, son of Amoz, *it is enough for thee*; "for these are great things"; for thou hast seen what no child of flesh has seen.

26. *Perceived not.* L²S add 'nor worshipped.'

27. L²S both err in adding 'into the second and' before 'into the third.'

27-30. Since both these versions compress verses 27-30 into three lines, it is clear that herein they represent exactly G² or the second recension of the Greek. Our text represents G¹.

32. *All the angels.* L²S add: 'et omnes virtutes.'

And then . . . Glory. So also S. L² wrongly omits.

The Great Glory. So b. *ac* omit, but S supports. See also ix. 37 (note), x. 16 where it rightly appears in the text.

I told you that. L²S omit.

33. See ix. 36.

34. **It is enough for thee**. Emended with L²S. Text corrupt = 'I preserve thee.'

No child of flesh has seen. After these words L²S (see p. 137).

35. And thou wilt return into thy garment (of the flesh) until thy days are completed. Then thou wilt come hither.' 36. These things Isaiah saw and told unto all that stood before him, and they praised. And he spake to Hezekiah the King "and said": 'I have spoken these things.' 37. Both the end of this world; 38. And all this vision will be consummated in the last generations. 39. And Isaiah made him swear that he would not tell (it) to the people of Israel, nor give these words to any man to transcribe. 40. . . . *Such things* ye will read. And watch ye in the Holy Spirit in order that ye may receive your garments and thrones and crowns of glory which are laid up in the "seventh" heaven. 41. On account of these visions

xi. 41-43 =
editorial
additions.

give what is really 1 Cor. ii. 9. Jerome, as we know, writes in his *Comment. in Isaiam*, lxiv. 4 (Vallarsi iv. 760): 'Ascensio enim Isaiae et apocalypsis Eliae hoc habent testimonium.' Since this passage is attested by L² and S, it therefore goes back to G², and it was a MS. of G² most probably that Jerome used. But since it is absent from E, it does not belong to G¹. Thus the textual evidence confirms Zahn's judgement, *Gesch. der Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, ii. 801-810. The passage runs: 'What eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, how great things God hath prepared for all (S om. 'all') that love Him.'

35. *Thy days are fulfilled.* See viii. 27.

36. *These things Isaiah saw and told.* I have emended text in accordance with L² S. The text = these things I saw. And Isaiah told.

And they praised. L² S = 'And hearing these (L² omit 'these') wonderful things they all praised and glorified.'

40. **Such things** ye will read. Emended with S from reading of *ac*, which = 'and then ye will read.' Before these words such a clause as that in S is lost: 'quantumcumque intellegitis a rege dicta in prophetis.'

and prophecies Sammael Satan sawed in sunder Isaiah the son of Amos, the prophet, by the hand of Manasseh. 42. And all these things Hezekiah delivered to Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year. 43. But Manasseh did not remember them nor place these things in his heart, but becoming the servant of Satan he was destroyed.

Here endeth the vision of Isaiah the prophet with his ascension.

ዕርገተ፡ ኢሳይያስ።

TO ANABATIKON HCAIOY
ASCENSIO ISAIÆ



ዕርገተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ።

I. ወኮኑ፡ በክረምት፡ በ¹ጼወኛ፡ በመንግሥቱ፡ ለሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ይሁዳ፡
ወደውዖ፡ ለምናሴ፡ ወልዱ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ ሎቱ። 2. ወደውዖ፡
በቅድመ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወልዱ፡ አሞጽ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወበቅድመ፡ ኢዮሳብ፡²
ወልዱ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ከመ፡ ያወፍዮ፡ ቃላተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘለሊሁ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ርእዩ፡
3. ወክኒደተ፡³ ዘለዓለም፡⁴ ወሥቃይተ፡³ ዘገሀነም፡ ወዘመኩንዝ፡⁵ ዓለም፡⁶
ወዘመላእክቲሁ፡ ወዘስልጣናቲሁ፡ ወዘነይላቲሁ፡ 4. ወቃላተ፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡
ለፍቅር፡ ዘለሊሁ፡ ርእዩ፡ በ*ዓመተ፡⁷ መንግሥቱ፡ ሰደቁሁ። 5. ወመጠዎ፡
ቃላተ፡ ጽሑፋት፡⁸ ዘጸሐፈ፡ ሳምናስ፡⁹ ጸሓፊ፡ ወእሳኒ፡ ወሀቦ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
ወልዱ፡ አሞጽ፡ ወ*ሰ¹⁰ነቢያትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽሐፉ፡ ወከመ፡ ያንብሩ፡ ንቤሁ፡
ዘውእቱ፡ በቤተ፡¹¹ ንጉሥ፡ ርእዩ፡¹² በእንተ፡ ዘካኒ፡ መላእክት፡ ወበእንተ፡
ተደምስሶቹ፡ ለዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወበእንተ፡ ልብሰተሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ወደኣተሙ፡
ወበእንተ፡ ተወልጦተሙ፡¹³ ወስደት፡ ወዕርገቱ፡ ለፍቅር። 6. በጼዓመተ፡

¹ *bc. a H.* ² *b. a ኢዮሴብ፡* such generally or *ኢዮስብ፡* ³ We should expect genitives dependent on *ቃላተ፡* instead of accusatives: see however *Gk. Leg. i. 2* for a similar construction.
⁴ *a. bc ዘዝ፡ ዓለም፡* ⁵ *Em. by Dln. from ወዘምኩናዝ፡ bc. a ዘምኩናን፡* ⁶ *bc. a ዘለዓለም፡* ⁷ So *b* save that I have omitted ለ before *መን፡* *a* በዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ በ፲ወ፤ ለዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡
⁸ *ac. b ጽሑፋት፡* ⁹ *a. b ሳምናስ፡* ¹⁰ *a omits.* ¹¹ *c. a ባሕቲቱ፡*
b ቤተ፡ ¹² *ac. b ራእይ፡* ¹³ *b. a ተወልጦሙ፡*

መንግሥቱ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ ርእዩ፤ አሳይደስ፤ ቃላተዝ፤ ትንቢት፤ ወመጠዎ፤
 ለኢዮሳብ፤ ወልዱ። ወውእቱ፤ እንዘ፤ ይኤዝዝ፤ እንዘ፤ ይቀውም፤ ኢዮሳብ¹
 ወልዱ፤ ለአሳይደስ፤ 7. ይቤሉ፤² አሳይደስ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ ንጉሥ፤ ወአኩ፤
 ባሕተቱ፤ ለቅድመ፤ ምናሴ፤ ዘይቤሉ፤ ሕደው፤ እግዚአብሔር፤ ዘኢተፈነወ፤
 ስሙ፤ ለዝ፤ ዓለም፤ ወሕደው፤ ፍቅሩ፤³ ለእግዚእዩ፤ ወሕደው፤ መንፈስ፤
 ዘ*በ⁴ሳዕሌዩ፤ ደትናገር፤ ከመ፤ ድሉን፤ እሳ*ንቱ፤⁴ ትእዛዝ፤ ወእሉ፤ ቃላት፤
 ይጸርዓ፤ በንብ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወልድኩ፤ ወበግብረ፤ እደዊሁ፤ በሥቃዩ፤ ሥጋዩ፤
 *አሕውር፤ አኑ፤⁵ 8. ወይትሰአክ፤ ሰማየል፤ መልኪራ፤ በምናሴ፤ ወድሉ፤⁶
 ፈቃዶ፤ ይገብር፤ ወውእቱ፤ ይከውን፤ ተላዊሁ፤ ለብልደር፤⁷ እምነዩ፤
 9. ወብዙጋኑ፤ ለኢየሩሳሌም፤ ወበይሁዳ፤ ደቀውሞሙ፤ እምሃይማኖት፤
 ጽድቅ፤ ወብልደር፤⁸ ይነብር፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወበእደዊሁ፤ አኑ፤ እትወሰር።
 10. ወሰሚዎ፤ ሕዝቅያስ፤ ዘንተ፤ ቃሉ፤ በከዩ፤ ዐቢዩ፤ ፈድፋድ፤ ወሠጠጠ፤
 አልባሲሁ፤ ወወደዩ፤ መሬተ፤ ውስተ፤ ርእሱ፤ ወወድቅ፤ በገጹ። 11. ወይቤሉ፤
 አሳይደስ፤ ተፈጸመ፤ ምክሩ፤ ለሰማየል፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ *ኢ⁴ይበቅብሁ።
 12. ወበዝክቱ፤ ዐለት፤⁹ ሕላዩ፤ ሕዝቅያስ፤ በልቡ፤ ከመ፤ ይቅተሉ፤ ለምናሴ፤
 ወልዱ። 13. ወይቤሉ፤ አሳይደስ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ አጽርዓ፤ ፍቅር፤ ለምክርክ፤
 ወኅሊና፤ ልብከኒ፤ ኢይሂሉ፤ እስመ፤ አንሱ፤ በዝ፤ ጽውዓ፤¹⁰ ተጸዋዕኩ፤ ወበርስቱ፤
 ለፍቅር፤¹¹ አኑ፤ እትወረስ።¹² 11. ወኩ፤ እምድኅረ፤ ሞተ፤ ሕዝቅያስ፤ ወነገሠ፤
 ምናሴ፤ ወ¹³ኢተዘከረ፤ ትእዛዛተ፤¹⁴ ሕዝቅያስ፤ አሉሁ፤ አሳ፤ ረስዎሙ፤ ወነደረ፤
 ሰማየል፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወጠገዐ፤¹⁵ ቦቱ፤¹⁶ 2. ወነደገ፤ ምናሴ፤ ተቀንዮ፤
 ለእግዚአብሔር፤ ዘአሉሁ፤ ወተቀንዮ፤ ለሰይጣን፤ ወለመላእክቲሁ፤ ወሰንዶ
 ሳቲሁ። 3. ወሚጠ፤ ቤተ፤ አሉሁ፤ እሱ፤ ኩ፤ ቅድመ፤ ገጹ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤
 *እም¹⁶ቃላት፤ ጥበብ፤ ወተቀንዮ፤ ለእግዚአብሔር።

4. ወሚጠ፤ ልቡ፤ ምናሴ፤ ከመ፤
 ይትቀነዶ፤ ለብልደር፤⁷ እስመ፤ መል
 አክ፤ ዐመዓ፤ ዘሥልጣነዝ፤ ዓለም፤
 ውእቱ፤ ብልደር፤¹⁷ ዘስመ፤ መጠንሱ
 ኩስ፤ ወውእቱ፤ ይትፈግሕ፤ በኢየሩሳ
 ሌም፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወደኃይሉ፤¹⁸

GREEK FRAGMENT FROM AMHERST
 PAPYRI = G².

II. 4—IV. 4. (See Introd., pp. xxviii—
 xxxi.)

II. 4. (. . . M)ανασση, καὶ κατε-
 (δυσ)νάμου αὐτὸν ἐν | (τῇ) ἀποστά-

¹ b. a ኢዮሳብ፤ such generally or ኢዮስብ፤

² bc. a ወይቤሉ፤

³ a. b ፍቅር፤

⁴ b om.

⁵ a. b ዩጋውር፤

⁶ b. a ወድሉ፤

⁷ c. ab ለብርያል፤

⁸ ac. b ወብርያል፤

⁹ Em. from በዝንቱ፤

ዐለት፤ ወ of bc፤ cf. Gk. Leg. i. 12 ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ διελογίζετο, κ.τ.λ.

a በዝክቱ፤ ቃላት፤ ወ.

¹⁰ a. b ጽዋዕ፤

¹¹ a. b ለፍቅርዩ፤

¹² a. bc እትዋረስ፤

¹³ a om.

¹⁴ a. bc ትእዘዝ፤

¹⁵ b. a ወጠገኑ፤

¹⁶ Supplied in accordance with Gk. Leg. iii. 3.

¹⁷ c. ab ብርያል፤

¹⁸ Em. by Dln. from ወደኃይሉ፤ so G² κατε(δυσ)νάμου.

G²

በአገሩ፡ ወበዐመዓ፡ ዘተዘርኡ፡
በኢየሩሳሌም፡፡ 5. ወበዘኀ፡¹ *ሰ
ገል፡ ወሥራዴ፡² ወተጣይር፡ ወአስተ
ቃሥ፡ ወዘመኑ፡ [ወሐዊረ፡ ብሏሊት፡
ብሏሊት]፡³ ወስደት፡ ዲድቃን፡ በእደ፡
ምናሴ፡ [ወበእደ፡ ብሏኪራ]፡⁴ ወበ
እደ፡⁵ ጦብደ፡⁶ ከናዊ፡ ወበእደ፡ ዮሐ
ንስ፡ ዘእምአናት፡ ወበእደ፡ ዘለቀ፡⁷
ንዋይ፡፡⁸ 6. ወትራፋት፡ ነገር፡ ነዋ፡
ጽሑፋን፡ እመንቱ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐ
ፊ፡ ነገሥተ፡⁹ ይሁዳ፡ ወእስራኤል፡፡
7. ወኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ ሶብ፡
ርእዩ፡ ዐመዓ፡¹⁰ ዘይትገበር፡ በኢየሩ
ሳሌም፡ ወተቀንዮ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ ወዘ
ውዖ፡¹¹ ተገኝሠ፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም፡
ወነበረ፡ ቤተ፡¹² ልሔም፡ ዘይሁዳ፡፡
8. ወበህዪ፡ ህሎ፡ *ዐመዓ፡ ብዙን፡፡¹³
ወተገኝሠ፡¹⁴ እምቤተ፡ ልሔም፡
ነበረ፡¹⁵ ውስተ፡ ደብር፡ *በመካከ፡
ገዳም፡፡¹⁶ 9. ወሚኪያስ፡ ነቢይ፡
*ወአናንደ፡ አረጋዊ፡¹⁷ ወአዮኤል፡¹⁸
ወእንባቃም፡ ወአዮሳብ፡¹⁹ ወልዱ፡
ወብዙን፡ እሳ፡ የእምኑ፡ መሃይም
ናን፡²⁰ ዐርገተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ተገኝሠ፡
ወነበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብር፡፡ 10. ዘሎ

σει²¹ καὶ τῇ | (ἀν)ομία, ἥτις²² ἐσπάρη
ἐν | (Ἱ)ερουσαλήμ. 5. Κα(ι) ἐπλή-
θυνεν | (ἡ) φαρμακεία καὶ ἡ μα|γεία
καὶ ἡ μαντεία καὶ | οἱ κληδονισμοὶ
καὶ | ἡ πορνεία καὶ ὁ διωγμὸς | τῶν
δικαίων ἐν | χερσὶ²³ Μανασσῆ | καὶ
ἐν χερσὶν τοῦ Του|βι τοῦ Χανα-
νίτου | καὶ ἐν χερσὶν Ἰωνᾶν | τοῦ
Ναθὼθ καὶ ἐν χερ|σὶν Σαδὼκ τοῦ
ἐπὶ τῶν πραγματειῶν. 6. καὶ οἱ
λοιποὶ λό|γοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμέ|νοι
εἰς(ιν ἐν) ἐν τοῖς βί|βλοις τῶν (β)α-
σ(ιλέων) | Ἰούδα καὶ Ἰ(σραήλ)
7. . . . | (κ)αὶ τὴν πομπή(ν αὐ)τοῦ |
ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπ(ὸ Ἱερουσαλ)ήμ |
καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν Β(ηθ)λε|ἐμ τῆς
Ἰουδαίας. 8. (καὶ) | ἐκεῖ δὲ ἦν
ἀνομ(ία π)ολ|λή, καὶ ἀναχωρή-
σα(ς) | ἀπὸ Βηθλεέμ ἐκά(θι)|σεν
ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν τό|πῳ ἐρήμῳ. 9. καὶ
Μιχα|ὰς ὁ προφήτης καὶ Ἀ|νανίας
ὁ γέρον καὶ ᾿Ι|ω|ήλ καὶ Ἀμβα-
κούμ καὶ | Ἰ[σ]ασούφ ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-
τοῦ | καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πισ|τῶν τῶν
πιστευόν|των²⁴ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνα-
βῆναι ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐ|κάθισαν
εἰς τὸ ὄρος, 10. πάν|τε(ς) σάκκον

¹ a. b ወበዘኀ: ² a. b ሰገለ: ወመሠርዩ: ³ Bracketed because wanting in G² and Gk. Leg. iii. 3 ⁴ Bracketed because wanting in G: name appears first in ii. 12. b reads በሐኪራ:
⁵ a. b om. ⁶ b. ac ጦብደ: ⁷ Em. from ዘለቃ: of bc. a ዘለቃ:
⁸ a. bc ንገሠ: ⁹ a adds ብዙን: against bc and Gk. Leg. iii. 8.
¹⁰ a. b ወዘውዕ: c ወዘውዓ: ¹¹ a. bc በቤተ: ¹² a. b trs. and reads ብዙን: for ብዙን: ¹³ a. bc ወተገኝሠ: ¹⁴ ac. b ኢየሩሳሌም:
¹⁵ a. bc ወነበረ: ¹⁶ a. b መካን: ገዳም: ¹⁷ a. bc ወአናንደስ: አረጋይ:
¹⁸ a. b ወአዮኤል: ¹⁹ b. a ኢዮሴብ: ²⁰ a trs. aft. ሰማይ:
²¹ E has an active sense here. ²² Em. with E from ωs. ²³ MS. χειρμανασση.
²⁴ Em. by Grenfell and Hunt from πιστων οντων.

G²

መ፡ *ሠቀ፡ ይተዐጸፉ፡ ወክሎሙ፡¹
 ነቢያት፡ እመነቱ፡ ምነተሂ፡ እነዝ፡
 አልሎሙ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ አባ፡² ዐራቆ
 ሙ፡ እመነቱ፡ ወክሎሙ፡ ይላሐው፡
 *ላሐ፡ ዐቢዩ፡³ በእነተ፡ በሐተተ፡ እስ
 ራኤል፡፡ II. ወእሱ፡ አልሎሙ፡ ዘይ
 በልፁ፡ ዘእነበለ፡ ሐምሌ፡ ገዳም፡
 ይቀነጥሱ፡⁴ እምአድባር፡ ወአብሲ
 ሎሙ፡ ይሴሰዩ፡ ምስሌ፡ አላይያስ፡
 ነቢይ፡ ወነበሩ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ወ
 ውስተ፡ አውግር፡ ካልኤ፡⁵ ዓመተ፡
 መቀዕል፡፡ 12. ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ሀሊ
 ዎሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ወሀለው፡ አሐ
 ዱ፡⁶ ብእሲ፡ በሰማርያ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ብል
 ኪራ፡⁷ እምአዘማዱ፡ ለሰዱቅያስ፡ ወ
 ልደ፡ ከናክ፡ ሐላዌ፡ ነቢይ፡ ዘመነበሩ፡
 በቤተ፡ ልሑም፡ ወሐዝቅያስ፡⁸ ወል
 ደ፡ ከናኒ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ እኑ፡ አሱህ፡
 ወበመዋዕለ፡ አካክብ፡ ንጉሠ፡ እስራ
 ኤል፡ መምህሮሙ፡⁹ ውእቱ፡ ለ፪ኛነቢ
 ያት፡ ዘበዓል፡¹⁰ ወውእቱ፡ ጸፍዎ፡ ወፀ
 አሎ፡¹¹ ለሚኪያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አማዳ፡¹²
 ነቢይ፡፡ 13. ወውእቱ፡ ተጽእሎ፡ እም
 አካክብ፡ ወተወድዩ፡ ሚኪያስ፡¹³ ውስተ፡
 ሞቅሕ፡¹⁴ ምስሌ፡ ሰዶቅያስ፡ ነቢይ፡
 ሀለው፡ ምስሌ፡ አክዝያ፡¹⁵ ወልደ፡

περιβεβλημένοι, | καὶ πάντες ἦσαν
 προφήται, | οὐδὲν ἔχοντες μετ' αὐ-
 τῶν | ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ ἦσαν, πενθοῦν-
 τες πένθος μέγα περὶ τῆς πλ(ά)-
 νης τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. II. καὶ οὗτοι
 οὐκ ἦσ|θιον εἰ μὴ βοτάνας τίλλον-
 (τε)ς | ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ *..... |
¹⁶ μετὰ Ἡσα(ίο)υ¹⁷ *οἰκοῦν-
 τες. καὶ ἐπε(ί) ἦσαν¹⁸ ἐν τ(ο)ῖς
 ὄρε|σιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βουνοῖς (δ)ύ(ο)
 ἔ|τη | ἡμερῶν¹⁹ 12. <ἐπὶ> τοῦ
 ε(ἰ)ναι αὐτοὺς (ἐν) | τοῖς ἐρήμ(ο)ις
 καὶ.....|.....| ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ
 φῶ (&)νομα | ἦν Βελιχειὰρ ἐκ τῆς
 συγγενίας Σεδεκίου | υἱοῦ Χαναὶ τοῦ
 ψευ|δοπροφήτου ὃς ἦν | κατοικῶν
 ἐν Βηθα|νία²⁰. καὶ Σεδεκίας υἱὸς |
 Χαναὶ ὃς ἦν ἀδελ|φὸς τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐ|τοῦ, ἐν δὲ²¹ ταῖς ἡμέραις | Ἀχαῶβ
 βασιλέως τοῦ | Ἰσραὴλ ἦν²² διδάσ-
 καλος τῶν τετρα|κοσίων προφητῶν |
 τοῦ²³ Βαάλ, καὶ αὐτὸ(ς) | ἐράπισεν
 καὶ ὕβρι|σεν τὸν Μιχαῖαν υἱὸν Ἰεμ-
 μαδὰ τὸν προφήτην* 13. καὶ αὐτὸς
 δὲ ὕβρι(ισ)|θη ὑπὸ Ἀχαῶβ καὶ |
 ἐβλήθη Μιχαῖας | εἰς φυλακὴν.
 Ὦ καὶ ἦν¹ | μ(ε)τὰ Σεδεκίου τοῦ | ψευ-

¹ a. b om.² b. a እሲ፡³ b trs.⁴ a. b ይቀነጥሱ፡⁵ a. b ፪.⁶ b ፪.⁷ b በልኪራ፡ On the various forms of thisname of which the most primitive form appears to be that in the text, see note, p. 13. ⁸ See exegetical note, p. 14. ⁹ a መሀሮሙ፡¹⁰ b om.¹¹ bc ወጸአሎ፡¹² a. cf. G² Ἰεμμαδά. b አማዳ፡¹³ b om.¹⁴ Add ወሀለው፡ in accordance with G² καὶ ἦν.¹⁵ For

አክዝያ፡ (b), a reads አክዝያ፡

ὁ προφήτης.

¹⁶ E = ἔψαντες ἐτρέφοντο.¹⁷ E adds

αὐτοῦ.

¹⁸ E = καὶ οἰκοῦντες ἦσαν.¹⁹ E adds καὶ μετὰ

αὐτοῦ.

²⁰ E = Βηθλεέμ.²¹ Above the line in MS.²² MS.

ισραηλπλην. Grenfell and Hunt explain πλ as a dittography of ηλ.

²³ MS. της.

G²*አሰጋሬም: በሰላኤው::¹

δοπροφήτο(ν) | ὄντος¹⁰. ἦσαν μετὰ |
'Οχοζείον υἱοῦ 'Αλὰ(μ)¹¹ | ἐν Σεμ-
μωμα |

14. ወኤልደስ: ነቢይ:²
ዘእም*ቴሶን:³ ዘእምግ
ሰኢድ: ደጼኤል: ሰኢኩ-
ዝደ: *ወፊሰማርድ: *ወፋ-
ውኣቱ: ተነባዩ: በእንተ:
ኢኩዝደ: ከመ: *ሰምስ-
ካባ: ደዌህ:⁵ ደመውት:
*ወፊሰማርድ: በኢድ: ል-
ባ: ናስር: ትትወህብ: እ-
ስመ: ቀተሰ: ነቢይት: እግ-
ዚኡብሐር:: 15. ወሰባ:
ሰምቡ: ነቢይት: ሐሰት:
እሳ: ምስሳ: ኢኩዝደ:⁷
ወልድ: አካኡብ: *ወመ-
ምህርመ: አደልርደስ:²
እምደብር: አዮኤል:
16. ወውኣቱ: [ኢብከ-
ራ:]⁸ እኑህ: ሰሰደቅደ:⁹

14. καὶ Ἠλείας (ὁ προ-
φήτης) ἐκ Θεο(βών)¹²
... | καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίαν, |
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπροφήτευσεν
περὶ 'Οχοζείου ὅτι ἐν
κλίνῃ ἀρρωστίας¹³ ἀπο-
θανεῖται καὶ ἡ Σαμαρία
εἰς | χεῖρας Ἀλνασάρ
παράδοθήσεται ἀνθ' ὧν |
ἐφόνευσεν τοὺς | προφή-
τας τοῦ Θεοῦ. 15.
(κα)ὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ
προφῆται¹⁴ (ο)ὶ μετὰ
'Οχοζείον υἱοῦ 'Αλὰμ
καὶ | (ὁ) διδάσκαλος
αὐτῶν | Ἰαλλαρίας¹⁵ ἐξ
ὄρους + Ἰσ|λαλ+¹⁶
16. καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν [ο |

FRAGMENT OF THE FIRST
LATIN VERSION = L¹.

II. 14—III. 13.

(See Introd., pp. xxi,
xxix-xxxi.)

14. (pro)fetas Dei.
'15. Et cum audis-
sent pseudoprofe-
tae qui erant cum
Ochodiam filium
Achab, *qui fuerat
doctor eorum Ga-
marias¹⁷ de monte
Efrem, 16. Et ipse
fuit frater Sedeciae,

¹ For በሰላኤው: (a), b reads በሰኤው: The phrase አሰ' በሰ' is clearly a transliteration = Alamerem balala'aw. Alam in the first word = Ἀχάβ; for Ἀχάβ is so written in ii. 15 of G². Again balala'aw was probably basala'aw (i.e. βασιλέως), since ሰ and ሰ are sometimes confused in Ethiopic. Thus we have 'Ahab . . . king.' The intervening letters êrêm may be corrupt and defective for ἐν Σεμμω, itself corrupt for ἐν Σαμαρία: cf. 1 Kings xxi. 1 'Ahab, king of Samaria.' ² a om. ³ bc ዘሶን: ⁴ b om.

⁵ a ሰምስካባ: በደዌህ: ⁶ Em. with G: E wrongly በ.

⁷ b አኩዝደ: ⁸ I have with L bracketed this word: b reads አኩከራ:

⁹ a ሰሰደቅደ: ¹⁰ MS. ψευδοπροφήτο οντες. ¹¹ See note ¹ above.

¹² Remainder of this line and the next two undecipherable. ¹³ E adds αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴ EL¹ = ψευδοπροφήται.

¹⁵ E = Jâlergâs, L¹ Gamarias. ¹⁶ Corrupt possibly for Ἰσραήλ.

In that case Efrem would be simply an equivalent in thought though not in letter. Jôêl or Îjôêl of E could arise from Ἰσηλ.

¹⁷ Should be et Gamarias qui fuerat doctor eorum.

G²L¹

ሰሚዖሙ፡ አእመንዎ፡¹
ለአኩዝዎ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ተክ
ጉሮኑ፡ ወ²ሰሚኪዮስ፡

Βεχειρ(ᾰ)]⁷ ἀδελφὸς
τοῦ | Σεδεκίου, ἀκού-
σαν(τ)ες⁸ μετέπεισαν
τὸν | Ὀχολείαν βασιλέα |
Γομόρρων καὶ ἐφό-
(ν)ευσαν τὸν Μιχαί-
(α)ν. III. I. καὶ Βε-
χειρὰ ἔγνω, | (κ)αὶ εἶ-
δεν τὸν τό(π)ον τοῦ
Ἡσαίου | (καὶ τῶ)ν
προφη(τῶν τῶν) μετ'
αὐ(τοῦ. οὗτο)ς γὰρ ἦν
οἱ κῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ |
Βηθλεέμ, καὶ ἐκολλή-
θη τῷ Μανασσῇ. καὶ |
αὐτὸς ἦν ψευδοπροφη-
τεύων ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ,
καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ Ἱερου-
σαλὴμ ἐκολλή(θ)ησαν
πρὸς αὐτόν. | καὶ αὐ-
τὸς δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ | Σαμα-
ρίας. 2. καὶ ἐγένε(το
ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν Ἀλ)γασάρ
Ἀσσυρίων βασι|λέα
καὶ αἰχμαλωτί(σ)αι τὴν
Σαμαρίαν | καὶ λαβεῖν
τὰς ἐν(νέ)α ἡμυσιν⁹
φυλὰς ἐ(ν) αἰχμαλωσίᾳ |

suasit¹⁰ Ochodiam
regem Gomorrae, et
occidit¹⁰ Micheam.

III. I. ወበልኪራ፡³ ለበ
ወ፡⁴ ወርእዩ፡ መካከ፡ ኢሳ
ይደስ፡ ወዘነቢዮት፡ ዘአሰ፡
ምስሌህ፡ እስመ፡ ወአቶ፡
* ይኑበር፡ በብሔር፡⁵ ስሌ
ት፡ ልሔም፡ ወተጸምዶ፡
ለምናሌ፡ ወወአቶ፡ ይት
ኔበዶ፡ ሐሰተ፡ በአየተሳ
ሌም፡ ወበዙጋኑ፡ እም
አየተሳሌም፡ እሰ፡ ትብቶ፡
ምስሌህ፡ ወወአቶሰ፡
እምሰማርዶ፡ ወአቶ፡
2. ወካኑ፡ በዘ፡ መጽአ፡
አሰገር፡ ዘጋር፡ ንጉሡ፡
አሰርዶ፡ ወኔወዋ፡ ለሰማ
ርዶ፡ ወነሥኡ፡ ተስፃጊህ፡
ሕዝብ፡⁶ በዴዋ፡ ወወሰዶ

III. I. Et cognovit
Bechira, et vidit
locum Eseeiae et pro-
fetarum qui cum
illo erant; ipse enim
habitat in Beth-
lem¹¹; † et abiit Hie-
rosolima, et † con-
juncti sunt et * ipse
a Samaria¹³. 2. Et
factum est cum ve-
nisset Salmanassar
rex Assyriorum, et
accepisset Samari-
am, et abduxisset
novem¹⁴ et dimi-
dia(m) tribus in cap-
tivitatem et per-

¹ ስ እምንዎ፡ ² Add ቀተሰ፡ with G² L¹. ³ Em. with G² L¹ from
abc ወለበልኪራ፡ ⁴ c. ab ወለበወ፡ ⁵ Em. with G² from a
ይኑበር፡ (a vox nulla). ስ በብሔር፡ ⁶ Em. from a ሕዝብ፡ bc
ሕዝብ፡ ⁷ Is an intrusion, though supported by E: see exegetical
note, ii. 16. ⁸ So E. L¹ om. ⁹ So L¹. E om. ¹⁰ Should
be in plural as in EG² ¹¹ MS. Bechem. EG²=regione Bethlehem.
¹² Defective and corrupt. E G²=et conjunctus est Manassi
et ipse prophetabat mendacium in Hierosolyma et multi ex
Hierosolyma. ¹³ Em. by Nitzsch from ipsi Asamaria. ¹⁴ Em.
from nomen.

G²L¹

መ፡ ውስተ፡ በኣውርተ፡¹
 ሜዶን፡ ወአፍላገ፡ ጠዘን፡²
 3. ዘውእቱ፡ ወሬዛ፡ ተ
 ነጥአ፡ ወመጽአ፡ አየሩሳ
 ሌም፡⁴ በመዋዕለ፡ ሕዝ
 ቅደስ፡ ነገሡ፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወ
 ኢሶሪ፡ በፍጥ፡ አቡሁ፡
 ዘሰማርያ፡⁵ እስመ፡ ሕዝ
 ቅደስ፡ ይፈርህ፡ 4. ወ
 ተረክበ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ሕዝ
 ቅደስ፡ እነዚ፡ ይተናገር፡
 ነገራት፡⁶ ዐመዳ፡ በአየሩሳ
 ሌም፡ 5. *ወአስተዋደ
 ደዎ፡ ደቀ፡⁷ ሕዝቅደስ፡
 ወተነጥአ፡ በሐረ፡ ቤተ፡
 ልሔም፡ ወአእመነ፡...።⁸

καὶ | ἀπενέγκαι αὐτοὺς |
 εἰς ὄρη⁹ Μήδων καὶ |
 ποταμῶν¹⁰ [καὶ]¹¹ Γω-
 ζάν, 3. οὗτος ἦν νεώ-
 τερος, καὶ ἔφυγεν | καὶ
 ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱε(ρου)σαλήμ
 ἡμ(έρ)αις (Ἐξ)εῖ |
 βασ(ιλέως) Ἰουδα. κα(ὶ)
 οὐκ ἐπάτει¹² * εἰς Σα-
 μαρίαν ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ πα-
 τρός αὐτοῦ¹³, ὅτι τὸν
 Ἐζεκιαν ἐφοβέιτο. | 4.
 καὶ εὗρέθη ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
 Ἐζεκίου λαλῶν λόγους
 ἀνομίας ἐν Ἱερουσα-
 μῇ, | 5. καὶ κατηγο-
 ρήθη ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων |
 Ἐζεκίου καὶ ἔφυγεν |
 εἰς τὴν χώραν Βηθ-
 λεέμ. καὶ ἐπεισαν¹⁴.

duxisset eos in mon-
 tem Medorum et
 ad flumen Gozan :
 3. Bechira fuit ju-
 venior, et fugit et
 pervenit Hierosoly-
 mam in diebus Eze-
 ciae regis Judeae :
 non ambulabat in
 via Samaritani¹⁵
 patris sui, quoniam
 timebat Ezeciam.
 4. Et inventus est in
 tempore Ezeciae lo-
 quens v(erba) injus-
 titiae in Hierusa-
 lem, 5. Et spretus
 est¹⁶ a pueris Eze-
 ciae et fugit in
 regione(m) Beth-

¹ *oria* (?). If so, this may be a corruption of *ὄρη* as in G² (and L²); if not, then our text agrees with the Massoretic text of 2 Kings xvii. 6 (יֶרֶךְ) against LXX which imply יֶרֶךְ. ² *ἕ* ጠዘን፡

³ *ἕ* H. ⁴ *ἕ* om. ⁵ *ἕ* ዘመርያ፡ E alone is right here : see note on G² *in loc.* ⁶ *bc* ነገረ፡ ⁷ *ἕ* ወውስተ፡ እሳት፡ ወደደደዎ፡ ደቂቅ፡

⁸ Text defective. Better read pl. with G². ⁹ See note on E *in loc.* ¹⁰ Corrupt for *ποταμούς*. ¹¹ Should be excised. ¹² MS.

(*ε*)*πατεῖς*. ¹³ Corruption can be understood from L¹ which gives : in via Samariae patris sui. Thus L¹ = ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Since this was unintelligible, some scribe of G² transposed ἐν ὁδῷ and ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ (*εἰς Σαμαρίαν* being probably his correction). From E we see that ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ should be Σαμαρείτου. The error can be explained by the Hebrew : ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ = יְנִי בְּשַׁמְרֵן בְּרֶךְ where "ש" is corrupt for יְנִימְשֶׁה. Thus the Greek should be : ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴ Text defective. See exegetical note *in loc.* ¹⁵ MS.

Samariae. See note ¹³ above. ¹⁶ = *κατεφρονήθη* corrupt for *κατηγορήθη* as *contempsit* (ver. 6) = *κατεφρόνησεν* (Turner).

G²L¹

6. **ω**κ¹η¹τ¹φ¹ρ¹ρ¹:¹ **α**δ
ηζ: **α**κ¹η¹ρ¹ρ¹: **ω**α¹
αρ¹τ¹: ***κ**α: **ρ**η¹α¹υ¹:²
κη¹η: **ρ**-**α**δ: **κ**η¹ρ¹ρ¹:
ωκ¹α: **ρ**η¹α¹υ¹: **ρ**τ¹ε
αφ: **α**δ¹α: **κ**η¹ρ¹ρ¹ρ¹:
ωα¹δ¹α: **κ**η¹τ¹ζ: **ρ**υ¹ρ¹:
***η**σ: **ρ**σ¹η¹ς:² **ω**-**α**η¹
ρρ¹ε: **η**σ: **ρ**α¹ω¹ζ:
αφ: **ω**α¹δ¹α¹η¹ε: **κ**η¹
ηζ: **η**τ¹ρ¹: **η**σ: **α**σ
αη¹τ¹: **ω**α¹σ¹φ¹κ¹η¹τ¹:
ηρ¹η: **τ**α¹ω¹ζ: 7. **ω**
κσ¹τ¹ρ¹α: **α**η¹τ¹: **ρ**τ¹ε
αφ: **α**κ¹η¹ζ-**α**δ: **ω**³**ρ**
υρ¹: 8. **ω**α¹α¹υ¹: **κ**η¹
ρρ¹: **ρ**α: **κ**ω¹α: 6.
ρ4: **κ**σ¹α: **α**α¹ρ¹: 9.
ωσ¹α¹α¹: **ρ**α: **κ**α
α: **α**κ¹α: **η**ρ¹α¹ρ¹:

6. καὶ κατηγορήσεν |
Μελεῖντὰ τοῦ Ἡσαίου
καὶ τῶν προφητῶν⁵
λέγων ὅτι Ἡσαίας καὶ
*οἱ προφήται⁶ | οἱ με-
τὰ Ἡσαίου⁷ προφη-
τεύουσιν ἐπὶ Ἱερουσα-
λὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ | (τὰς πό-
λεις Ἰούδα⁸ | (καὶ)
Βε(νι)αμὲν ὅτι | (πο)-
ρεύ(σο)νται⁹ ἐν γαλε-
(αγ)ρ(αῖς καὶ) ἐν πέδαις |
.....¹⁰ ἀπελεύσῃ, | 7. καὶ
αὐτοὶ ψευδοπροφητεύ-
ουσιν | καὶ¹¹ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ
καὶ | τὸν Ἰούδαν *καὶ
τὸν | Βενιαμὲν αὐτοὶ |
μισοῦσιν, καὶ ὁ λόγος
αὐτῶν κακὸς | ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἰούδαν | καὶ τὸν Ἰσ-
ραὴλ¹². 8. καὶ | αὐτὸς
Ἡσαίας εἶπεν | [αὐτοῖς],
βλέπω πλέον Μωυσῆ
τοῦ προφήτου. 9. εἶπεν
γὰρ | Μωυσῆς ὅτι οὐκ

lem¹³. 6. Et contem-
sit¹⁴ Bechira Eseiam
et profetas *qui cum
eo erant¹⁵, dicens,
quia(m) Eseias et
profetae, qui cum
illo sunt, profetabant
in Hierusalem et
a(d) civitatis Judeae,
*quoniam deserentur¹⁶ *et in filios
Judeae¹⁷ et Benja-
min¹⁸, quoniam capi-
tivi¹⁵ ducentur¹⁹: *et
in te²⁰, *domine rex,
quoniam¹⁵ *galeagra
et²¹ per ferrum dedu-
ceris. 7. Ipsi profe-
taverunt²² in Istra-
hel et in Juda *et in
Hierusalem²³. 8. Et
ipse Esaias dixit se
plus quam Moysen
profetare²⁴. 9. Dixit
enim Moyses quo-

¹ **ω**κ¹η¹τ¹φ¹ρ¹ρ¹:² G om. but L¹ supports.³ **ω**α¹.⁴ a om.⁵ E L¹ add τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ.⁶ E om.⁷ E L¹ =

αὐτοῦ.

⁸ G² om. through hmt. the following words: ὅτι ἐρημωθή-
σονται καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰούδα. So L¹. E om. καὶ ἐπὶ . . . Ἰούδα.⁹ Here G² is again defective. Add with E L¹ αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ ἐπὶ σε,
Κύριε βασιλεῦ ὅτι.¹⁰ The missing word may be δέσμιος.¹¹ E L¹ = ἐπὶ.¹² E om., L¹ gives only et in Hierusalem.¹³ MS. Bechem.¹⁴ See note¹⁶ on preceding page.¹⁵ So also E,but G² om.¹⁶ So E, but G² om. MS. deseruntur.¹⁷ E G² om.¹⁸ MS. Beniami.¹⁹ MS. ducuntur.²⁰ MS. et inde. G² om.²¹ MS. galea grec. Niebuhr em.²² Read pseudoprotetaverunt
with E G².²³ E om. G² has a large divergent addition.²⁴ Corrupt for videre.

G²L¹

ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወየሐ
ዩ፡ ወአሳይያስ፡ ይቤ፡
እኔ፡ ርእክም፡ ለእግዚአብ
ሔር፡ ወነዋ፡ ሕያው፡ እኔ።
10. ንጉሥ፡ አእምርኩ፡
ከመ፡ *ነቢያት፡ ሐሰት፡
እመንቸ¹² ወሰደረሳሌ
ምኒ፡ ሰይም፡ ሰመያ፡ ወ
ሰመላእክት፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወ
አደረሳሌም፡ ሕዝቡ፡ ገሞ
ራ፡ ረሰዮሙ። ወብዙጉ፡
አስተዋደዮ፡³ ለአሳይያ
ስ፡ ወሰነቢያት፡ በጎብ፡
ምናሴ። 11. ወነበረ፡
ብልደር፡⁴ ወስተ፡ ልብ፡
ምናሴ፡ ወወስተ፡ ልብ፡
መላእክት፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወብ
ጊደም፡ ወዛፀዋጉ፡ ወ
ዘመምክራ፡ ንጉሥ።
12. ወአደሞ፡ ፈደፋደ፡
ነገረ፡ ብልክራ፡⁵ ወፈነወ፡
ወአሐዘ፡ ለአሳይያስ።
13. እስመ፡ ብልደር፡⁴
*ሰመዓት፡ ዐቢይ፡ ሀሎ፡⁶
ላባሉ፡ አሳይያስ፡ እምራ

ὁψεται ἄνθρωπος | τὸν
θεὸν καὶ ζήσεται⁽¹⁾, |
'Hσαίας δὲ εἶπεν εἰδὼν
τὸν (θεὸν) κ(α)ὶ ἰδοὺ |
ζῶ. 10. βασι(λ)εὺ
(γ)νω(σ)|κε ὅτι ψευ-
δῆ(ς) ἐστίν. καὶ τὴν
'Ι(ε)ρου|σαλὴμ Σόδο-
(μ)α ἐ|κάλεσεν, κ(α)ὶ
τοὺς|ἄρχοντα(ς)'Ιουδα|
καὶ 'Ισραὴλ⁷ (λαὸν Γο-)|
μόρρας προ(οσηγό)|ρευ-
σεν. (κ)α(ὶ) πολλὰ |
κατηγόρει ἐπὶ τοῦ | Μα-
νασση⁸ καὶ τῶν προ-
φητῶν. 11. καὶ ἐ|κά-
θισεν Βελιὰρ ἐν | τῇ
καρ(δ)ία τοῦ Μα|νασση
καὶ ἐν τῇ καρ|δία τῶν
ἀρχόντων | 'Ιουδα καὶ
Βενιαμὲν | καὶ τῶν εὐ-
νούχων | καὶ τῶν συμ-
βού|λων * τοῦ βασιλέ-
ως⁹ 12. καὶ ἤρσαν αὐ-
τῷ οἱ λόγοι τοῦ Βελ-
χειρὰ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν |
καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν |
'Hσαίαν. 13. ἦν γὰρ
ὁ Βελιὰρ ἐν θυμῷ
πολ|λῷ (ἐ)πὶ 'Hσαίαν

niam homo non po-
test videre Deum¹⁰;
dixit autem Eseias
Vidi Deum et ecce
vivo. 10. Tu, rex,
intellige quoniam
mendax est: et ecce¹¹
Hierusalem Sodom-
am dixit, et pri(n)ci-
pes [ejuset]¹² Judeae
et Hierusalem popu-
lum Gomorrae nom-
inavit¹³. Et coram¹⁴
(Manasse)¹⁵ in mul-
tis detradixit Eseiae
et profetis. 11. Et
supersedit Beliar¹⁶ in
corde Manasse, et
corde¹⁷ principum
Joudae et Benjamin
et spadonum et con-
siliariorum¹⁸ regis.
12. Et placueruntei[s]
sermone Bechire,
et mandavit rex et
adprehenderunt¹⁹
Eseiam. 13. Fuit
enim Beliar¹⁶ bitem
habens in Eseiam

¹ b om. ² Since L² has mendax est and G² ψευδῆ(ς) ἐστίν the text is corrupt; we should read **ሐሳዩ፡ ወአቸ፡** ³ bc **አስተዋደዮ፡** ⁴ ab **ብርደል፡** ⁵ b **ብልክራ፡** ⁶ b **ተምዐ፡**
⁷ E L¹ = 'Ιερουσαλήμ rightly: cf. Isa. i. 10. ⁸ Add τοῦ 'Hσαίου from E L¹. ⁹ MS. τῶν βασιλέων. ¹⁰ Add et vivere with E G².
¹¹ E G² om. ¹² Should be excised. ¹³ MS. nominavit. ¹⁴ MS. cum. ¹⁵ Added from E G². ¹⁶ MS. Beliac. ¹⁷ MS. corda.
¹⁸ MS. consiliario. Mai em. ¹⁹ E G² give sing.

G²L¹

እይ: ወእምካሂት: Hh
ሠት: ለሰማያል: ወከመ:
በእንተአሁ: አስተርአይ:
ምጽአት: ለፍቅር: እም
ላብዕ: ለማይ: ወተወል
ሎቱ: ምርዳቱ: ወራእ
ዩኒ: በዘ: ሀሰው: ይተወ
ሰጥ: ሰራእይ: ሰብእ:
ወስደቱ: ዘይሰደደ: ወ
ስቃያት: ሀሀሎ: ደቂቅ:
እስራኤል: ይግቅደም: ምጽአት:
፲፱፻፳፭ እርዳ
አሁ: ወትምህርት: ወከ
መ: ሀሰው: ቅድመ: ሰን
ሰት: *በዕፁ: ይሰቀል:
ወምስላ: ዕደው: ገበ
ርት: ዐመፃ: ይሰቀል: ወ
ከመ: በመቃብር: ይተ
ቀር:

ἀπὸ | τῆς (ὁρά)σεως καὶ
ἀπὸ | τοῦ (δει)γματισ-
μοῦ | ὅτι (ἐ)δειγματί-
σεν | τὸν (Σ)αμαήλ,
καὶ ὁ (τι δι' α)ὐτοῦ
ἐφανε| (ρώθη ἡ) ἐξέλευ-
σις | τοῦ ἀγα|πητοῦ ἐκ |
(τοῦ ἐβδ)όμου οὐρα-
(νοῦ καὶ ἡ) μεταμόρ-
φωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ |
κατά|βασις αὐτοῦ, καὶ |
ἡ ἰδέα ἣν δει αὐτὸν |
μεταμορφωθῆναι | ἐν
εἶδει ἀνθρώπου, | καὶ ὁ
διωγμὸς ὃν διω|χθήσε-
ται, καὶ αἱ κολά|σεις αἷς
δεῖ τοὺς υἱ|οὺς τοῦ Ἰσ-
ραὴλ αὐτὸν | κολάσαι,
καὶ ἡ τῶν δώ|δεκα μα-
θητεία¹¹, καὶ | ὥς δεῖ
αὐτὸν¹² μετὰ | ἀνδρῶν
κακοποι|ῶν σταυρωθῆ-
ναι, | καὶ ὅτι ἐν μνη-
με(ί)ῳ | ταφήσεται,

propter (visionem et
propter)¹³ quod * in
se¹⁴ ostenderit Sam-
ael, et quoniam ipse
nuntiavit¹⁵ adventum
dilectissimi de sep-
timo caelo et trans-
figurationem¹⁶ ejus
et discensum et for-
mam in qua trans-
figureretur esse hom-
inis, et persecutio-
nem, quam passurus
est, et contumeliam
quam patere(tur)

14 ወ፲፱፻፳፭ እሰ: ምስሌሁ: ይተወቅ
ፉ: ሎቱ: ወ*ዕቅብት: 10 እሰ: የዕቅብት:

14. κ(α)ὶ δώ|δεκα οἱ μετ' α(ὐ)-
τοῦ | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σκανδα|λισθήσον-
ται, κα(ὶ) | ἡ τήρησις¹⁷ τῶν τ(η)-
ρητῶν τοῦ μνημο|νείου,

¹ c ምጽአት: So L¹ adventum. E shows leanings to text of L¹:
አስተርአይ: could be translated actively = revelavit. ² ac

ተወልሎት: ³ b ወይትዌላት: ⁴ ac ወሥቃያት: ⁵ b om.

⁶ b ወይሰቅደም: ሀሰው: ⁷ bc ወትምህርት: ⁸ b ይሰቀል: በዕፁ:

⁹ Em. from a እሰ: bc read እንዘ: a manifest correction. ¹⁰ Em.
from ab ዐቅብት: in accordance with G². ¹¹ E = παρουσία καὶ ἡ

μαθητεία. ¹² Add with E πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου σταυρωθῆναι ἐπὶ ξύλου.

Cf. ix. 14, xi. 20 of E. ¹³ Lost by hmt. Supplied from EG². ¹⁴ Cor-

rupt for ostensione(?). ¹⁵ G² has a passive construction. E has

a verb that = revelatus est or revelavit. ¹⁶ MS. transfigurati

quem. Dln. em. ¹⁷ See note ¹⁰ above.

G²

መቃብረ፤ 15. ወርደተ፡¹ መልአክ፡²
 ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ በሰማያት፡
 ሀለውት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ በደኃሪ፡ *መዋዕል፡
 ይጼውዕ፡³ 16. ወመልአክ፡ ዘመን
 ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሚካኤል፡ *መልአክ፡⁴
 መላእክት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ከመ፡⁵ በማልስት፡
 ዐለት፡ ደርኡ፡ መቃብረ፡⁶ 17.
 ወ፡ውእቱ፡ ፍቁር፡ ነቢር፡ ደቡ፡ መታክ
 ፍቲሆሙ፡⁸ ይወጽእ፡ ወይፈኑ፡ ነወጀ
 አርዳኢሁ፡ 18. ወይሚህሩ፡ ዙሎ፡
 አሕዛቡ፡⁹ ወዙሎ፡ ልሳነ፡ ለትንሣኤ፡
 ፍቁር፡ ወእቡ፡ ተአመኑ፡ በመስቀሉ፡
 ይደኅኑ፡ ወ*በ¹⁰ትንሣኤሁ፡ *በ¹¹ሳብዕ፡
 ሰማይ፡ እምነቡ፡ መጽእ፡ 19. *ወ
 ከመ፡ ሀለዉ፡¹² ብዙኃን፡ እቡ፡ ይትአ
 መኑ፡ ቦቱ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይትና
 ገሩ፡ 20. *ወብዙኅ፡ ተአምር፡ ወመ
 ንክር፡¹³ ይከውን፡¹⁴ በውእቱ፡ መዋ
 ዕል፡ 21. ወእምደኅረ፡ ለቀሪቦቹ፡
 የገደጉ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡¹⁵ ተምህርተ፡ ዘ
 ነወጀሐዋርያት፡ ወሃይማኖትሙ፡¹⁶

15. καὶ ὡς ἡ κ(ατά)βα|σις τοῦ
 ἀγγέ(λου τῆς) | ἐκκλησίας τῆ(ς ἐν
 οὐρα)|νῶ με | τος ἐν ταῖς
 ἐ(σχάταις) | (ἡμ)έ(ραις), 16. κα(ι)¹⁷
 | ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ Πνεύμα-
 τος | τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Μιχα|ήλ
 ἄρχων τῶν ἀγ|γέλων τῶν ἁγίων |
 ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέ|ρα αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξου-
 σιν τὸ μνημονεῖον, | 17. καὶ ὁ
 ἀγαπητὸς κα|θίσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμ-
 ονς αὐτῶν ἐξελεῦ|σεται, καὶ ὡς
 ἀποστε|λεῖ τοὺς¹⁸ μαθητὰς |
 αὐτοῦ 18. καὶ μαθητεῦ|σουσιν
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πᾶσαν γλῶσ-
 σαν εἰς τὴν ἀν(ά)στα|σιν τοῦ ἀγα-
 π(η)τοῦ, | καὶ οἱ (π)ιστεύσαν|τες
 τ(ῶ) σταυρῷ αὐ|τοῦ σωθ(ή)σον-
 ται καὶ | ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐ|(τ)οῦ
 εἰς τὸν ἔβδομον | (ο)ῦ(ρ)ανὸν ὅθεν
 καὶ | (ῆ)λθεν. 19. καὶ ὡς π(ο)λ|
 (λοῖ κ)αὶ πολλοὶ (τ)ῶν |(πιστε)υόν-
 των εἰς |(αὐτὸν) ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύ-
 ματι |(λαλήσουσ)ιν, 20. Καὶ ὡς |
 πολλὰ σημεῖα καὶ | τέρατα ἐ(σ)-
 ται ἐν | ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,
 21. καὶ¹⁹ ἐν τῷ ἐγγί|ζειν | αὐτ(ὸ)ν
 (ἅ)φήσουσιν οἱ (μ)αθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
 τὴν προφητεῖαν τῶν δώδε|κα ἀπο-
 στολῶν αὐτοῦ²⁰ | καὶ τὴν πίστιν²¹
 καὶ | τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν | καὶ τὴν

¹ b ወርተ፡ ² bc መላእክት፡ ³ a መዋዕል፡ ⁴ b ወ. ⁵ b wrongly
 ወከመ፡ ⁶ So bc. a መቃብር፡ ⁷ b om. ⁸ a wrongly
 መታክሐሆሙ፡ ለሱራፈል፡ ⁹ a አሕዛቡ፡ ¹⁰ a wrongly om.
¹¹ a wrongly እም. ¹² b ወበከመ፡ ሀለው፡ ¹³ b ወብዙኃ፡ ተአምር፡
 ወመንክር፡ ¹⁴ a adds በውን፡ a vox nulla. ¹⁵ b ዘአርዳኢሁ፡
¹⁶ a ወሃይማኖት፡ ¹⁷ Grenfell and Hunt supply lacuna with
 Γαβριήλ. ¹⁸ E adds δώδεκα. ¹⁹ E adds μετὰ ταῦτα. ²⁰ E om.
²¹ b adds αὐτῶν. Possibly the αὐτοῦ in the preceding phrase should
 be read as αὐτῶν after πίστιν.

G²

ወ¹ፍቅርሙ፡ ወንጽሖሙ፡² 22. ወይ
 ከውን፡ ወክሕ፡ ብዙን፡ [ለምጽአቱ፡
 ወ]³ለቀሪሶቹ፡ 23. ወበውእቱ፡ መ
 ጥዕል፡ ብዙን፡ እሰ፡ ይፈቅዱ፡ ሚመት፡
 እንዘ፡ *ዐፋቃን፡ ጥበብ፡⁴ 24. ወይ
 ከውኑ፡ ብዙን፡ ሊቃናት፡⁵ መዐምዳን፡
 ወኖሎት፡ *74ዕት፡ አባገም፡⁶ ወይ
 ከውኑ፡ መሠጦ፡ *በኢረከቦትሙ፡ ኖ
 ሎት፡ ቅዱሳን፡⁷ 25. ወይይልጡ፡
 ብዙን፡⁸ ክብረ፡ ልብሰትሙ፡ *ለ⁹ቅ
 ዱሳን፡ በልብሰት፡ መፍቅረ፡¹⁰ ወርቅ፡
 ወይከውን፡ ነሚኡ፡ 7ጽ፡ ብዙን፡¹¹ በው
 እቱ፡ መጥዕል፡ ወመፍቅረ፡¹² *ክብር፡
 ዘ¹³ዘ፡ ዓለም፡ 26. ወይከውኑ፡ ሐ
 መይት፡¹⁴ [ወሐማይያን፡]¹⁵ ብዙን፡¹⁶
 ወዕራቅ፡¹⁷ ክብር፡¹⁸ ለ¹⁹ቀሪሶት፡ እግ
 ዘእ፡ ወይትገንብ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡
 እምብዙን፡ 27. ወኢይሄል፡
 በውእቱ፡ መጥዕል፡ ነሚያት፡ ብዙን፡
 ወኢእሰ፡ ይትናገሩ፡ *ጽንዕት፡ እን
 በሰ፡²⁰ ኃይለ²¹በመካናት፡ 28. በእነት፡
 መንፈስ፡ ስሐትት፡²² ወዘመት፡ ወዘ
 ዕራቃ፡ ክብር፡ ወዘፍቅረ፡ ወርቅ፡ *ዘ²³
 ሀለው*ት፡²⁴ ትኩን፡ *በ²⁵እሰ፡ ይትበሀ
 ሰ፡²⁶ እግብርት፡ ለዘኩ፡ ወሰእሰ፡²⁷
 ይትወክሩ፡ ዘክት፡ 29. ወይከውን፡
 በማእከሎሙ፡ *ጸልኡ፡ ዐቢይ፡²⁸ በኖ

ἄγνείαν αὐτῶν. | 22. καὶ ἔσονται
 αἰρέσεις | πολλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν
 αὐτὸν, 23. καὶ ἔσον|ται ἐν ταῖς
 ἡμέραις ἐ|κείναις πολλοὶ θέλον-
 |τες ἄρχειν καὶ κενοὶ | σοφίας.
 24. καὶ ἔσονται πολ|λοὶ πρεσβύ-
 |τεροι ἄνο|μοι κα(ι) ποιμένες | ἄδικοι
 ἐ(π)ὶ τὰ πρόβατα | αὐτῶν
 . . μ(ε)|να²⁶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν | π(οι)-
 μένας ἄγνους. 25. Κα(ι) π)ολλοὶ
 | ἐν-
 δυμάτων (τ)ῶ(ν) ἄγνῶ(ν) . .
 | . . φιλα | . .
 | . . ἐν ἐκείνῳ | τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ
 οἱ φι|λουῦντες τὴν δόξ(αν)| τοῦ κόσ-
 |μου τούτου. | 26. καὶ ἔσονται κα-
 |ταλα|λιαὶ πολλὰ καὶ κε|νοδοξία
 πολλή ἐν | τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὸν κύ-
 |ριον, | καὶ ἀναχωρήσει τὸ | πνεῦ-
 |μα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ | τῶν πολλῶν.
 27. Καὶ οὐ|κ ἔσονται ἐν ἐκείναις |
 ταῖς ἡμέραις προφῆ|ται πολλοὶ²⁷
 λαλοῦν|τες ἰσχυρὰ ἢ εἰς καὶ εἰ(ς) |
 καὶ εἰς ἐν τόποις καὶ | τόποις 28.
 διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα | τῆς πλάνης κ(αὶ)
 τ)ῆς | πορνείας καὶ τῆς κε|νοδοξίας
 καὶ τῆς | φιλαργυρ(ί)α(ς) . . .²⁸ |

¹ a om.² b om.³ A manifest doublet. Cf. G².⁴ b ዐፋቃን፡ ጥበብ፡⁵ b ሊቃውንት፡⁶ b 74እዕት፡ አባገጌሆሙ፡

⁷ Em. with G² from a በኢወከቦትሙ፡ ኖሎት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ For these words b offers a mere correction : መርጌት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ በኢው'' is a *vox nulla*.
⁸ b ብዙን፡⁹ b ዘ.¹⁰ b መፍቅርያ፡¹¹ b ብዙን፡

¹² b ክብረ፡¹³ ሐመይት፡ an alternative(?) form of ሐማት፡ as ሐቀይ፡ of ሐቂ፡ : if not then it must be changed into ሐማት፡¹⁴ A mani-
 fest doublet. a reads ወሐማይያን፡¹⁵ b ብዙን፡¹⁶ b ወዕራቃ፡

¹⁷ a ክብረ፡¹⁸ b በ.¹⁹ b ጽንዕት፡ ዘእንበሰ፡²⁰ a wrongly
 ሐሰት፡²¹ a ወዘ.²² b በእም፡²³ a adds ለይኩኑ፡

²⁴ b ወኢሉሰ፡²⁵ b ጽልኡ፡ ዐቢይ፡²⁶ Read (ἀρπαγησόμενα).

²⁷ E adds οὐτε οἱ.²⁸ Here several lines are lost.

G²

ሉት፡ ወበሊቃውንት፡ በበይናቲሆሙ።
 30. እስመ፡ ቅንኢት፡ ዐቢይ፡ ይከውን፡
 በደኃ፡ መዋዕል፡ እስመ፡ ክሉ፡ ዘኢ
 ፍትዎ፡ በቅድመ፡ እዕይንቲህ፡ ይትና
 7ር። 31. ወደጸርዑ፡ ትንቢት፡ ነቢ
 ዮት፡ ዘእሲ፡ እምቅድሜ፡ ወራእያ
 ት*የ፤፡ እሳ፡² ደጸርዑ፡³ ከመ፡ ጉስ
 ዐት፡⁴ ልቦሙ፡ ይትናገሩ። IV. ወ⁵
 ይእክኒኑ፡ ሕዝቅያሲ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወ
 ልድዩ፡ እሳ፡⁶ እማንቱ፡ መዋዕል፡⁷ ተጽ
 ወን፡⁸ ተገላም።⁹ 2. ወእምድጎረ፡
 ተፈጸመ፡ ይወርድ፡ ብልደር፡¹⁰ መል
 አክ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ንጉሠዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘአገዝ፡¹¹
 እምአመ፡ ነበረ፡ ወይወርድ፡ እምጽ
 ናዑ፡ በራእዩ፡ ብእሲ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ዐመዓ፡
 ቀታሌ፡ እመ፡ *H¹²ውእቱ፡ *ንጉሡ፡
 ዝንቱ፡ 3. ተክሲ፡¹³ ዘተክሲ፡ ነወጀሐ
 ዋርደተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ይሰድድ፡ እምነወጀ
 በእዱ፡ ይትወህብ። 4. ዘ¹⁴መል
 አክ፡¹⁵ በራእዩ፡ ዝክቱ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ይመ
 ጽእ፡ ወይመጽእ፡¹⁶ ምስሌህ፡ ክሉ፡
 *ገደላት፡ ዘዝ፡¹⁷ ዓለም፡ ወይስምዐም፡
 በክሉ፡ ዘፈቀደ።

30. (ῥ)ήλος γὰρ ἔσται | π(ολὺς) ἐν
 ταῖς ἑσχα|ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἕκασ|τος
 γὰρ τὸ ἄρεστόν | ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλ-
 μοῖς | αὐτοῦ λαλήσει 31. καὶ |
 ἐξαφήσουσιν¹⁹ τὰς | προφητείας τῶν
 προ|φητῶν τῶν πρὸ ἐ|μου καὶ τὰς
 ὁράσεις | μου ταύτας καταρ(γῇ)-
 σουσιν ἵνα τὰ (δ)ρέγμ(α)τ(α) | τῆς
 καρδίας αὐτῶν | λαλήσωσιν.. IV.
 καὶ νῦν | Ἐξ(ε)κία καὶ Ἰασοῦβ
 υ(ι)|ἐ μ(ου) αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἀ(ι) |
 (ῥ)μέ|ρα(ι) τῆς πληρ(ώ)|(σεω)ς
 τ(οῦ) κ)όσμου . . | 2. τος αὐ-
 τοῦ ἐ(ν εἶδει)|ἀνθρώπου βασιλέ-
 ως ἀνόμου μητρα|λώου²⁰ ὅστις
 αὐτὸς²¹ | ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος | 3. τὴν
 φυτ(ε)ῖαν ἣν | φυτεύουσιν οἱ δώ-
 δεκα ἀπόστολοι | τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ
 διώ|ξε(ι) καὶ (τ)ῶν δώδεκα | (εἰς)
 ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ | (π)αραδοθή-
 σεται. 4. οὐ|τος (ὁ ἄρ)χων ἐν τῇ
 ἰ|δέᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐ|κείνου ἐλεύ-
 σεται | (κ)αὶ αἱ δυνάμεις πᾶσαι |
 (ἐλ)εύσ(ον)ται τ(ο)ύτ(ου) | (τ)οῦ
 κό(σμου)

5. *ወ¹በቃሉ፡ ይሠርቅ፡ ፀሓይ፡ በሌሊት፡ ወወርዝ፡ ይገብር፡¹⁸ ከመ፡

¹ b om. ² Em. with G² from እሲ፡ b gives ሲ፡ instead of እሲ፡ a mere scribal correction. ³ b ተጸርዑ፡ ⁴ b ጉሥዑ፡

⁵ a om. ⁶ Em. from እሲ፡ ⁷ Em. from መዋዕል፡ ⁸ ጽወን፡

an unusual form of ጽወን(?) = κλήσεως. Is this corrupt for τελέσεως? Otherwise correct ጽወን፡ into ወደክ፡ = 'completion.' G² has probably πληρώσεως. For ጽ'' b reads ጸወ፡ ⁹ b adds ወበክ፡ ይትናገሩ፡ ¹⁰ ab ብርደል፡ ¹¹ a ዘአክዘ፡ ¹² a ዝ.

¹³ Em. from b ንጉሡ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ወተክሲ፡ For ወተ'' ac read ወተክል፡ I regard the corruption as due to the phrase ንጉሠዝ፡

ዓለም፡ two lines before. ¹⁴ b ዘ. ¹⁵ ab add ብርደል፡ but G² om. with c. ¹⁶ bc ወይመጽእ፡ ¹⁷ b ኃይላት፡ ዝንቱ፡ ¹⁸ b ይገብር፡

¹⁹ E = καταργήσουσιν. ²⁰ MS. μητρολῶου. ²¹ = E. MS. αὐτοῦ.

በስድስቱ፡ ሰዓት፡ ያስተርእ። 6. ወክሎ፡ ዘፈቀደ፡ ይገብር፡ *በዓለም፤
ይገብር፡² ወ*ይትናገር፡ በጎብ፡³ ፍቁር፡ ወይብል፡ እኔ፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
ወእምቅድሜ፡ ኢህሎ፡ ወኢመኑሂ። 7. ወየእምንዎ፡ ክሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ *በዓለም፡
8. ወይሠውዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወይትቀነዩ፡ ሎቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ እግዚአ
ብሔር፡ ወዘእንበሌሁ፡ አልቦ፡ ባዕደ።⁴ 9. ወመብዘጎተሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ ጎብዱ፡
ክመ፡ ይትወክፍዎ፡ ለፍቁር፡ ይመይጥ፡⁵ ድጎራሁ። 10. ወይከውን፡
ጎይሉ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ በብ፡ አህጉር፡ ወበጎውርት፡ 11. ወያቀውም፡ አምሳሎ፡
ቅድመ፡ ገጹ፡ በክሉ፡ አህጉር። 12. ወይእጎዝ፡ ሠለስተ፡⁶ ዓመተ፡
ወ*ሰብዐተ፡⁶ ወርኑ፡ ወመዋዕለ፡ ሄወኗ። 13. ወብዘጎን፡ መሃይምናን፡
ወቅዱሳን፡ ሶብ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘእመንቱ፡ ይሴፈጢ፡ ዘተሰቅለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ እግዚእ፡
ክርስቲስ፡ ድጎራ፡ ርእክዎ፡ እኔ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ [ለዘ፡ ተሰቅለ፡ ወዐርገ፡]⁷ ወእለ*ሂ፡⁸
የእምኑ፡ ቦቱ፡ ጎዳጣን፡ እምወስቲተሙ፡ በውእቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ ይተርፉ፡ ሎቱ፡²
አግብርቱ፡⁹ እንዘ፡ ይጉዩ፡¹⁰ እምገዳም፡ ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ እንዘ፡¹¹ ይጸንሑ፡
ምጽአት። 14. ወእምድጎረሰ፡ *ኀወ¹²፻¹³ ወሸወ፡¹⁴ መዋዕል፡ ይመጽእ፡
እግዚእ፡ ምስለ፡ መላእክቲሁ፡ ወምስለ፡ ጎይሳተ፡¹⁵ ቅዱሳን፡ እምሳብዕ፡
ሰማይ፡ ምስለ፡ ስብሓተ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወይስሐብ፡ ብልያርሃ፡¹⁶ ውስተ፡
ገሃነም፡ ወኃይሳቲሁ*ኒ።¹⁷ 15. ወያዕርፎሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ ይረክቦሙ፡ በሥጋ፡
በውስተዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ለመምሰኪያ፡ ሠናይ፡ [ወፀሓይሰ፡ ይትኃፈር፡]¹⁸
16. ወክሎሙ፡ እሉ፡ በ*እንተ፡² ሃይማኖቱ፡¹⁹ ረገምዎ፡²⁰ ሰብልያር፡²¹
ወለንገሥቱ። ወቅዱሳንስ፡ ምስለ፡ እግዚእ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ ምስለ፡ አልባሲሆሙ፡
ዘላዕለ፡ ይኑበር፡ ውስተ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ምስለ፡ እግዚእ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ እሉ፡
መንፈሶሙ፡ ልቡሳን፡ እመንቱ፡ ይወርዱ፡ ወይሄልጢ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡
ወይጼንዖሙ፡²² ለእሉ፡ በሥጋ፡ ተረክቦ፡ ምስለ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ በልብሰተሙ፡
ለቅዱሳን፡ ወይትለክከሙ፡ እግዚእ፡ ለእሉ፡ ዐቀቡ፡ በውስተዝ፡ ዓለም።
17. ወእምድጎረዝ፡ ይትመየጡ፡ ውስተ፡ አልባሲሆሙ፡ ላዕለ፡ ወይትጎይጉ፡
ሥጋሆሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም። 18. አሜሃ፡ ቃሉ፡ ለፍቁር፡ ይጌሥጽ፡ በመዓት፡
*ለዘ፡ ሰማይ፡²³ ወለዘ፡²⁴ የብስ፡ ወለኦድባርኒ፡ ወለኦውግርኒ፡ ወለኦህጉርኒ፡
ወለበድውኒ፡ ወለዕፀውኒ፡²⁵ *ወለመልእክ፡ ፀሓይ፡² ወለዘወርኅኒ፡²⁶ ወለክ

¹ ስ ለ.² ስ om.³ ስ ይትሚሰል፡ ክመ፡⁴ ስ ሰዕደ፡⁵ ስ ወይመይጦሙ፡ ⁶ ስ ደ.⁷ Bracketed as an Ethiopic interpolation.⁸ ስ ኒ.⁹ ስ አግብርቲሁ፡¹⁰ ስ ስ ስ ይጉዩ፡¹¹ ስ ስ¹² Added to text. Cf. iv. 12. ¹³ ስ ስ ስ.¹⁴ ስ ስ ስ.¹⁵ ስ ስ ይጉዩ፡ ¹⁶ ስ ስ ስ.¹⁷ ስ om. ¹⁸ An Ethiopic interpolation. ¹⁹ ስ ስ ይገማኖት፡²⁰ ስ ስ ስ add እለ before this word. ²¹ ስ ስ ስ ስ ስ.²² ስ ወይጼንዖሙ፡ ²³ ስ ስ ስ.²⁴ Em. from ስ ስ ስ ስ ስ.²⁵ ስ ስ ስ ስ ስ ስ.²⁶ ስ ስ ስ ስ ስ ስ.

ልሂ፡¹ በገባ፡ አስተርአየ፡ ወአገህደ፡ ብልደር፡² በውስተዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይከውን፡
 [ትንግሥ፡ ወ]³ ዙኑ፡ በውስተትሙ፡ በዝክ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወፍቆ*ር፡⁴ ያዐርግ፡⁵
 *አሳተ፡ እምኒሁ፡⁶ ወይበልዕ፡ ዙሉ፡ ረሲዓ፡ ወይከውኑ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢተፈጥሩ፡
 19. ወትራፋተ፡ ነገረ፡ ራእይ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ ውስተ፡ ራእይ፡ ባለሎን፡
 20. ወትራፋተ፡ ራእይ፡ እግዚእ፡ ነዋ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ *በምሳልያት፡
 በቃላት፡⁷ በዘ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘገሃደ፡⁸ ተነበይኩ፡ 21.
 ወርደት*ኒ፡⁹ ለፍቆር፡ ውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ነዋ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ ውስተ፡
 መምተርት፡¹⁰ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ እግዚእ፡ ነዋ፡ ይሴሉ፡¹¹ ወልደየ፡ ወዙሉ፡ ዝንቹ፡
 ነዋ፡⁴ ጽሑፋን፡ ውስተ፡ *መዛምርት፡ በምሳልያት፡¹² ዳዊት፡ ወልደ፡ እስይ፡
 ወበምሳልያት፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልዱ፡ ወበነገራት፡ ቆራ፡ ወኤታን፡¹³ እስራኤላዊ፡
 ወበነገራት፡ አሳፍ፡ *ወፋውስተ፡ ትራ*ፋተ፡ መዛምርት፡ ዘመልአክ፡ መንፈስ፡
 አንበባ፡¹⁴ 22. ውስተ፡¹⁵ እሰ፡ አልሶሙ፡ ስም፡¹⁶ ጽሑፍ፡¹⁷ ወውስተ፡ ነገራት፡¹⁸
 አሞጽ፡ አቡየ፡ ወሆሴዕ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወዘሚኪያስ፡ ወዘኢየሕል፡ ወዘናሖም፡
 ወዘየናስ፡ ወዘአብደሃ፡ ወዘእንባቆም፡ ወዘሐገ፡ *ወዘሰፎንያስ፡ ወዘዘካ
 ርያስ፡⁶ ወዘምልኪያስ፡¹⁹ ወበነገራት፡ የሴፍ፡ ዳድቅ፡ ወበነገራት፡ ዳንኤል፡
 V. በእንተ፡ እሳንቹ፡ እንክ፡ ራእያት፡²⁰ ተምዐ፡ ብርያል፡²¹ ሳሰ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
 ወነበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ልባ፡ ምናሴ፡ ወወሠር፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በሞሠርት፡ ዕፅ፡
 2. ወኢሳይያስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ቆመ፡ መስተዋድዮ፡²² በልኪራ፡²³ ወነበደተ፡
 ሐሰት፡ ዙሎሙ፡ ቆሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይስሐቁ፡ ወይትፈሥሑ፡ ሳሰ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
 3. ወበልኪራ፡ በምኤምፊኩስ፡²⁴ ቆመ፡²⁵ ቆድመ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እንዘ፡ [ይስሐቁ፡]²⁶
 ደክ*ሞስስ፡²⁷ 4. ወይሴ፡ በልኪራ፡²⁸ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በል፡ ሐሰውኩ፡²⁹
 ዙሉ፡ ዘተናገርኩ፡ ወፍናዊሁ፡ ለምናሴ፡ ሠናያት፡ ወርቸዓት፡³⁰ እማንቹ፡
 5. ወፍናዊሁ፡ ለበልኪራ፡ ሠናይ*ት፡⁴ ወእቹ፡ ወዘእሰ፡³¹ ምስሌሁ፡
 6. ወዘንተ፡ ይሴ*ሎ፡⁴ ሰባ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትወሠር፡ 7. ወኢሳይያስ፡ ሀሎ፡
 በራእይ፡ እግዚእ፡ ወክሡታት፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ወ(ኢ)³² ይራ*እ*ሞሙ፡ 8. ወበል
 ኪራ፡³³ ዘንተ፡ ተናገር፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በል፡ ዘእብሰክ፡ ወእመይጥ፡ ልሶሙ፡
 ወአገብር፡³⁴ ለምናሴ፡³⁵ ወለመላእክት፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወለሐዘብ፡ ወለክተላ፡ ኢየሩ

- ¹ *b* ወሰክለሂ፡ ² *ab* ብርያል፡ ³ Bracketed as an inter-
 polation: see exegetical note, p. 36. ⁴ *b* om. ⁵ *bc* የዓርግ፡
⁶ *bc* trs. ⁷ *bc* በምሳሌ፡ በቃልየ፡ ⁸ *b* ዘገሃደ፡ ⁹ *b* ሂ.
¹⁰ Em. by Dln. from *ac* መምተርት፡ *b* መዘመርት፡ ¹¹ *b* ይሴሎ፡
¹² *a* መዘመርት፡ በምሳሌያት፡ ¹³ *b* ወናታን፡ ¹⁴ *b* አንበባ፡
¹⁵ *a* ወውስተ፡ ¹⁶ *ab* ስመ፡ ¹⁷ *a* ጽመ፡ (sic)፡ *b* ጽሑፋት፡
¹⁸ *bc* ነገረ፡ ¹⁹ *b* ወዘምልኪያስ፡ ²⁰ *a* ራእያት፡ ²¹ *abc*.
²² *b* መስተዋድዮ፡ ²³ *b* በልኪራ፡ ²⁴ *b* ምኤምፊኩስ፡ ²⁵ Em.
 from ቆሙ፡ ²⁶ Bracketed as a doublet. ²⁷ Em. from ደክሞስሱ፡
²⁸ *ac* ብልደር፡ ²⁹ *b* repeats this word. ³⁰ *b* ወርቸዐት፡ ³¹ *b*
 ወዘእንባሰ፡ ³² Must be supplied as in vi. 10. ³³ *a* ወሚልኪራስ፡
³⁴ *b* ወአገብርመ፡ ³⁵ *a* adds ወለምናሴ፡

ሳሌም፤¹ ከመ፡ ይስገዳ፡ ሰከ። 9. ወአውሥኦ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወይቤ፡ እመሰ፡ እምነቤ*²፡ *ወእቱ፡ ብሂል፡ ወጉዝ፡ ወርጉም፤³ አገተ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ገይላቲከ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ቤተከ፡ 10. እስመ፡ አልብከ፡ ፈረፋይ፡ ዘትነሥኦ፡ እማእስ፡ ሥጋየ። 11. ወአገዘዎ፡ ወወሠርዎ፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ በሞሠርተ፡ ዕፅ። 12. ወምናሴ፡ ወበልኪራ፡⁴ ወነቢደተ፡ ሐሰት፡ ወመላእክት፡ ወሐዘብ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ቆሙ፤⁵ እነዝ፡ ይሬእዩ። 13. ወሰነቢደተ፡ እሱ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ይቤ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ሱሩ፡ ብሔረ፡ ጢርስ፡ ወሲያና፡ እስመ፡ ሊት፡ ለባሕቲትየ፡ ትስሐ፡ *እገዚአብሔር፡ ጽዋዐ።⁶ 14. ወኢሳይያስ፡ እነዝ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ኢጸርሐ፡ ወኢበከየ፡ አላ፡ አፋሁ፡ ይትና*⁷ገር፡ ለመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እስከ፡ ተወሠረ፡ ሰክልኤ። 15. ዘገተ፡ ጉብረ፡ ብልደር፡⁷ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በእደ፡ በልኪራ፡ ወበእደ፡ ምናሴ፡ እስመ፡ ሀሱ፡ ሰማየል፡ በዐቢይ፡ መፃት፤⁸ ላዕለ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እመዋዕለ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ይሁዳ፡ በእገተ፡ ነገራት፡ ዘርእየ፡ በእገተ፡ ፍቆር፡ 16. ወበእገተ፡ ሆጉሉ፡ ሰማየል፤⁹ ዘርእየ፡ በእገዚእ፡ እነዝ፡ ዓዲ፡ ይነገሥ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ አቡሁ። ወጉብረ፡ በከመ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለሰይጣን።

THE SECOND LATIN
VERSION (= L²).

VI—XI.

(See Introd., pp. xviii—
xxvii.)

ወራእይሰ፡ ዘርእየ፡
ኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡
አሞጽ።

VI. በዓመተ፡ ሼመንገ
ሥቱ፡ ለሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡
ይሁዳ፡ መጽአ፤¹⁰ ኢሳይ
ያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ ወኢ
ዮሳብ፡ ወልደ፡ ኢሳይ
ያስ፡ ንብ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ኢየ
ሩሳሌም፡ እምነልገላ።¹¹
2. ወ(ሶብ፡ በክ፡)¹² ነበረ፡

VISIO, QUAM VIDIT
YSAIAS "PROPHE-
TA" FILIUS AMOS¹³.

VI. Anno XX reg-
nante Ezechia, rege
Judae, venit Ysaïas
[propheta], filius
Amos, ad Ezechiam
in Hierusalem¹⁴,
2. Et intrans sedit

LATIN TRANSLATION OF
THE SLAVONIC VERSION, BY
PROFESSOR BONWETSCH.

VI—XI.

(See Introd., pp. xxiv—
xxvii.)

VISIO QUAM VIDIT
[SANCTUS] ISAÏAS
"PROPHETA" FI-
LIUS AMOS.

VI. Anno XX reg-
nante Ezechia, rege
Judae, venit Isaïas
filius Amos, [et Ja-
sus, filius Isaïae¹ ad
Ezechiam in Hieru-
salem. 2. Et cum

¹ *a* repeats.

² *b* om.

³ *b. a* ወጉዝ፡ ዝወእቱ፡ በብህሉ፡

⁴ So *bc. a* ወምላኪራ፡

⁵ *a* ቆሙ፡

⁶ *bc* trs.

⁷ *ab* ብርደል፡

⁸ *b* መፃት፡

⁹ *b* ሰማየል፡

¹⁰ *a* መጽአ፡

¹¹ *ab* እምነልገላ፡ S L²

om. *Gk. Leg.* i. 3 supports text.

¹² Added from *Gk. Leg.* ii. 1 ;

S L². ¹³ The following late title prefixed to the above appears in the printed edition of the lost MS.: Visio mirabilis Isaïae prophetae in raptu mentis, quae divinæ trinitatis arcana et lapsi generis humani redemptionem continet. ¹⁴ Defect. here. See note ¹¹.

L²

S

ደባ፡ ዐራተ፡¹ ንጉሥ፡ ወ
መንበረ፡ አምጽአ፡ ሎቱ፡
ወአፈቀ*ደ፡² ደንበር።
3. ወሶብ፡³ አሐዘ፡ አሳይ
ያስ፡⁴ ደተናገር፡ ምስሉ፡
ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነገረ፡
ዓይኖቹ፡ ወጽድቅ፡ ወ
ክሉሙ፡ መላእክተ፡ እስ
ራኤል፡ ደኑባሩ፡ ወኅፃ
ዋን፡ ወመምክራት፡ ንጉ
ሥ። ወሀለዉ፡ ህዩ፡⁵ ግብ
ያት፡ ወውሉደ፡ ነቢያት፡
መጽአ፡ እምአድያም፡
ወእምአድባር፡⁶ ወእም
አሕቀል፡ ሶቤ፡⁷ ሰምዑ፡
ከሙ፡ አሳይያስ፡ ደመጽ
እ፡ እምገልገላ፡⁸ ንብ፡
ሕዝቅያስ፡ 4. ወመጽአ፡
ከሙ፡ የእምኅዋ፡ ወከሙ፡
ደስምዑ፡ ነገራት፡⁹ 5.
ወከሙ፡ ደንበር፡ እዲህ፡
ሳባህሆሙ፡ ወከሙ፡ *ደ
ትነብዩ፡ ወከሙ፡ ደስማዕ፡
ትነብተሙ፡¹⁰ ወክሉሙ፡
ሀለዉ፡ ቅድመ፡ አሳይ
ያስ። 6. ወሶብ፡ ተናገረ፡
አሳይያስ፡ *ምስሉ፡ ሕዝ
ቅያስ፡² ነገራት፡ ጽድቅ፡
ወዓይኖቹ፡¹¹ ወሰምዑ፡

supra lectum regis.
3. Et omnes prin-
cipes Israel et consili-
arii regis et eunuchi
stabant ante illum.
3-4. Veneruntque ex
omnibus villis et
agris et montibus
prophetae, et filii
prophetarum audi-
entes quod Ysaïas
venerat a Galgatha¹²
ad Ezechiam, salu-
tare eum, 5. Et
annunciare ei, quae
ventura erant. 6.
Tunc¹³ loquebatur
verba veritatis. Spi-
ritus Sanctus super-
venit in eum, et om-

intrasset sedit supra
lectum regis. 3. Et
omnes principes +Je-
rusalemi¹⁴ et con-
siliarii regis et eu-
nuchi stabant ante
illum. 3-4. Vene-
runtque ex omnibus
villis¹⁵ et 'ex' agris
et montibus prophe-
tae et filii propheta-
rum, cum audivis-
sent, quod Isaïas
venerat a Galgal¹⁶ ad
Ezechiam, salutare¹⁷
eum, 5. [Simul au-
tem] et annuntiare¹⁸
ei [de iis] quae ven-
tura erant. 6. Cum¹⁹
loquebatur verba
[omnia] veritatis,
Spiritus Sanctus su-
pervenit in eum et

¹ b ግራተ፡² b om.³ c ወሶቤ፡⁴ a አሳይያስ፡⁵ bc om.⁶ a ወእምአድያም፡⁷ bc ሶብ፡⁸ a እምገልገላ፡⁹ bc ነገረተ፡¹⁰ b ደትነብዩ፡ ወከሙ፡ ደስምዑ፡ ትነብተ፡¹¹ b ወዓይ

ማኖት፡

¹² Corrupt for Galgal as in S.¹³ Should be cum

as in S E, and full stop after veritatis should be comma.

¹⁴ Corrupt for Israel as in L² E.¹⁵ Ot vsi ch: vüzvėsjai u:

vjs' = omnis and vicus.

¹⁶ L² Galgatha.¹⁷ u et salu-¹⁸ Blgověstiti : blgověstit [annuntiat] u, ch.¹⁹ So E,but L² tunc.

L²

S

ዘሉሙ፡ ተሰኝተ፡¹ ዘአ
ርገወ፡ ተወሰቃለ፡ መን
ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡² 7. ወጸ
ወ-ፀ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነቢዮት፡ ዘ
ሉሙ፡ ወዘሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡
ዘተረከብ፡ በህየ፡ ወመጽ
ኡ፡³ ወሚክደስ፡ ወአናን
ደስ፡ አረጋይ፡ ወኢዮኤል፡
ወኢዮሳብ፡⁴ ይኑባዱ፡⁵
በየማኑ፡ 8. ወኮኑ፡ ሶቤ፡
ሰምዑ፡ ዘሉሙ፡⁶ ሰቃለ፡
መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሰገዱ፡
ዘሉሙ፡ በብረኪሆሙ፡
ወሰብሕዎ፡ ሰአምላክ፡
ጽድቅ፡ ለልዑል፡ ለዘው
ስተ፡ ልዑል፡ ንሰም፡ ወ
ለዘ፡ ሳባለ፡ ይኑባር፡ ቅዱ
ስ፡ ወለዘ፡ በቅዱሳን፡ ያዐ
ርፍ፡ 9. ወወሀሉ፡ ስብ
ሐተ፡ ለዘ፡ ተመዝ፡ ጸገ
ወ፡ ኖተ፡ በንሰም፡ ክ
ር፡ ጸገወ፡ ተሰብሕሊ፡
10. ወእንዘ፡ ይተናገር፡
በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እንዘ፡
ዘሉሙ፡ ይሰምዑ፡ አር
መመ፡ ወኅሊናሁ፡ ተንሥ
ኡ፡ እምሳባሌሁ፡⁸ ወው
እቲሂ፡ ኢይራእዮሙ፡ ለ
ዐደው፡ እሲ፡ ይቆውሙ፡

nes videbant et au-
diebant verba Sancti
Spiritus. 7. Convo-
cavit eum⁹ rex [et]
prophetas, et omnes
introierunt, quot-
quot inventi sunt
ibi, insimul. Erant
autem Micheas et
Ananias senes, Joel
et quotquot ex eis
inventi sunt¹⁰ a dex-
tris eius et a sinis-
tris¹¹. 8. Cum autem
audierunt vocem
Sancti Spiritus, flexe-
runt genua et canta-
verunt deo altissimo
requiescenti in sanc-
tis, 9. Et talem vir-
tutem verborum¹² in
mundo donanti.
10. Loquente vero
eo¹³ in Spiritu Sancto
in auditu omnium
statim tacuit, et ex-
inde videbant stan-
tem quandam¹⁴ ante

omnes videbant au-
diebantque verba
Sancti Spiritus. 7.
Convocavit enim¹⁵
rex [et] prophetas¹⁶
et omnes et introie-
runt, quotquot eo-
rum¹⁷ inventi sunt
ibi, insimul. Erant
autem Micheas et
Ananias senes et¹⁸
Joel et quotquot¹⁹
sederunt a dextris²⁰
et a sinistris²¹. 8. Et
cum audierunt vo-
cem Sancti Spiritus
flexerunt genua et
cantaverunt Deo al-
tissimo requiescenti
in sanctis, 9. Et
talem virtutem in
verbo²² in mundo
donanti. 10. Lo-
quente vero eo²³
in Spiritu Sancto in
auditum omnium sta-
tim tacuit, et ex-
inde non²⁴ videbat
stantes²⁵ ante eum.

¹ b ሰኝተ፡² ab om. but SL² support.³ b om.⁴ a ወኢዮስብ፡ b adds ወልዱ፡⁵ a ይኑባር፡⁶ a adds ሰገዱ፡⁷ Seems corrupt. I propose ጸገወ፡ ከመዝ፡ ኒፋተ፡ ንብብ፡ በንሰም፡ = L² talem virtutem verborum in mundo donanti.⁸ b ሳባለ፡⁹ Corrupt for enim?¹⁰ Less corrupt text in S.¹¹ See note ¹⁹.¹² Corrupt. S right = E.¹³ prorocy: MSS. proroci.¹⁴ L²

trs. wrongly.

¹⁵ L² om.¹⁶ E om., and no doubt rightly.¹⁷ L² ex iis inventi sunt.¹⁸ L² adds ejus.¹⁹ S originally =

verborum.

²⁰ L² adds in.²¹ L² videbant stantem quandam.

L²

S

ቅድሚያ፡ 11. ወአዕይ
ንጉሡ፡ ክህፃንት፡ እማ
ንቱ፡¹ ወአፋሁኒ፡ ያረም
ም፡ ወኅሲ፡ ሥጋሁ፡
ተንሥኡ፡ እምሳባሌሁ፡
12. ወባሕቱ፡ እስትንፋ
ሱስ፡² ሀሰወት፡³ ሳባሌሁ፡
እሰመ፡ ራእዩ፡ ይሬኢ።
13. ወመልእክ፡ ዘተፈነወ፡
ከመ፡ ያርአዮ፡⁴ ኢኮክ፡
ዘዘኩ፡ ምጽናዕ፡ ወኢኮክ፡
እመላእክተ፡ በብሐታት፡⁵
ዘዘ፡ ዓለም፡ አላ፡ እምሳ
ብዕ፡⁶ ሰማይ፡ መጽሐ።
14. ወ*ኢምሰሰ፡⁷ ሕዝ
ብ፡ ዘይቀውም፡ ዘእን
በሰ፡ መክብብ፡ ነቢያት፡
ዘተንሥኡ፡⁸ ቅዱስ፡ ኢሳይ
ያስ። 15. ወራእይሰ፡
ዘርአዩ፡ *ቅዱስ፡ ኢሳይ
ያስ፡⁹ ኢኮክ፡ እምዘ፡
ዓለም፡ አላ፡ እምዓለም፡
ዘኅቡእ፡ እምሥጋሁ።¹⁰
16. ወኢሰይያስ፡ እም
ድኅረ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘነተ፡ ራእ
ዩ፡ ዜነዎ፡ ለሕ*ዝ¹¹ቅያስ፡
ወለኢዮሳብ፡¹² ወልዱ፡ ወ
ለባዕዳን፡ ነቢያት፡ እሰ፡

eum. 11. Oculi au-
tem eius erant aperti,
os vero clausum,
12. Sed inspiratio
[Sancti] Spiritus erat
cum illo. 14. Et non
existimabant, quod
elevatio accepisset
Ysaïam, prophetae
vero cognoscebant,
quod revelatio¹⁷ erat.
15. Visio, quam vi-
debat, non erat de
seculo hoc, sed de
abscondito "omni"
carni. 16. Et cum ces-
savit a visione,
"reversus"¹⁸ notifica-
vit [visionem] Eze-
chiae et filio +ejus
Nasoni¹⁹,

11. Oculi autem ejus
erant aperti, os vero
clausum, 12. Sed in-
spiratio spiritus erat
cum illo. 14. Et
non existimabant
[omnes] quod ele-
vatus esset Isaias,
prophetae vero co-
gnoscebant, quod *in
revelatione²⁰ erat.
15. Visio [vero] quam
videbat non erat de
saeculo hoc, sed de
abscondito ab "omni"
carni. 16. Et cum ces-
savit a visione "et"²¹
reversus est in se²²,
[et] notificavit Eze-
chiae et filio +ejus
Nasoni²².

መጽሐ። 17. ወመኳንነትሰ፡¹³ ወነጽዋን፡ ወሕዝብ፡ ኢሰምዑ፡ ዘእንበሰ፡
ሳምናስ፡¹⁴ ጸሓፊ፡ ወኢዮአቂም፡¹⁵ ወአሳፍ፡ ጸሓፊ፡¹⁶ ተዝካር፡ እስመ፡

¹ a repeats.² b እስትንፋስስ፡³ b ሀሉ፡⁴ b ያርአዮ፡⁵ b በብሐት፡⁶ a እምብዕ፡ (sic).⁷ Em. froma እምሰሰ፡ in accordance with S L² non existimabant. b reads

ምሰሰ፡

⁸ b ዘተንሥኡ፡⁹ b om.¹⁰ b እዝ፡ በሥጋሁ፡¹¹ a om.¹² ወለኢዮስብ፡¹³ b ወመኳንነትሰ፡¹⁴ b ሳሚናስ፡¹⁵ a ወኢዮአቂም፡¹⁶ a ጸሐፊ፡¹⁷ S in revelatione.¹⁸ Add

in se from S.

¹⁹ See note ²².²⁰ L² revelatio.²¹ L² om.²² Corrupt for suo Jasobi: so E. ch reads Nasudi for Nas. After Jasobi S L² i.e. G² om. through homoioteleuton vi. 16^c, 17; vii. 1^a.

እሙንቱሂ፡ ገበርተ፡¹ ጽድቅ፡ ተመፀዛ፡² ተመንፈሰ፡ ቦሙ፤ ወሕዝብሰ፡
ኢሰምዑ፡ እስመ፡ አውጽእዎሙ፡³ ሚኪያስ፡ ወኢየሳብ፡ ወልዱ፡ ሶብ፡⁴
ተንሥክ፡ ጥበብ፡ ዝኅሊም፡ እምኒሁ፡ ወኮክ፡⁵ ከመ፡ ዘጥተ፡

L¹L²

S

VII. 1-19.

(See Introd.,
pp. xviii-xxi.)

VII. ወራእየሰ፡
ዘርእየ፡ኢሳይያስ፡
ይቤ፡ሰሕዝቅያስ፡
ወሰኢየሳብ፡ ወል
ዱ፡ ወሰሚኪያስ፡
ወሰላዕዳንሂ፡ ነቢ
ያት፡ ወይቤ፡⁶
2. ሰላማት፡⁷ ዛቲ፡
ሶብ፡ ተነብይኩ፡ በ
ከመ፡ ስምዑ፡ ዘሰ
ማዕከሙ፡ ርኢ
ኩ፡⁸ መልእክ፡ ክ
ቡረ፡ ወኢኮክ፡⁹ ከ
መ፡ ክብረ፡ መላእ
ክት፡ ዘዘልፈ፡ እ
ራእዮሙ፡¹⁰ አላ፡
*ክብረ፡ ዐቢያ፡¹¹
ወተሚመተ፡¹² ተቦ
ቲ፡ ዘአክ፡ ኢይክል፡
ዘነፃተ፡ ክብሩ፡

VII. Filio
suo et Mich-
aeae et reliquis
profetis, di-
cens: 2. In eo
in quo *profeti-
am meam au-
distis¹³, vidi an-
gelum glorio-
sum non secun-
dum gloriam
angelorum,
quos ego sem-
per videbam,
sed clarita-
te(m) magnam
et sanctam ha-
bentem, quam
ego claritatem
exponere non

VII. et Mich-
aeae ceterisque
prophetis di-
cens: 2. Quan-
do prophetavi
auditum, quem
[in] auditum
quem audistis,
vidi angelum
gloriosum non se-
cundum gloriam
angelorum,
quos semper
vidi, sed
quandam
*magnam gloriam¹⁵ et lumen habentem, quod non
possum noti-

VII. et Mich-
aeae et ceteris
prophetis di-
cens: 2. Quan-
do prophetavi
[in] auditum
quem audistis,
vidi angelum
gloriosum, non
secundum gloriam
angelorum
quos semper
vidi; sed quan-
dam *gloriam
magnam¹⁶ lu-
men¹⁷ haben-
tem, quod non
possum¹⁸ noti-

¹ bc ገብረተ፡
getical note.

² b መፀዛተ፡ Text seems corrupt. See exe-

³ b አውጽእዎሙ፡ ⁴ b ወሰብ፡ ⁵ a om.

⁶ Em. from b ይቤ፡ ac om. Cf. L¹ L² S 'dicens.' ⁷ Em. from ወኮክ፡ Cf. L¹ in eo. In ab ወኮክ፡ ዛቲ፡ are marked off by punctuation from what precedes and connected with what follows.

⁸ b ዘርኢኩ፡ አክ፡ ወ. ⁹ b adds ክብሩ፡ ¹⁰ b ይራእዮሙ፡

¹¹ b trs. ¹² = ἀρχήν (cf. iii. 23) corrupt(?) for ἀγίαν. ¹³ Fuller and more original text in E S L². ¹⁴ Corrupt for audistis as in S E.

¹⁵ S trs. ¹⁶ L² = magnam gloriam et. ¹⁷ = svt : u stō sanctum : ch stū sanctam. ¹⁸ ch mogu : u mogoch potui.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ለዘ፡ መልአክ። 3. ወአዕረገኒ፡¹ ሶባ፡ አሐዘኒ፡ በእ ደዩ፡ ወእቤሉ፡ መ ኑ፡ አገተ፡ ወመኑ፡ ወ-እቱ፡ ስምክ፡ ወ አይቲ፡ ታዐርገኒ፡² እስመ፡ ኃይል፡ *ተወህባ፡ ሊተ፡³ ከመ፡ እትኖር፡ ምስሌሁ። 4. ወ ይቤሰኒ፡ ሶባ፡ አዕ ረገክ፡ [መፃርገ፡]⁴ ወአርአይኩክ፡ ራ እዩ፡ ለዘ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ ሶባ፡⁵ ትሌቡ፡ መኑ፡ አነ ወስም የሰ፡ አታአምር፡⁶ 5. እስመ፡ ሀለወክ፡ ለዘ፡ ሥጋ*ክ፡⁷ ት	possum. 3. *†Et accessit† et tenuit ma- num meam⁸, et *dixi ei⁹: Quis es tu, et quod tibi no- men est, et quo me tolles? Ac- cepi enim viris loquendi cum eo. 4. Et dixit mihi: *Cum te imposuero¹⁰ et ostendero tibi visionem, prop- ter quod ad te missus sum, tunc intelliges quisim, nomen autem meum non dicam tibi¹¹, 5. Eo quod reverta- ris in carnem. Cum¹² enim	ficare. 3. Ac- cipiens¹³ me manu duxit me in altum, et ego dixi: Quis es? quo modo tibi no- men est? et quo [modo] †ave¹⁴† super- fers? Virtus enim data est mihi loqui cum illo. 4. Tunc "respondens" dixit "mihi" Quando te fer- am in altum¹⁵, ostendam tibi visionem, pro qua missus sum [ego, et] tunc scies, quis sum ego. Et nomen meum nescis, 5. Ideo quia vis iter- um reverti in	ficare. 3. †Et† cum accepisset me manu duxit me in altum¹⁶. Egoque dixi: Quis es †tu†? quomodo tibi nomen est? et quo me super- fers? virtus enim mihi data est lo- qui cum illo. 4. Tunc "cum respondisset" dixit¹⁷: Quando *feram te¹⁸ in altum †et† o- stendam tibi visionem pro qua missus sum, tunc scies, quis sum ego. Et nomen me- um nescis. 5. Quia¹⁹ vis iter- um reverti in

¹ Em. from *bc* ወርአክ፡ *a* reads ርአክ፡ Contrast the corruption in viii. 1. S L² support emendation. ² *ab* ተዐርገኒ፡

³ *b* ተወህባ፡ ⁴ L¹ om., also S L². Hence bracketed. ⁵ *b* አምላ፡

⁶ *b* አትምር፡ (sic). ⁷ *b* om. ⁸ Corrupt. Is et accessit =

καὶ ἀνῆλθε corrupt for καὶ ἀνήγαγε? S preserves true text: et cum accepisset me manu duxit me in altum = καὶ λαβὼν με χειρὶ ἀνήγαγεν με. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* ii. 9. ⁹ = E. S L² om. ei. ¹⁰ ὅταν σε ἐναγάγω

where the last word is corrupt for ἀναγάγω. ¹¹ A free rendering.

S (= E) is literal. ¹² So S L². E = quo. ¹³ Read et accipiens

with S E. ¹⁴ Corrupt for me. ¹⁵ Add et with S E.

¹⁶ *ch* alta. ¹⁷ E L² add mihi. ¹⁸ L² trs. ¹⁹ *Za* ne = S.

L¹L²

S

ገባእ፡ ወንበስ፡ እ
 ዐርገክ፡ ትሬኢ፡
 *እስመ፡ ለዘ፡ ተፈ
 ኖኩ።¹ 6. ወተ
 ፈግሕኩ፡ እስመ፡
 በየውሀት፡ ተናገ
 ረኢ። 7. ወይቤ
 ሰኒ፡ ተፈግሕኩ፡
 እስመ፡ የጥሀ፡² ተ
 ናገርኩክ፡ ወይቤ፡
 ወለዘ፡ የዐ-በየኒሂ፡
 ትሬኢ፡ ከመ፡ ይ
 ዉሀ፡³ ወዕፋፈ፡
 ሀሉ፡ *ይተናገር፡
 ምስሌክ⁴ 8. ወ
 አባሀ፡⁵ ለዘ፡ የዐ
 ሲ፡ ትሬኢ፡ እስመ፡
 ለዘ፡ ተፈገውኩ፡ እ
 ምሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡
 ከመ፡ አብርሀ፡ ለዘ፡
 ዘንተ፡ አሉ። 9.
 ወዐረገክ፡ ውስተ፡

sustolero te,
 tunc videbis,
 *¹propter hoc
 enim missus
 sum⁶. 6.
 Quonia⁷
 simpliciter
 mihi respon-
 dit⁸: 7. Et
 ait mihi:
 (*Gavisus es,
 quia hilariter
 respondi tibi?
 et ait mihi)⁹
 et maiorem¹⁰
 me videbis.
 Hilariter et
 simpliciter lo-
 quetur¹¹ tecum.
 8. *Et emin-
 tiorem ipsius
 majoris¹² vide-
 bis. Propter
 hoc enim mis-
 sus sum a sep-
 timo caelo ut
 omnia tibi os-
 tendam. 9. [Et

corpus tuum,
 et quando te
 elevabo, ¹pos-
 tea¹ videbis.
 6. Et gavisus
 sum, quia man-
 suete respon-
 dit¹³. 7. Et dixit
 mihi: Gavisus
 es, quia humil-
 iter¹⁴ respondi
 tibi, et major-
 em me videbis
 [et] *humili-
 orem et sapien-
 tiorem¹⁵ volen-
 tem loqui tecum
 8. ¹Meliorem
 et dulciorem¹⁶;
 in hoc enim
 missus sum, ut
 notificem tibi
 omnia haec.
 9. Ascendimus

corpus tuum.
 Et quando te
 elevabo vide-
 bis. 6. Et ga-
 visus sum quia
 mansuete re-
 spondit¹ mihi¹.
 7. Et dixit mi-
 hi: Gavisus es
 quia¹⁶ mansu-
 ete¹⁷ respondi
 tibi? Et ¹me-
 liorem¹⁸ me
 videbis humi-
 liorem et sapi-
 entio¹⁹rem¹⁹ vo-
 lentem loqui
 tecum. 8. ¹Et
 maiorem ma-
 joris, ¹lucidio-
 rem et modes-
 tiorem²⁰; in
 hoc enim mis-
 sus sum, ut
 notificem tibi
 *haec omnia²¹.
 9. Ascendi au-

¹ SL² om. but L¹ supports.² b የውሃ፡³ b የጥሀ፡⁴ b trs.⁵ b ወአባሀ፡⁶ So E. SL² om.⁷ Et gavisus

sum lost by hmt. before quoniam.

⁸ MS. respondet.⁹ This

clause lost through hmt. I have restored from E.

¹⁰ MS.

majus.

¹¹ MS. loquitur.¹² E = patrem ipsius maiorem.¹³ Add mihi with SE.¹⁴ SE = mansuete.¹⁵ See note on

phrase in S.

¹⁶ Za ne = S.¹⁷ L² = humiliter.¹⁸ Cor-rupt for maiorem as in L².¹⁹ Mistranslations (?) of ταπεινότερα

καὶ σώφρονα.

²⁰ Seems corrupt.L² = et meliorem et dulciorem.²¹ So E. L² trs.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ምጽናዕ: *እከ: ወ ወ-እቱ: ¹ ወበሀዩ: ርእክዎ: ለሰማየ ል: ² ወ*ለ ³ ይላ ጊህ: ወሀሉ: ዐቢ ይ: ቀተል: በገዕሌ ሁ: ተወገረተ: ተለይጣን: ጅ: ለካ ልክ: ይደናፀፈ:: 10. ወበከመ: በገ ዕሉ: ከማሁ: ³ በ ምድር: እስመ: እምሰሉ: ለዘ: በ ምጽናዕ: ዘዩ: ወ- ስተ: ምድር: ወ- እቱ: 11. ወእ ቤሉ: ለመልእክ: መንተ: ወ-እቱ: ⁶ ዝደንጽ: 12. ወ ይቤሰኒ: ከመዝ: ወ-እቱ: እምአመ:	sustulit me] ⁷ et ascendi ego (et) ⁸ ipse in [primum] ⁹ solidamentum, et ibi vidi Sam- ael et fortitudi- nem ejus: et fuit in eo bel- lum grande, et angeli satanae simul inviden- tes. 10. Sicut enim susus(s)ic et in terra (for- mae enim ejus, quod in firma- mento, hic sunt in terra) ¹⁰ . 11. Et dixi angelo, "qui fuit mecum" ¹¹ : Quid est bel- lum hoc et quae invidia haec? 12. Et dixit mihi: "Sic est *ex quo secu-	ego et ille super firmamentum, et vidi ibi proe- lium magnum sathanae et virtutem ejus "resistentem honorantiae" ¹² dei ¹¹ , et unus erat praestan- tior alio invidendo; 10. Quia sicut est in ter- ra tanto ¹³ est in firmamento, formae enim firmamenti hic sunt in terra. 11. Et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc bellum et in- vidia "et proe- lium"? 12. Et "respondens" ¹¹ dixit mihi:	tem [et] ego et ille super firmamentum. Et vidi ibi proe- lium magnum satanae et virtutes ¹⁴ ejus [et] "resisten- tem pietati" ¹⁵ et unus *alium invidentes ¹⁶ . 10. (Quia) sicut est in terra ita est et in firma- mento. For- mae enim eo- rum in firma- mento hic sunt in terra. 11. Et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc bellum et in- vidia "et proe- lium"? 12. Et "respondit mi- hi et" ¹⁷ dixit ¹⁷ :

¹ b trs. bef. ወ-ስተ: ² a ለሰማይል: ³ b om. ⁴ Corrupt = καὶ λόγοι, where λόγοι corrupt for ἄγγελοι. So L¹ angeli. b reads ወገረ: ⁵ a ወአካዱ: ⁶ Text defective. See exegetical note. ⁷ ESL² om. I have bracketed the words as a doublet of et ascendi ego. ⁸ Supplied from ESL². ⁹ ESL² om. ¹⁰ Lost through hmt, and restored from E. S here agrees with EL¹ against L². ¹¹ Found in Gk. Leg. ii. 10 though lost in E. ¹² = onoranza = auctoritas. ¹³ Read ita as in S. ¹⁴ L² virtutem. ¹⁵ = blagočstiju. L² honorantiae Dei. ¹⁶ L² erat praestantior alio invidendo. ¹⁷ L² respondens dixit mihi.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ἰῶλ: ἡγῶν: ἅ ἵη: ἔλῃ: ὡ φῖα: ἅἱη: ἔ σῶα: ἡυῶη: ῖα: ὡἔ: ὡἔ σῶἱ:¹ ἱ3. ὡ ἅῶ: ἔλῃ: ἅ ἔλῃ:² σῶἱ: ῶα: ἡ3: ὡἅ ῖ:⁴ ὡἔ:⁵ ἱ4. ὡἱ: ἔλῃ: σῶἱ: ὡἅ ἱ:⁶ ὡἱ:⁷ ὡἱ: σῶ: ἅἱ: ὡἱ:⁸ ἱ5. ὡἱ: (σῶ ἅἱ: ἅἱ: ὡ ῶα:)⁹ ἡσ: σῶ ἅἱ: ἅἱ: ὡἱ ῶα:¹⁰ ἔλῃ: ἅἱ:¹¹ ἅἱ: ὡἱ ῖ:¹⁰ ἔλῃ:¹²	lum¹³ factum est usque nunc¹¹ [est]¹⁴, sic erit bellum quoad usque veniat quem visurus es et emun- dabit¹⁵ eum. ἱ3. Et postea po- suit me super solidamentum; *et fuit¹⁶ cae- lum. ἱ4. Et vidi ibi sedem in medio, et ad dexteram ejus et ad sinistram(m) angeli erant. ἱ5. *Et non tales erant an- geli ad sinis- tram(m)¹⁷ quales¹⁸ ad dextra(m),	istud bellum "diaboli est, et" non quiescet donec veniet, quem vis vi- dere, et inter- ficiet eum "spi- ritu virtutis ejus"¹⁹. ἱ3. Pos- tea levavit me in ea, quae sunt super firmamentum, quod est "pri- mum" coelum. ἱ4. Et vidi thronum in me- dio, "desuper sedebat ange- lus in magna gloria", et a dextris ejus se- debant angeli et a sinistris. ἱ5. Aliam ha- bebant glor-	istud bellum "est diaboli"²⁰ et" non quiescet donec veniet quem vis vi- dere et inter- ficiet (eum)²¹ "spiritu vir- tutis suae"²². ἱ3. Postea ele- vavit me in ea quae sunt su- per firmamen- tum, quod est "primum" cae- lum. ἱ4. Et vidi "ibi" thro- num in medio "*et in eo"²³ se- debat angelus in magna glo- ria" et a dextris ejus sedebant²⁴ et a sinistris angeli. ἱ5. Aliam²⁵ vero²⁶

¹ *a* **ὡἔ:** **σῶἱ:**
as in SL². ³ *b* **ἡἱ:** ⁴ *a* **ὡἱ:** ⁵ *a* om. ⁶ *b* **ὡἱ:**
⁷ *b* **ὡἱ:** (sic). ⁸ *b* om. this and next three words. ⁹ I have
added these words in accordance with L¹ (the context requires
them), and changed the preceding verb from **ἡἱ:** to **ἡἱ:** ¹⁰ *b* **ὡἱ:**
¹¹ *b* **ὡἱ:** ¹² *b* om. ¹³ MS. ex qua oculum. ¹⁴ Should
with ESL² be excised. ¹⁵ = καθάρῃσει corrupt for καθαίρει 'will
destroy.' So ES L². ¹⁶ Should be quod est primum as in SL².
E = quod est caelum. ¹⁷ Here L¹ supplements E by supplying
its lost clause 'angeli ad sinistram.' MS. reads talis for tales.
SL² agree in a different text. ¹⁸ MS. qualis. ¹⁹ Should be
suae as in S. ²⁰ L² trs. ²¹ Added from L¹ L² E¹. ²² L² ejus.
²³ L² desuper. ²⁴ *u* sedens. ²⁵ *u* et majorem. ²⁶ L² om.

	L ¹	L ²	S
*ፈፍፋፋ፡ ክብር፡ ¹ ሰሙ፡ ወይሱ ብሐ፡ ዘሉሙ፡ በ *አላዲ፡ ² ቃል፡ ወመንበር፡ ሀሉ፡ ማእከሉ፡ ወኪሉ ሁ፡ ይሱብሐ፡ ወ እሱ፡ በፀጋም፡ ድጋሪሆሙ፡ ወቃ ሉሙሰ፡ አካ፡ ከ ሙ፡ ቃሉ፡ እሱ፡ በየ ማ፡ ወእስብላ ተሙ፡ ከሙ፡ ስብ ላተ፡ እልክቸ። 16. ወተስእልክዎ፡ ሰመልክክ፡ ዘይመ ርሐኒ፡ ወእሴሉ፡ ሰመኑ፡ ዘስብላተ፡ ይትፈኖ። 17. ወ ይሴሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ስብላተ፡ (ዘሰ) ³ ሳብዐ፡ ሰማይ፡ ለ ዘ፡ በቅዱስ፡ ⁴ ዓለ ም፡ ያ*ዐ ⁵ ርፍ፡ ወሰፍቆሩ፡ እመ ነብ፡ ተፈነወኩ፡ ነቤክ፡ [ሀየ፡ ይት ፈኖ]። ⁶ 18. ወ ካዕብ፡ አዕረገኒ፡ ው ስተ፡ ዳገም፡ ሰማ	ad dextram enim clarita- tem magna(m) habuerunt : et laudabant om- nes una voce : ¶ et sedes erat in medio ⁷ , et a sinistra postea benedicebant. Fuit autem vox a sinistro non sicut (a dextro) ⁸ ¶ nec hymnus ⁹ erat illis simi- lis ¹⁰ . 16. Et ro- gavi angelum qui me duce- bat, ¶ et dixi ei ¹¹ : Cui mittunt an- geli hymnos ¹² ? 17. Et dixit mihi : Gloriam sedentis septi- mi caeli, ¶ qui est perpetui saeculi, ¶ et di- lecto ejus a quo missus sum ad te. 18. Et im- posuit me (in) secundum cae-	iam, qui erant a dextris, et cantabant una voce, et illi qui erant a sinis- tris post illos ¶ cum eis ¹³ canticum eo- rum non erat sicut dextro- rum. 16. Et interrogavi an- gelum ducentem me : Cui canticum istud missum est? 17. Et ¶ respon- dens ¹⁴ dixit mi- hi : ¶ Magnae ¹⁵ gloriae Dei, qui est super sep- timum coelum, et filio ejus dilecto, unde [ego] missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in	*gloriam ha- bebant ¹² , qui erant a dex- tris, et canta- bant una voce; et illi qui erant a sinistris post illos cantabant, canticum au- tem ¹³ eorum non erat sicut dextrorum. 16. Interroga- vi autem ange- lum ducentem me : Cui can- ticum istud missum est? 17. Et ¶ cum respondisset ¹⁴ dixit mihi : ¶ Magnae ¹⁵ glor- iae Dei quae ¹⁴ est super sep- timum caelum et filio ejus dilecto, unde missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum eleva- vit me in se-

¹ ፊ ፊብር፡ ብዙኃ፡ ² ፊ ፊ.
with L¹. See exegetical note.

⁶ Bracketed since L¹ S L² om.

from hymnus. Cf. next verse where hymnos appears. S L² give canticum in both cases. ⁹ So E. S L² om.

¹¹ Corrupt for cantabant as in S.

¹⁴ L² qui.

³ Supplied in accordance

⁴ ፊ በቅዱስ፡ ⁵ a om.

⁷ Supplied from E. ⁸ Em.

¹⁰ MS. hymnus.

¹² L² trs. ¹³ L² om.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ደ፡ ወልዕልናሁሰ፡ ሰውእቱ፡ ሰማይ፡ ደከውን፡ ከመ፡ ¹ *እምሰማይ፡ ሰ ምድር፡ ² [ወለም ጽናዕ]። ³ 19. ወ (ርእኩ፡ ህዩ፡ ከ መ፡) ⁴ ውስተ፡ ቀ ዳማይ፡ ⁵ ሰማይ፡ *ደምኒ፡ ወጽግ መ፡ ⁶ *መላእክተ፡ ወመንበር፡ ⁷ ማእ ከሰ፡ ⁸ ወ*ስብሓ ተ፡ መላእክተ፡ ⁹ ዘበዳገም፡ ሰማ ይ፡ *ወዘይብር፡ ደበ፡ መንበር፡ በ ዳገም፡ ሰማይ፡ ¹ ክብር፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ሶቱ፡ እምክሉ። ¹⁰	lum, et fuit altitudo caeli qualis a caelo usque ad ter- ram [et ad fir- mamentum] ¹² . 19. Et vidi ibi quomodo vide- ram in primo caelo angelos dextros et sin- istros et sedes media.	*secundo coe- lo ¹³ , *altitudo ejuserat ¹⁴ sicut a primo coelo usque ad ter- ram. 19. Et vidi ibi, sicut in primo coelo, dextros et sin- istros angelos.	cundum cae- lum; *altitu- do autem caeli erat ¹⁶ sicut a primo caelo usque ad ter- ram ¹⁷ . 19. Vi- di autem ibi, sicut in primo caelo dextros et sinistros angelos ¹⁸ .

	L ²	S
20. ወብዙተ፡ ክብር፡ ሀ ሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳገም፡ ሰማ ይ፡ ወስብሓተመ፡ ¹¹ ኢ	20. Et *gloria isto- rum angelorum ¹⁵ et canticum excelsiora	20. Et (gloria isto- rum angelorum et) ¹⁹ canticum excelsius

¹ b om. ² a እምድር፡ ሰሰማይ፡ ³ Though found also in L¹ must be excised. S L² rightly om. ⁴ Supplied in accordance with context, L¹ S L². ⁵ b ዳገም፡ ⁶ b በደምን፡ ወበፀገም፡ ⁷ These words in nom. in MSS. but put in acc. owing to change made in preceding line. ac om. መላ". ⁸ b ማእከላ፡ ⁹ bc ስብሐተ፡ ¹⁰ b እምክሉ፡ which it reads before ሶቱ፡ ¹¹ b ወስብሐተ፡ ¹² So also E, but should be excised from both. ¹³ Should be acc. as in L¹ S. ¹⁴ See note ¹⁶. ¹⁵ S wrongly om. ¹⁶ = et fuit altitudo caeli of L¹ (E). L² defective: altitudo ejus erat. ¹⁷ Obs. wrong addition of et ad firmamentum in L¹ E. ¹⁸ S defective. See what is required by text in E (L¹). 'Throne' should be mentioned as in E L¹ and probably he that sat on it, as in E, for the former is referred to in ver. 21 of S L² and the latter probably in same ver. in L² adorarem eum. ¹⁹ Supplied from L².

L³

S

ኮክ: ከመ: ስብሐተ: እል
ክቶ: ለዘባ: ቀዳማዊ: ሰ
ማይ:: 21. ወወደቆ:
በገዳዩ: ከመ: እስጋይ:
ሎቶ: ወዲያይገደ: መል
እክ: ዘይመርሐኒ: አላ:
ይቤሰኒ: ኢትስጋይ: *ወ
እለመንበር: ወዲለመል
እክ: ለዘ: እምስድስቶ:
ሰማይ: እምነብ: ተፈኒ
ውኩ: እምራኅክ: ዘእን
በሰ: እክ: እንግርክ: በላ
ብዕ: ሰማይ:: 22. እስ
መ: መልዕልተ: ዙሉ:
ሰማያት: ወመላእክቲሆ
ሙ: መንበርክ: ንቡር:
ወአልባሲክ: ወአክለል
ክ: ዘሀላውክ: ትርአይ::
23. ወተፈግሕክ: ፍሥ
ሓ: ዐቢያ: እስመ: እሰ:
ያፈቅርዎ: ለልዑል: ወለ

erant quam primo-
rum. 21. Et cecidi
in faciem meam, ut
adorarem eum⁷. Et
non dimisit⁸ me
angelus, qui me in-
struebat, *et dixit
mihi⁹: Noli adorare
angelum, neque
thronum istius coe-
li¹⁰; *propter hoc¹¹
missus sum instru-
ere te, *sed tantum,
quem ego dixero
tibi¹². [Adora simili-
tereum qui est]¹³. 22.
Super omnes ange-
los¹⁴, thronos et super
vestes et coronas,
quas videbis deinceps¹⁴. 23. Et gavi-
sus sum gaudio mag-
no valde, quia talis
est consummatio

erant quam primo-
rum; 21. Et *cum
cecidissem in faciem
meam adoravi eos¹⁵
et non dimisit¹⁶ me
angelus, qui me in-
struebat¹⁷: Noli ado-
rare *neque thro-
num neque ange-
lum¹⁸ *e caelo¹⁹, nam²⁰
propter hoc missus
sum instruere te;
*quem tibi ego dix-
ero²¹ tantum 22.
Super omnes thro-
nos et vestes et
coronas, quem
videbis deinceps.
23. Et gavisus sum
gaudio magno valde,
quia talis²² est con-
summatio scientibus

¹ b om.² a trs. So L³, but S upholds b.³ A mis-

translation of ὁθεν. See exegetical note.

⁴ b መልዕልተሆሙ:⁵ b ወልብስክ:⁶ a ወተፈግሕ:⁷ So E. S inferior text.⁸ = ἀφῆκε, which, however, the translator should have rendered by permisit.⁹ S wrongly om.¹⁰ See note 19.¹¹ So S = ὁθεν

which E renders 'whence.'

¹² Agrees with E. S corrupt.¹³ Interpolated.¹⁴ Verse corrupt: E = nam supra omnes coelos eorumque angelos thronus tuus positus est, et vestes quoque tuae et corona tua quae videbis.¹⁵ u = cum cecidissem.¹⁶ See

note 8.

¹⁷ Add et dixit mihi with L² E.¹⁸ L² angelum

neque thronum.

¹⁹ L² istius caeli. But E alone seems right =

qui e sex caelis.

²⁰ L² om.²¹ Corrupt. L² gives

sounder text.

²² Taka: ta ch.

L²

S

ፍቁፋ፣¹ ደጋሪተሙ፡ በ
መልአክ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡
*የዐርጉ፡ ሆኖ፡² 24. ወአ
ዕረገኒ፡ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ርአኩ፡
እሱ፡ በየማን፡ ወበፀጋም፡
ወበ*ሆየ፡ መንበር፡ ማ
እከሰ፡⁴ ይኑበር፡⁵ ወባ
ሐቸ፡ ዝክኑ፡ ሰዝ፡ ዓለ
ም፡ አይሰመይ፡ በህ
የ፡³ 25. ወእቤሱ፡ ሰመ
ልአክ፡ ዘምስሌየ፡ እስመ፡
ይተዋሰጥ፡⁶ ክብር፡ ገድየ፡
ሶቤ፡ አዐርግ፡⁷ ለሰሰማ
ይ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡ ምን
ተ፡ እምዘክቸ፡ ዓለም፡
ከነተ፡ በዘየ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡
26. ወአውሥአ፡ ወይቤ
ሰ፡⁸ አልቦ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡
በእነተ፡ ደካሙ፡ ወአልቦ፡
ዘይተገባእ፡ *በሆየ፡ ዘ⁹
ይተገበር፡ 27. ወፈቀ
ደኩ፡ እጠይቅ፡ እር፡ ይ
ተአመር፡ ወአውሥአ፡
እነዝ፡ ይብል፡ ሶቤ፡ ው
ስተ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ እም
ነቤ፡ ተፈነውኩ፡ አዐርጉ
ከ፡¹⁰ ውስተ፡ ዘመልዕ
*ልተ፡ እሱ፡ ሶቤ፡ ታአ

scientibus altissi-
mum¹¹ et aeternalem¹¹
et¹¹ dilectum filium
ejus, quia sicut¹¹
*(ab) angelo¹² Sancti
Spiritus sic hi ascen-
dunt in illum. 24. Et
elevavit me super
tertium coelum, et
similiter vidi par-
vum thronum, et
dextros et sinistros
angelos. Memoria
autem istius mundi
illic non nominaba-
tur. 25. Sed transfor-
mabatur gloria mei
spiritus, cum ascen-
debam in coelum, et
dixi: de illo mundo
nihil *nominatur
hic¹³. 26. Et respon-
dens mihi angelus
ait: nihil nominatur
propter infirmitatem
ejus, et nihil abscon-
ditur *illic de illis,
quae¹⁴ facta sunt.

altissimum et¹¹ aeter-
nalem¹¹ dilectum
filium ejus: et si-
cut¹¹ ab angelo Sancti
Spiritus hi illic¹⁶ ex-
eunt¹⁷. 24. Et ele-
vavit me super ter-
tium caelum, et illic¹⁸
similiter vidi par-
vum¹⁹ thronum et
dextros et sinistros
angelos. Memoria
tamen mundi istius
illic non nominaba-
tur. 25. Sed trans-
formabatur gloria
spiritus²⁰ mei, cum
ascendebam in cae-
lum et dixi: nihil
de illo²¹ mundo
*hic nominatur²²?
26. Et respondit
mihi angelus et ait
mihi: nihil nomina-
tur propter infirmi-
tatem ejus nihilque
hic¹⁸ absconditur *de
illis quae²³ facta
sunt²⁴.

¹ b ወለፍቁፋ:² b trs.³ a om.⁴ b ማእከላ:⁵ ac ወዘይኑበር:⁶ b ይተመየጥ:⁷ b አዐርገኒ:⁸ a እነዝ፡ ይብል:⁹ a ዘቤ፡ ዘየ:¹⁰ a አዐርግ:¹¹ S om.¹² Em. with

S E from angeli.

¹³ S E trs.¹⁴ So E. See note ²².¹⁵ L²add et. ¹⁶ Si tamo: ch sila.L² is largely supported by E.

corrupt for μέσον(?) as in E.

²¹ onogo u, togo ch.²² So E. L² trs.²⁴ Greater part of vii. 27 in E is wanting in S L².¹⁷ L² better: ascendunt in illum.¹⁸ L² E om.¹⁹ So L² = μικρόν²⁰ So L². E = faciei or formae.²³ L² (E) illic de illis quae.

L

S

ምር፡ከመ፡እልቡ፡ዘይት
 ንባእ፡ለመናብርት፡ወለ
 እሱ፡ይብሩ፡ውስተ፡
 ሰማያት፡¹ ወ*እ፡ለመላ
 እክት፡፡ ወስብሓት፡³ ዘ
 ይሱብሑ፡ወክብሩ፡ለዘ
 ይብር፡ደቡ፡መንበር፡
 የዐቢ፡ወለመላእክት፡
 ዘቡ፡የማን፡ወለዘ፡⁴ በፀ
 ጋም፡ክብረ፡ፈድፋድ፡
 ለሙ፡⁵ እምሰማይ፡ዘእ
 ምታሕቲሆሙ፡፡ 28. ወ
 ካዕቡ፡አዕረገኒ፡ውስተ፡
 ራብዕ፡ሰማይ፡ወልዕል
 ናህ፡እምማልሽ፡ለራብዕ፡
 ሰማይ፡ይፈደፍድ፡⁶ እ
 ምድር፡² እስከ፡ምጽ
 ናዕ፡፡ 29. ወበህየ፡ካዕ
 ቡ፡ርእኩ፡እሱ፡በየማን፡
 ወእሱ፡በፀጋም፡ወዘይ
 ብር፡*ደቡ፡መንበር፡²
 ሀሎ፡ማእከሉ፡⁷ ወበህየኒ፡
 ኅዲ፡ይሱብሑ፡፡ 30. ወ
 ስብ*ሓት፡ወክብር፡⁸ ዘ
 መላእክት፡የማን፡የዐቢ፡
 እም*ዘፀጋም፡ 31. ወ
 ካዕቡ፡ክብሩ፡ለዘ፡ይነ

27. Et canticum
 *cantabant, et glori-
 ficabant sedentem⁹,
 et iste¹⁰ angelus erat
 major secundo. 28.
 Et iterum elevavit
 me in quartum coe-
 lum. Altitudo *ter-
 tii coeli¹¹ usque ad
 quartum coelum
 major erat. 29. Et
 ibi vidi thronum et
 dextros et sinistros
 angelos¹²;

31. Gloria vero se-
 dentis melior erat
 quam angelorum,

27. Canticum-
 que 'quod' canta-
 bant et glorificatio
 sedentis et angelus
 major erat secundo.
 28. Et iterum ele-
 vavit me in quartum
 caelum. *Altitudo
 autem a tertio usque
 ad quartum caelum¹³
 [multo] major erat¹⁴.
 29. Et ibi iterum¹⁵
 vidi thronum et dex-
 tros et sinistros an-
 gelos 'et hi iterum
 cantabant. 30. Et
 gloria et cantus an-
 gelorum (dextrorum)
 major erat eorum a
 sinistris¹⁶, 31. Et
 gloria sedentis major
 erat quam angelo-

¹ ስ ሰማይ፡² ስ om.³ ስ ወስብሐት፡⁴ ስ ወእሱ፡⁵ ላ ሶቹ፡⁶ ላ ፈድፋድ፡⁷ ስ ማእከሉ፡⁸ ስ ወክብር፡⁹ Corrupt. See S.¹⁰ S om.¹¹ S E = a tertio.¹² Verses29^b, 30 lost through hmt (?). They are found in S.¹³ u om.¹⁴ S L³ defective. E supplies omission: quam a terra ad firmamentum.¹⁵ So E. L³ wrongly om.¹⁶ L² om. through hmt (?).

I have supplied dextrorum from E.

L²

S

ብር፡ ደብ፡ መንበር፡ ደፈ.
 ደፍድ፡ እመላእክት፡¹
 እሰ፡ በየማን፡ ወክብር
 መብ፡ ፈድፋድ፡² እምዘ፡
 ታሕቶ፡³ 32. ወእዕረ
 ገዢ፡ ውስተ፡ ኃምስ፡ ሰማ
 ደ። 33. ወኃዕብ፡²
 ርእኩ፡ ዘበ፡ የማን፡ ወፀ
 ጋም፡ ወዘይብር፡ ደብ፡
 መንበር፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ክብረ፡
 ቦቶ፡ እምዘ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማ
 ደ፤ 34. ወክብርመብ፡
 ሰእሰ፡ በየማን፡ ፈድፋድ፡
 እምእሰ፡ በፀጋም፡ [እም
 ሣልስ፡ እስክ፡ ራብዕ፡]⁵
 35. ወኃብሩ፡ ለዘ፡ ውስ
 ተ፡ መንበር፡⁶ የዐቢ፡ እመ
 ላእክት፡ ዘኃብ፡² የማን፡
 36. ወስብሓተመ፡ ኃብ
 ረ፡ ዐቢ፡⁷ ቦቶ፡ እምራ
 ብዕ፡ ሰማደ። 37. ወስ
 ባሕኩ፡ ለዘ፡ ኢይሰመደ፡
 ውብሕት፡ ዘኃብ፡² ሰማደ
 ት፡ ደብር፡ ዘስመ፡ ኢት
 ዐውቀ፡⁸ ለክሉ፡ ዘሥጋ፡
 ለዘ፡ ከመዘ፡ ክብረ፡ ወሀ
 በ፡ እምሰማደ፡ ለሰማ
 ደ፡ *ወዘ፡⁹ የዐቢ፡ ክብረ፡

qui erant a dextris,
 et gloria eorum
 similiter superabat
 gloriam inferiorum.
 32. Et ascendi in
 quintum coelum.
 33. Et ibi vidi "an-
 gelos innumerabiles",
 34. Et gloria eorum
 36. Et canticum glo-
 riosius erat quarti
 coeli¹⁰. 37. "Et ego
 miratus sum, tantam
 multitudinem ange-
 lorum videns diver-
 sis bonitatibus ordi-
 natorum¹¹, et sin-
 guli gloriam habentes
 glorificabant" ex-
 istentem in alto, cujus
 nomen non est reve-
 latum omni carni,
 quia tantam gloriam
 dat angelis super
 singulos coelos. "Et
 respondens angelus
 dixit mihi: quare

rum, qui erant a
 dextris¹², gloriaque
 eorum similiter su-
 perans (gloriam)
 eorum qui infra.
 32. Et ascendi in
 quintum caelum.
 33. Et ibi iterum¹³
 vidi "angelos"¹⁴ innu-
 merabiles", 34. et
 gloria eorum 36. et
 canticum glorio-
 sius¹⁵ quarto caelo.
 37. "Egoque mira-
 tus sum, tantam
 magnam¹⁶ multitudi-
 nem cum vidissem
 angelorum diversis
 bonitatibus ornato-
 rum¹⁶, singuli gloriam
 suam¹³ habentes, et¹⁸
 glorificabant" exist-
 entem in altitudini-
 bus cujus nomen
 non¹⁷ est revelatum
 omni carni, quia tan-
 tam gloriam dat an-
 gelis super singulos
 caelos. "Et cum re-
 spondisset angelus
 dixit mihi: quare

¹ ሆ እመላእክት፡² b om.³ ሆ ታሕታይ፡⁴ ሆ ወኃብ፡ (sic).⁵ I have bracketed these words with Dln. For እስክ፡ b reads ወእስክ፡⁶ ሆ መንበር፡ ⁷ bc ክብር፡ ዐቢ፡ ⁸ ሆ ኢይትዐውቀ፡ ⁹ ሆ ወለዘ፡¹⁰ Mistranslation of τοῦ τετάρτου οὐρανοῦ. Should be quarto caelo (Gesenius). ¹¹ S ornatorum. ¹² Sustich: suich a sinistris ch.¹³ L² om. ¹⁴ u legiones. ¹⁵ L² adds erat. ¹⁶ L² ordina-torum. ¹⁷ ch om.

L²

S

መላእክት፡ * ወክብር፡
ፈፈደፍደ፡¹ ለዘ፡ ይ፡
ብር፡ ደብ፡ መንበር።

VIII. ወዓዲ፡ አዕረገ፡
ወ-ስተ፡ አየር፡ ዘላደሰ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወ²ርእኩ፡ ስብ
ሓተ፡ ዘ*ኢ³ርእኩ፡ ወ-ስ
ተ፡ ንምስቲ፡⁴ ሰማይ፡
2. *እስመ፡ ርእኩ፡⁵ መ
ላእክት፡⁶ በዐቢይ፡ ክብር፡
እንዘ፡ ሀለዉ፡ 3. *ወበ³
ህየ፡ ስብሓተ፡ ቅዱስ፡
*ሀሎ፡ ወ³መን[ክ]ር።⁷
4. ወእቤ*ሎ²፡ ለመልእ
ክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ምንተ
ኑዝ፡ ዘአራኤ፡ እግዚእየ።
5. ወይቤ*ላኒ፡ ኢኮንኩ፡
አኒ፡ እግዚእክ፡ አላ፡ ቢጽ
ክ፡ አነ። 6. ወዓዲ፡ ተስእ
ልክዎ፡⁹ ወእቤሎ፡ ምንተ
*ኑኢ፡ ቢጸ፡ መላእክት።
7. ወይቤ፡ እምሳድሰ፡
ሰማይ፡ መላእክት፡¹⁰ *ዘ³
ፀጋም፡ አልቦቲ፡¹¹ እምይ
እኩ፡ ወእመንበር፡ ማእከ

miraris de hoc, quod
non sunt unius spe-
ciei? non enim vi-
disti insuperabiles
virtutes et¹² millia
millium angelorum.¹¹
VIII. Et postea as-
sumpsit me in aërem
sexticoeli, et vidi ibi¹³
gloriam "magnam"¹¹,
qualem non vidi in
quinto coelo. 2. Et
aspexi angelum¹⁴ in
gloria magna, 3. "Et
facta virtutum erant
honorabilia et prae-
cedentia"¹¹, canticum
eorum sanctum et
mirabile erat. 4. Et
dixi ad angelum du-
centem me : Quid est
quod video, domine
mi? 5. Et dixit
mihi : Non sum tibi
dominus, sed con-
siliator¹⁵. 7. Et dixit
mihi : De sexto coe-
lo, et hic jam thronus

miratus es de hoc,¹⁶
non isti unius spe-
ciei? Non enim vi-
disti insuperabiles
virtutes millia mil-
lium angelorum.¹¹
VIII. * Iterum vero
elevavit¹⁷ me in aë-
rem sexti caeli, et
vidi gloriam "mag-
nam"¹¹ [super id]¹⁸,
qualem non vidi
in quinto caelo,
2. Nam¹⁹ aspexi an-
gelos²⁰ in gloria
magna. 3. "Ordines
virtutum horrenda-
rum et praeterfluen-
tes"¹¹, canticum vero²¹
eorum sanctum et
mirabile erat. 4. Et
dixi angelo me du-
centi : Quid est, quod
video, domine mi?
5. Et dixit mihi :
Non sum tibi domi-
nus, sed consiliator²².
7. Et [iterum] dixit
mihi de sexto cae-
lo²³ : Thronus non est

¹ b ወክብር፡ ፈፈደፍደ፡² b ወኢ.³ b om.⁴ b ፩.⁵ Em. with S nam aspexi from ሰቤ፡ ዐረገ፡ Contrast corruption in vii. 3.⁶ Em. from መላእክት፡ ⁷ Em. by Dln. from መንበር፡ of MSS.⁸ a om.⁹ b adds አነ፡¹⁰ Em. from ወላዕላ፡ inaccordance with S L².¹¹ b ወአልቦቲ፡¹² S om.¹³ SE om.¹⁴ Read angelos with SE.¹⁵ L² and S = σύνβουλος a corruption of σύνδουλος which E rightly represents : see note on p. 54.¹⁶ L² adds quod.¹⁷ So also E. L² et postea assumpsit.¹⁸ L² E

om.

¹⁹ So also E. L² et.²⁰ So also E. L² angelum.²¹ L² om.²² See note ¹⁵.²³ L² adds et hic jam.

L²

S

ሰ፡ንቡረ፡አሳ፡እምነይል፡
 ዘሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንብ፡
 ይኩበር፡ ዘኢይሰመይ፡
 ወጥሩዩ፡¹ ዘሰሙ፡ ኢትዐ
 ወቀ፡² ወኢክሎሙ፡ ሰማ
 ያት፡ ስጥ፡ አእምሮ፡ ኢይ
 ክሉ፤ 8. እስመ፡ ወእቶ፡
 *ሀሉ፡ ባሕቲቶ፡³ ዘ*ሰ፡
 ቃሉ፡ ክሎሙ፡ ሰማያት፡
 ወመናብርት፡ ያወሥኡ።
 ተነጻልኩኬ፡ አከ፡⁴ ወተፈ
 ኖኩ፡ ከመ፡ አዕርገ፡⁵ ዘዩ፡
 ከመ፡ ትርአይ፡ ዘነት፡
 ስብሓት፡ 9. ወትርአይ፡
 እግዚአሙ፡ ለ*እመንቶ፡
 ሰማያት፡ *ክሎሙ፡ ወዘ⁶
 እሉ፡ መናብርት፡ 10. እ
 ንዘ፡ ይትዌለጥ፡ እስከ፡
 ይከውን፡ በከመ፡ ራእይ
 ከመ፡ ወበከመ፡ እምሳሌ
 ከመ። 11. አንሰኬ፡
 እብሰከ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እስ
 መ፡ በሥጋ፡ ዝክቶ፡⁷ ዓለ
 ም፡ ዘሀለወ፡ ብእሲ፡
 ይግባእ፡⁸ *ወኢዐርገ፡ ወ
 ኢርአዩ፡⁹ ወኢለበወ፡¹⁰
 ዘአንተ፡ ለበውከ፡¹¹ ወ
 *ዘሀለወከ፡¹¹ ትርአይ፡

non est, nec sinistri
 angeli, sed de virtute
 septimi coeli ordina-
 tionem habent, ubi
 est+dives¹²+filius dei.
 8. Et omnes coeli et
 angeli ejus audiunt
 eum, et ego missus
 sum assumere te huc,
 ut videas gloriam ist-
 tam 9. Et domi-
 num omnium coelo-
 rum et angelos ejus
 et virtutes. 11. Di-
 co autem tibi, Ysaia,
 nemo in carne illius
 mundi volens con-
 verti, vidit, quae tu
 vides, neque videre
 potest, quae¹³ tu vi-
 disti¹⁴,

nec sinistri angeli,
 sed de virtute sep-
 timi caeli *adminis-
 trati sunt¹⁵ ubi est
 celebrer¹⁶ ille et uni-
 genitus¹⁷ filius ejus¹⁸
 8. Et omnes caeli et
 angeli ejus audiunt
 (eum). Ego vero mis-
 sus sum assumere te
 huc, ut videas glor-
 iam istam 9. Et
 dominum omnium
 caelorum et angelos¹⁹
 et virtutes. 11. Di-
 co²⁰ tibi, Isaia, nemo
 in carne *mundi il-
 lius²¹ volens con-
 verti homo²² +visio-
 nem, quam†²³ tu vi-
 des neque videre
 potest quod tu *vi-
 surus es²⁴,

¹ b ወጥሩይ፡² bc ኢይትዐወቅ፡³ b trs.⁴ b om.⁵ b አዕርገ፡⁶ b ወለክሉ፡ ወለ.⁷ b ዝነቶ፡⁸ I have

trs. ዘኢርአዩ፡ ወኢዐርገ፡ as above, changing H into ወ after Gk. Leg.
 ii. 29 οὐδέεις . . . ἀνέβη οὐδὲ εἶδεν. b om. H before ኢርአዩ፡

⁹ Should be trs. to beginning of verse 12 and take the place of ወ.

¹⁰ b ትራኢ፡ c ርአከ፡¹¹ b adds ዓዩ፡¹² See note, p. 54.¹³ Ed.

Ven. quē. S quod.

¹⁴ S (E) visurus es.¹⁵ L² ordinationem

habent.

¹⁶ ch imenitity: u imenimyī. L² dives.¹⁷ L² om.¹⁸ L² Dei.¹⁹ L² adds ejus.²⁰ L² adds autem.²¹ L² E trs.²² So also E. L² om.²³ Read vidit quae with L² E.²⁴ Soalso E. L² vidisti.

L²

S

12. እስመ፡ሀሰወክ፡በመ
ክፈልተ፡¹ እግዚእ፡² [በ
ክፍሉ፡ዐፀ፡]³ ትምጃእ፡⁴
ዝኖ፡ [ወእምህየ፡ወ-እቶ፡
ንደሉ፡ሰላድሱ፡ሰማይ፡
ወሰክየር]⁵። 13. ወእ
ዐቢደክዎ፡ በስብሐት፡
ሰእግዚእኦ፡ እስመ፡በመ
ክፈልተ፡ ዘአሁ፡ ዝኖ፡
እመጽእ። 14. ወደቤ፡
ስማዕኬ፡ ዓዲ፡ ዘንተ፡
እምነብ፡ ቢጽክ፡ ሰባ፡
*እምነብ፡ ሥጋ፡ *እም
ክረ፡እምላክ፡⁷ ዐረገ፡⁸ ዝኖ፡
*አማ፡ ልብሰ፡ ትነሥእ፡
ዘአንተ፡⁹ ትራኤ፡ ወላዕ
ዳንዝ፡ ኑሉቃን፡¹⁰ ንብራን፡
አልባስ፡ ትራኤ 15. ወ
አማ፡ ዐረዩ፡ ትከውን፡
*ሰ¹¹መላእክት፡ *ሰ⁶ዘ፡
*ሰ⁶ላብዕ፡ ሰማይ። 16.
ወአዐረገ፡ ወስተ፡ሳድሱ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወአልቦቶ፡ ዘባ፡
ፀጋም፡ ወእመነበረ፡ ማ
እክሰ፡ አላ፡ ዘሉሙ፡
አሐዱ፡¹² ራእዮሙ፡ ወ

12. Ideo quia tibi
est in sorte domi-
ni venire huc. 13.
*Et ego magnificavi
mecantans domino¹³,
quia in sorte ejus am-
bulo. 14. Et dixit
mihi : quando rever-
sus fueris per volun-
tatem patris, tunc
vestem tuam reci-
pies, 15. Et tunc
eris aequalis angelis,
qui sunt in sexto¹⁴
coelo. 16. Et as-
sumpsit me in sex-
tum coelum, et thro-
nus jam non erat
illic¹⁵ nec dextri¹⁵ nec
sinistri angeli, sed
habebant omnes
unam speciem et

12. Ideo quia tibi
est in sorte
domini venire huc.
13. *Magnificavi au-
tem dominum meum
cantans¹⁶, quia in
sorte ejus abeo¹⁷.
14. Et dixit mihi :
quando *ecarne huc¹⁸
reversus fueris per
voluntatem patris,
tunc *recipies ves-
tem¹⁹, 15. Et tunc
[tu] eris aequalis
angelis, qui sunt
in septimo caelo.
16. Et assumpsit me
in sextum caelum.
Et thronus illic jam
non erat¹⁵ nec dex-
tri²⁰ nec sinistri an-
geli, sed omnes habe-
bant unam speciem

¹ *a* በክፈልተ፡ (sic).

² *b* እግዚአብሔር፡

³ An explana-

tory gloss.

⁴ *b* ትመጽእ፡

⁵ A gloss based on misunder-

standing of viii. 7.

⁶ *b* om.

⁷ Em. from ክር፡ እምላክ፡

መንፈስ፡ (= alieno Deus Spiritus) of *b* in accordance with S L² = per voluntatem Dei. *a* reads ክር፡ እመልክ፡ መንፈስ፡ (= alieno ab angelo Spiritus). The form of the middle word of *a* is secondary, due to a wrong insertion of መንፈስ፡ (= Spiritus).

⁸ *b* አዐረገ፡

⁹ *b* ከመ፡ ትንግእ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዘ.

¹⁰ *a* ኑሉቃን፡ *b* ኑሉቋን፡ This and the

adjoining words should be in the acc. as the object of ትራኤ፡

¹¹ *b* ምስላ፡

¹² *b* ጿ.

¹³ S E have the better text.

¹⁴ Corrupt

for septimo.

¹⁵ Interpolated (?). See note ²⁰.

¹⁶ So also E.

¹⁷ L² ambulo.

¹⁸ So also E. L² om.

¹⁹ E = vestem accipies

quam tu vides.

²⁰ Interpolated (?). E om. rightly. See viii. 7.

L²

S

ስብሐተሙ፡ ዕዲ፡፡
 17. ወተውህበኒ፡ ወሰባ
 ሕክ፡ አነ፤ ምስሌሆሙ፡
 ወዘክኒ፡ መልአክ፡ ወኮ፡
 ስብሐተክ፡¹ ከመ፡ ዘአሆ
 ሙ፡፡ 18. ወበህዩ፡ ተደ
 ሎሙ፡ ይስምዩ፡ ለቀዳ
 ማዊ፡ አብ፡ ተ²ወለፍቀዱ፡³
 [ለክርስቲስ፡]⁴ ወለመነፈ.
 ስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ደሎሙ፡ በ*አ
 ሐዱ፡⁵ ቃል፡ 19. ወኢ
 ኮ፡ በከመ፡ ቃሎሙ፡ ለዘ፡
 ውስተ፡ ነምስቱ፡ ሰማያ
 ት፡ መላእክት፡⁶ 20. [ወ
 ኢ*በከመ፡ ነቢሎሙ፡]⁸
 አባ፡ ባዕድ፡ ቃል፡ ሆሎ፡
 ህዩ፡ ወ*በዘኑ፡ ብርሃኑ፡⁹
 ሆሎ፡ ህዩ፡፡ 21. ወሶቤሃ፡
 እንዘ፡ ሆሎክ፡ ውስተ፡
 *ላድስ፡ ሰማይ፡¹⁰ እም
 ሰልክ፡ ጽልመተ፡ ዝክ፡
 ብርሃናተ፡ ዘርእክ፡ ው
 ስተ፡ ነምስቱ፡ ሰማያት፡፡
 22. ወተፈግሕክ፡ ወሰባ
 ሕክ፡ ለዘ፡ ከመዝ፡ ብር

canticum aequale.
 17. Et datum est
 mihi, ut ego cane-
 rem cum eis, et an-
 gelus, "qui erat me-
 cum"⁷, et ego fuimus
 tales, sicut gloria
 eorum, "et gloria
 eorum erat una"⁸.
 18. Et glorificabant
 patrem omnium et
 dilectum filium ejus
 et Sanctum Spiritum.
 Omnes uno ore
 19. "Cantabant," sed
 non tali voce quali
 in quinto coelo,
 20. Sed alia voce, et
 lumen magnum erat
 "ibi". 21. Et quan-
 do eram in sexto
 coelo, existimabam
 lumen, quod "erat"
 in quinto coelo, tene-
 bras esse. 22. Gavi-
 sus sum valde et

et canticum eorum¹¹
 aequale. 17. Et da-
 tum est mihi ut et¹¹
 ego caneremcum eis,
 et angelus, "qui erat
 mecum"⁷, (et ego)¹²
 fuimus¹³ sicut gloria
 eorum, "et gloria
 eorum"¹⁴ erat una⁷.
 18. Et glorificabant
 patrem omnium et
 dilectum filium¹⁵ et
 Sanctum Spiritum.
 Omnes uno ore
 19. "Cantabant," sed
 non tali¹⁶ qualem
 habebant in *quinto
 caelo¹⁷, 20. sed alia
 voce et lumen mag-
 num erat¹⁸. 21. Et
 quandoeram in sexto
 caelo, existimabam
 lumen, quod in quin-
 to caelo, tenebras
 esse. 22. Et¹⁹ gavi-
 sus sum valde et

¹ b ወስብሐተኒ፡

² The passage obelized seems corrupt for glorificabant patrem omnium of S L². b trs. ደሎሙ፡ ይስምዩ፡ We should with c om. ለቀዳማዊ፡፡ next for ይስምዩ፡ read ይሰብሑ፡ and placing ደሎሙ፡ after አብ፡ we should read ይሰብሑ፡ ለአብ፡ ደሎሙ፡ 'they praised the Father of all.'

³ bc ወለፍር፡ ⁴ Interpolated as in ix. 5, on which see exegetical note.

⁵ b ኧ. ⁶ b trs. before ለዘ፡ and prefixes ለ.

⁷ b om. ⁸ A doublet? For ነቢ."

b reads ነቢሎሙ፡ ⁹ b trs. ¹⁰ bc ኧ ሰማያት፡ ¹¹ L² om.

but E supports. ¹² Supplied from L². ¹³ L² adds tales.

¹⁴ Supplied from L². Lost through hmt. ¹⁵ L² adds ejus.

¹⁶ L² adds voce. ¹⁷ E has 'five heavens.'

¹⁸ Add ibi with L² E. ¹⁹ L² om. against S E.

L²

S

ገናተ፡ ጸገወ፡ ለእሱ፡ ይጸ
ገኑ፡ ተስፋሁ። 23. ወ
አስተብቃፀክም፡ ለመልአክ
ክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ከመ፡
እምይእኩ፡ አይገባኝ።¹
ወስተ፡ ኅለም፡ ዘሥጋ።
24. እብለክሙኹ፡ ሕዝ
ቅያሴ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወል
ድዮ፡ ወሚክያሴ፡ ከመ፡
ብዙኅ፡ ጽልመት፡ ሀሉ፡
ዝየ።² 25. መልአክ፡
ዘይመርሐኒ፡ አእመረ፡
ምንተ፡ ሐለይኩ፡ ወይቤ፡
ወእመ፡³ ተፈግሕክ።⁴
በዝ፡ ብርሃኖት፡⁵ *ተፈግ
ሕክ፡ እፎ።⁶ ፈድፋድ፡
*በላብሰሰ፡ ሰማይ፡ ሶብ፡
ትሬኡ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ንብ፡
እገዛእ፡ ሀሉ፡ ወፍቀፋ።⁷
[እምንብ፡ ተፈፈውኩ፡ ዘ
ሀሉ፡ ይተሰህል፡ ወስተ፡
ኅለም፡ ወልድ። 26. እ
ተከሥተ፡ ዘሀሉ፡ ይኩን፡
ወስተ፡ ዘይማስኹ፡ ኅለ
ም፡]⁸ ወአልባሰኒ፡ መመ
ናብርት፡⁹ ወአክሊላት፡⁹
*ዘንቡራን፡ ለጻድቃን፡
ለእሱ፡ ይተእመኑ፡ በዝኩ፡

cantavi donanti *tale
gaudium¹⁰ recipien-
tibus misericordiam¹¹
ejus. 23. Et rogavi an-
gelum instruente
me, ut exinde non re-
verterer ad mundum
illum carnalem.
24. Dico autem vo-
bis, quod multae
tenebrae sunt hic.
25. Angelus vero
instruens me dixit
mihi : Quod es gavi-
sus de isto lumine,
quanto magis gau-
debis et exultabis,
quando videbis lu-
men septimi coeli,
in quo sedet coelestis
pater et unigenitus
filius ejus, 26. Ubi
exercitus¹² et throni

cantavi donanti ta-
lia¹³ recipientibus
misericordiam ejus.
23. Et rogavi an-
gelum instruente
me, ut exinde non
reverterer in mun-
dum istum carna-
lem. 24. Dico au-
tem vobis, quod mul-
tae tenebrae sunt hic.
25. Angelus vero
instruens me dixit
mihi : Quod¹⁴ es ga-
visus de isto lumine,
quanto magis gau-
debis et exultabis
quando videbis lu-
men +caeli justo-
rum†¹⁵ ubi sedet
*caelestis pater et
unigenitus ejus
filius¹⁶, 26. Ubi ex-
ercitus¹⁷ et throni et

¹ a አይገባኝ፡² a adds ወጽልመት፡ ብዙኅ፡³ a adds በዝ፡

a slip of the scribe.

⁴ b om.⁵ b ብርሃናት፡⁶ This order ofእፎ፡ after the verb it introduces is found in Mt. vi. 23. For ተፈ" b reads ተፈግሕክ፡ We should emend into ትተፈግሕክ፡ ⁷ b ወዘፍር፡ (sic).⁸ Bracketed as an interpolation. See exegetical note in loc.⁹ b adds ሊ.¹⁰ S = talia.¹¹ Ed. Ven. mīam.¹² See note 17.¹³ L² tale gaudium.¹⁴ ሕ'to jako.¹⁵ Cor-rupt for septimi caeli as in L². E = lumen in septimo caelo.¹⁶ E = Dominus et Dilectus ejus.¹⁷ = στόλοι corrupt for

στολαί = vestes as in E. See ix. 2. (So already Gesenius.)

L²

S

እግዚእ: ለዘ: በራእይክ
መ: ይወርድ: እስመ:
ብርሃን: ዘህየ: ዐቢይ:
ወመንክር:: 27. ወለ
ኢገባኦትከሰ: ውስተ: ሥ
ጋ: ዓዲ: መዋዕለክ: ኢተ
ፈጸማ: ለመጸእ: ዝየ::
28. ወስሚዕየ: ሐዘክክ:
ወይቤ: ኢተ ሐዘክ::

et coronae jacent
justis. 27. Et de
illo te non reverti in
carnem tuam, non
est tempus expletum
veniendi huc. 28.
Et audiens haec tris-
tatus sum valde¹⁰.

coronae jacent justis
27. Et *de illo te non
reverti¹³ in carnem
tuam, nondum¹⁴ est
tempus expletum¹⁵
veniendi huc.
28. (Et)¹⁶ *haec au-
diens¹⁷ tristatus sum
valde. 'Et dixit mi-
hi: Ne tristaris¹⁸
[neve sis morosus].

IX. ወወሰይ: ውስተ:
እየር: ዘላብዕ: ለማይ:
ወዓዲ: ለማዕክ: ቃለ:
እንዘ: ትብል:² እስከ:
አይቲ: ሀለዎ: ይዕረግ:
ዘበ:³ ተከራን:⁴ ተይ
ብር: ወፈራህክ: ወርዑ:
ይ: ኮንክ:: 2. ወ[ይቤ
ሲ:]⁵ ሰበ: ርዕይ: ኮንክ:
ገዋ: እምህየ:⁶ *ካልእተ:
ቃለ:⁷ ለማዕክ:⁸ እንዘ:
ትተፈዎ: ወይብል: ይተ
ገደግ: ይዕረግ:⁹ ዝየ: ቅዱ

IX. Et assumpsit
me in aërem septimi
coeli, et audiavi vocem
dicentem "mihi":
Usque quo volens in
carne vivere *venis
huc¹¹? Et timui
valde et tremefactus
sum. 2. "Iterum" que
audiavi¹² vocem dicen-
tem: noli prohibere
eum, ut intret, "dig-

IX. Et assumpsit¹⁹
me in aërem septimi
caeli. Et audiavi vo-
cem dicentem "mi-
hi": *Usque quo in
carne volens vivere
ascendit²⁰? Et timui
valde et tremefactus
sum. 2. Et "iterum"
"aliam" vocem audiavi
dicentem: Nolite
prohibere (eum)²¹

¹ ሆ አተፈጸመ:² ሆ ይብል:³ ሆ ዝዘበ:⁴ Corrupt.See exegetical note *in loc.*⁵ Bracketed as an interpolation,being against S L² and context.⁶ Text gives wrong sense.See exegetical note *in loc.*⁷ MSS. ካልእተ: ቃለ:⁸ Em. withS L² audiavi from መጽአት: Cf. for this and next three words*Gk. Leg. ii. 23 ἤκουσα φωνῆς . . . πεμπομένης καὶ λεγούσης.*⁹ ሆ om.¹⁰ L² defective here. See S *in loc.*¹¹ Venis corrupt for venit

owing to interpolation of preceding mihi. Venit huc goes back to

ἀναβαίνει ὧδε of *Gk. Leg. ii. 23.* Thus S E here agree togetheragainst L² *Gk. Leg. ii. 23.*¹³ Add aliam from S E.¹⁸ = *περὶ**τοῦ σε μὴ ἀνελθεῖν.*¹⁴ = E.¹⁵ *končasja*: expleri *kon-**catisja u.*¹⁶ Added from L² E.¹⁷ L² trs. E om. haec.¹⁸ So E but that it om. mihi.¹⁹ *vŭznese*: *v'zved ch.*²⁰ = E,but see L².²¹ Added from L².

L²

S

ስ: ኢሳይያስ: እስመ: ዝዩ: ውእቱ: ልብሱ:: 3. ወተስእልክዎ: ለመልእክ: ዘምስሌዩ: ወእቤ: መኡ: *ውእቱ: ዘክልአረ: ወመኡ: ¹ ውእቱዘ: ዘተመይጢ: ² ከመ: እዕረፖ:: 4. ወይቤላ: ዘክልአክ: ³ ዝውእቱ: ዘዲባ: ⁴ ስብተ: ስድስቱ: ሰማይ 5. ወ*ዘተመይጢ: ዝውእቱ: እፓዚእክ: [እፓዚእብር: እፓዚእ: ¹ ክርስቲስ: ዘህሎ: ይተበህል: *ውስተ: ዓለም: ¹ ኢየሱስ:] ⁵ ወስጥሰ: ኢትክል: ሰሚዐ: እስክ: እም*ዘ: ሥጋ: ተዐርፖ:: 6. ወአዕረገኒ: ውስተ: ሳብዕ: ሰማይ: ወርኢክ: በህዩ: ብርሃኒ: መንክረ: ወመላእክቲ: ዘእንበላ: ንልቀ:: 7. ወበህዩ: ርኢክ: ዲድቃ: ⁶ ክሎመ: ዘእምእመ: አዳም 8. ወበህዩ: ርኢክዎ: ለአቤል: ቅዱስ: ወለክሎመ: ዲድቃን 9. ወበህዩ: ርኢክዎ: ለሂኖክ: ወለክሎመ: እላ: ምስሌሁ: እላ: ዐርቁ:

nus est enim gloria dei,⁷ hic enim est stola. 3. Et interrogavi angelum, qui erat mecum: Quis est prohibens mihi? et quis est praeci- piens mihi ascen- dere? 4. Et dixit mihi: Prohibens⁷ est, qui est super cantantes angelos sexticoeli, "angelus". 5. Et praeci- piens⁸ est filius Dei, et no- men ejus non potes audire, donec de carne⁹ exhibis. 6. Quando nos ascendi- mus in septimum coelum, vidi ibi lumen mirabile "et inenarrabile" et an- gelos innumerabiles. 7. Et justos vidi quos- dam. 9. Exutos stolis

ut intret, "dignus Deo"¹⁰; hic enim est stola. 3. Et inter- rogavi angelum, qui erat mecum: Quis est prohibens mihi? (et)¹¹ quis est [iterum] praeci- piens mihi a- scendere? 4. Et dixit mihi: Prohibens igitur¹², qui (est)¹¹ super cantantes (angelos)¹¹ sexticaeli, "angelus," 5. Et praeci- piens [tibi iste] est filius Dei, et nomen ejus non potes audire, donec de carne [tua] exhibis 6. [Et] ut ascendimus in sep- timum caelum, [et] vidi ibi lumen mira- bile "et inenarra- bile" et angelos in- numerabiles, 7. Et iustos vidi quosdam 9.* Exeuntes e¹³ stolis

¹ b om.² A false rendering of ὁ ἐπιτρέπων. See *Gk. Leg.*ii. 24. ³ b ዘክልአክ:⁴ Em. from ዘዲቤህ: Cf. *Gk. Leg.*

ii. 25 ὁ ἐφεστὼς τῶν ὑμνων.

⁵ An interpolation: see exegetical

note in loc. b trs. እፓዚእክ: እፓዚእብር:

⁶ a reads ዲድቃን: and

trs. after ክሎመ:

⁷ Add tibi from E.⁸ Add tibi from S E.⁹ Add tua from S E.¹⁰ See longer form in L². Cf. Rev. iii. 4.¹¹ Added from L².¹² L² est. We should have tibi est

according to E.

¹³ L² exutos.

L^a

S

እምል*ብሰተ: ሥጋ: ወርእክምሙ: በልብሰተ ሙ: ዘላዕሉ: ወእሙን ፑሰ: ሀለዉ: ከመ: መላ እክት: እሰ: ህዩ: ይቀው ሙ: በስብሓት: ዐቢይ: 10. ወባሕቹ: ውስተ: መናብርተሙ:² እነበሩ: ወእክሊላት:³ ስብሓተ ሙ:⁴ አህሉ: ላዕሌሆሙ: 11. ወተስእልክም: ለመል እክ: ዘምስሌዩ: እፎ: ዘእ ልባሰ:⁵ ነሥኡ: *ወበመና ብርተሰ: ወበእክሊላት: አህለዉ⁶: 12-13. ወ ይቤሰኒ: እክሊላት:⁷ ወ መናብርተ: ክብር:⁸ እነ ሥኡ: ይእኩ:⁹ እስክ: ይወርድ: ፍቁር: በራእ ይ: ዘተግእዮ: እንዘ: ይወርድ: [ይወርድኩ:] *ውስተ: ዓለም:¹⁰ በደ ኃፊ: መዋዕል: [እንዘእ: ዘህሉ: ይተሰህል: ክርስ ተስ:] ወባሕቹ: ይግእዮ: ወደክምሩ: መናብርተ: እይ:¹⁰ ዘአሆሙ: ወእክ ሊላት: እይ:¹⁰ እምድጎረ: ወረድ:¹⁰ ወኮከ: በከመ:

carnalibus et existen-
tes in stolis excel-
sis, et erant in glo-
ria magna stantes.
10. Sed in thronis
suis non sedebant,
coronae autem glor-
iae¹¹ non erant super
eos. 11. Et inter-
rogavi angelum "et
dixi¹²: quare stolas
receperunt? et
thronos et coronas
"gloriae¹³ non rece-
perunt¹²? 12-13. Et
dixitque mihi "ange-
lus: Non receperunt¹²
modo, donec¹³ filius
hic primum†istos
introducet thronos
et coronas, quando†¹⁴

carnalibus et exis-
tentes in stolis excel-
sis, et erant in glo-
ria magna stantes:
10. Sed in thronis
suis non sedebant,
coronae autem glor-
iae "eorum¹ non¹⁵
erant super eos. 11.
Et interrogavi ange-
lum "et dixi¹²: Quare
stolas receperunt, et
thronos "gloriae¹³ et
coronas non recipi-
unt¹⁶? 12-13. Et
dixit mihi: Non re-
cipiunt eos nunc,
donec descendet
filius Dei hic pri-
mum: sciunt tamen
quorum sunt throni
eorum et cujus¹⁷ coro-
nae quando descen-

¹ a om.² bc መናብርተሆሙሰ:³ bc ወእክሊሊ:⁴ b adds ሂ.⁵ b ዘልብሰ:⁶ b ወመናብርተሰ: ወእክሊላት: አህሉ: ላዕሌሆሙ:⁷ a እክሊላት:⁸ b ክብር:⁹ After there follows in the MSS.

ወባሕቹ: . . . ወእክሊላት: እይ: but wrongly as this sentence has its
right place after ይተሰህል: ክርስተስ: In the above text I have
restored it to its right position. See exegetical note for details.
The bracketed clauses are interpolations.

¹⁰ b om.¹¹ Add

eorum from SE.

¹² S recipiunt.¹³ Add descendet

from SE.

¹⁴ Corrupt and defective. See S and E.¹⁵ uom. ¹⁶ E=receperunt.¹⁷ koego: koe u, ch.

L¹

S

ራእይክሙ፡¹ ወያመስል
ዎ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወሰብእ፡ ውእ
ቸ። 14. ወያሰፍሕ፡
እምላክ፡ ዘዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡
*እዶ፡ ደባ፡ ወልዱ፡²
*ወያሰቅልዎ፡ ደባ፡ ዐፀ፡³
*ወያወርዱ፡ [እደዋሆ
ሙ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡]⁴ *እንዘ፡
ኢደእምዱ፡ መኑ፡ ውእ
ቸ።⁵ 15. ወክመዘ፡ ር
ደቱ፡ በክመ፡ አንተ፡ ትራ
ኢ፡ ለሰማያት፡ የኑብሕ
ሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይትዐወቅ፡
መኑ፡ ውእቸ። 16. ወሶ
ባ፡ ሰረቅ፡ ለመልእክ፡ ሞ
ት፡ ወየዐርግ፡ በማልስት፡
ወይብር፡ ውስተ፡ ዝክ፡
ዓለም፡ [ነምስተ፡ ምእተ፡
ወአርብ፡ ወነምስተ፡]⁶
መዋዕለ 17. ወአሜን፡
የዐርጉ፡ እምዲድቃን፡ ብ
ዚኃን፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ዘመን
ፈሶሙ፡⁷ *አልባሰ፡ ኢ፡⁸
ነሥኡ፡ እስከ፡ የዐርግ፡ እግ

erit in specie vestra,
14. Et princeps
mundi illius exten-
det manum suam
in filium 'dei', [et
occidet illum]³ et
suspendet illum in
ligno et occidet ne-
sciens, qui sit. 15.
Et descendet 'in in-
fernum, et eum de-
sertum ponet et om-
nes visiones inferni,
16. Et apprehendet'⁹
principem mortis, et
depraedatum eum
ponet, 'et conteret'¹⁰
omnes virtutes ejus',
et surget tertia die,
17. Habens quos-
dam justos secum,
'et mittet suos prae-
dicatores in univer-

det et erit in specie
vestra¹¹. 14. Et prin-
ceps mundi illius†
propter filium ejus
extendet manus suas
in eum†¹² et sus-
pendent¹³ illum in
ligno, et*occidet eum
nesciens¹⁴ qui sit.
15. Et descendet 'in
infernum et nuda
et deserta ponetur
visio, 16. Appre-
hendetque'¹⁵ prin-
cipem mortis cap-
tivum¹⁶ 'et con-
teret omnem virtu-
tem ejus' et surget
tertia die, 17. Ha-
bens quosdam justos
*secum 'et mittet
suos praedicatores'¹⁷

¹ b ርእክ፡² Em. by Dln. from በእደ፡ ወልዱ፡³ b om.

⁴ I have trs. these words from their place in the MSS. before ወያሰቅልዎ፡ ደባ፡ ዐፀ፡ to their right place after it, as in SL². Further ያወርዱ፡ = ἐκτενοῦσι (cf. 2 Kings vi. 7; Ecclus. xxxiv. 18), a manifest corruption of κτενοῦσι፡ cf. SL² occidet. Whether እደዋሆሙ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ was added by the Ethiopic translator or already found interpolated in G¹ we cannot say. ⁵ b ከ፤ወዛይ.

An interpolation: see exegetical note *in loc.* ⁶ a ዘመን፡ፈሶሙ፡ bc ዘበመን፡ፈሶሙ፡ ⁷ b ወአልሲሆሙ፡ (sic), c አልባሰሙ፡ ኢ. ⁸ An obvious interpolation.

⁹ Gives excellent sense. Visiones = φαντάσματα.

¹⁰ Ed. Ven. conterret.¹¹ See fuller form in E of verses 12-13.¹² Corrupt. L² here correct: cf. E.¹³ L² suspendet. Plural

seems right: cf. E.

¹⁴ Better read occident eum nescientes as implied by E. ¹⁵ Very corrupt. L² very superior. ¹⁶ L² et

depraedatum eum ponet. This is right: cf. E. ¹⁷ u om.

L¹

S

ዚእ፡ [ክርስቲስ፡] ወየዐር
ጉ፡ ምስሌሁ፡፡ 18. እሚ
ሃክ፡ ይሥሉ፡ [እልባሉ
ሙ፡ ወ] መናብርትሙ፡²
ወአክሊላቲሆሙ፡ ሰባ፡
ወስተ፡ ላብዐ፡ ሰማይ፡
ዐርገ፡ ወእቲ፡፡ 19. ወ
እቤሉ፡ ዘተስእልክዎ፡ ወ
ስተ፡ ሣልስ፡ ሰማይ፡
20. ተወይቤላ፡ ተ³ክሉ፡
በዘክቲ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘይትገ
በር፡ በዘክ፡ ይትዐወቅ፡፡
21. ወእነዘ፡ ዓዲ፡ እት
*ናግር፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ሳዋ፡
እሐዱ፡⁵ እመላእክት፡ እ
ሰ፡ ይቐውሙ፡⁶ ስቡሕ፡
ፈደፋደ፡ እምስብሓቲ፡
በዘክ፡ መልእክ፡ ሰዘ፡
እምዓለም፡ አዕርገ፤፡
22. ወእርአየ፡ መዳሕፍ
ት፡ [ወአክ፡ ከመ፡ መዳሕ
ፍት፡ ዘግለም፡]⁸ ወፈት
ሖሙ፡ ወመዳሕፍት፡
ጽሑፍ፡ ሀሉ፡⁹ ወአክ፡
ከመ፡ መዳሕፍትዝ፡¹⁰ ዓለ
ም፡፡ ወወሀበ፤¹¹ ወእነ
ብብክዎን፡¹² ወነዋ፡ ምግ
ባራቲሆሙ፡ ሰውሉደ፡

sum orbem terra-
rum¹ et ascen-
det in coelos ; 18. Tunc recipient isti
thronos suos et coro-
nas. 19. Et "post
haec verba¹ dixi
illi : De quo te in-
terrogavi in primo
coelo, 20. Ostende
mihi, "hoc enim
mihi promisisti¹³. 21. Adhuc me lo-
quente secum¹⁴, ecce
quidam angelus de
astantibus, gloriosior
ducente me "omni-
busque angelis¹, 22.
Et ostendit mihi
librum et aperiens
dedit [eum] mihi, et
vidi scripturam non
sicut istius saeculi,
et legi eam, et ecce
actus Hierusalem

in universum orbem
terrarum¹⁵ et ascen-
det [iterum]¹⁶ in
caelos : 18. Tunc re-
cipient isti thronos
suos et coronas.
19. Et "post haec
verba¹ dixi illi : De
quo te interrogavi
in primo¹⁷ caelo,
20. Ostende mihi,
"hic enim promisisti
mihi ostendere¹
"quomodo quae in
illo mundo fiunt hic
sciuntur¹. 21. Ad-
huc me loquente cum
illo ecce quidam an-
gelus de stantibus
gloriosior multo
ducente me "et om-
nibus angelis¹, 22.
Et ostendit mihi
librum et cum aper-
uisset dedit mihi, et
vidi scripta, erant
non sicut istius sae-
culi. Et legi eam,
et ecce actus Hieru-

¹ Interpolated : see exegetical note *in loc.*

² *b* መናብርትሙ፡ ³ Corrupt. Read አጠይቁ፤ እድ፡ with SL² = ostende mihi quomodo. Ver. 21 shows that it was Isaiah who was speaking.

⁴ *a* om. ⁵ *b* ፤. ⁶ *b* adds እምእሉ፡ ⁷ *a* ዘዘ. ⁸ *a*

a doublet : hence bracketed. ⁹ *a* adds ህየ፡ ¹⁰ *a* መዳሕፍት፡

ዘዘ፡ ¹¹ *a* ወተውሀበ፤ ¹² *b* ወእነብብክዎሙ፡ ¹³ L² defective.

See S. ¹⁴ Should be cum eo or illo. ¹⁵ This subject referred

to in iii. 17 and xi. 22 of E though not here. ¹⁶ Interpolated.

¹⁷ This should be tertio as in E.

L²

S

እስራኤል፡ *ሀዩ፡ ሀለዋ፡¹
ጽሑፋት፡ ወምግባርሙ
ሰ፡ *ዘኢያኤምር፡² ወል
ድዩ፡ እዮሳብ። 23. ወ
እቤ፡ አማን፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይ
ትገባእ፡ በሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡
ዘይትገባር፡ *ሰውስተ
*ዝ፡ ዓለም። 24. ወር
ኢኩ፡ በሀዩ፡ አልባሰ፡ ብ
ዙን፡ *ገቡረ፡ ወመናብር
ት፡ ብዙን፡⁴ ወአክሊላት፡
ብዙን፡ 25. ወእቤ፡ ለ
መልአክ፡⁵ ዘመኑ፡ ዝአል
ባሰ፡ ወመናብርት፡ ወአ
ክሊላት። 26. ወደቤ
ሲ፡ ዝሰ፡ አልባሰ፡ ሀለዉ፡

erant ibi scripti, †et
omnium hominum
opera erant ibi, de
quibus et ego
eram†⁶. 23. Vidi
in veritate, quia ni-
hil absconditur in
septimo coelo, quod
est in mundo fac-
tum. †Et interro-
gavi angelum : Quis
est iste praeeminens
omnes⁷ angelos in
gloria sua ? Et re-
spondens dixit mihi :
Iste est magnus an-
gelus Michael depre-
cans semper pro hu-
manitate *et humili-
tate⁷ⁿ. 24. Vidi
stolas multas et
thronos et coronas⁸
jacentes. 25. Et dixi
angelo : Istae stolae
et coronae quibus
servantur *et throni⁹ ?
26. Et dixit
mihi : Istas coronas

salem¹⁰ erant ibi
scripti et quorundam
hominum vidi opera,
quos ego non scivi.
23. *Cognovi iterum
in veritate, quia ni-
hil absconditur¹¹ in
septimo caelo *eo-
rum quae in mundo
fiunt¹². †Et interro-
gavi angelum : Quis
igitur¹³ est iste prae-
eminens angelos in
gloria sua ? Et cum
respondisset dixit
mihi : Praeeminens
angelus iste est
magnus archangelus
Michael deprecans
semper pro humani-
tate.ⁿ 24. Vidi †au-
tem¹ stolas multas
et thronos et coro-
nas †multas¹ jacen-
tes, 25. (Et dixi)¹⁴
angelo : Istae stolae
*et throni¹⁵ et coronae
quibus¹⁶ servantur ?
26. Et dixit mihi :

¹ b trs.² Em. from ዘታኤምር፡ Cf. S quos ego non scivi.³ a om.⁴ b om.⁵ a adds ዘይመርከኒ፡⁶ Corrupt.

See S.

⁷ S om.⁸ SE add multas.⁹ Trs. before

et coronae with S E.

¹⁰ E = filiorum Israel.¹¹ HereS L² agree against E which = Et dixi : Re vera, nihil est quod abscondatur. So also Gk. Leg. ii. 32 καὶ . . . εἶπον· Ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν λαμβάνει κ.τ.λ.¹² = Gk. Leg. ii. 32 τῶν εἰς . . . τὸν κόσμον πραττο-
μένων. L² = quod est in mundo factum est.¹³ L² om.¹⁴ Added from L² E.¹⁵ L² wrongly trs. after servantur.¹⁶ kēm : tēm u, ch.

L

S

በዘኃን፡ እምዘክቱ፡ ዓለ
ም፡ እሰ፡¹ ይገሥኡ፡ ተክ
ሚኖሙ፡ በቃላቱ፡² ሰዘ
ኩ፡ ዘክመ፡³ እቤሰኩ፡
[ይሰመይ፡]⁴ ወየዐቅብ
ዎን፡⁵ ወይትአመኩ፡ ቦ
ሙ፡⁶ ወይትአመኩ፡ በመ
ስቀሱ፡ እሳ፡⁷ ሎሙ፡
ንቡር፡፡ 27. ወርኢኩ፡
አሐዱ፡⁸ እንዘ፡ ይቀው
ም፡ *ዘ፡ ስብሐተሁ፡ ይት
ዐደው፡ እምዘሉ፡ ወስብ
ሐተሁ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ውኣቱ፡¹⁰
ወመንክር፡፡ 28. ወሶቤ፡
ርኢክዎ፡¹¹ ኩሎሙ፡ ዳድ
ቃን፡ እሰ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ወመላ
እክት*¹²፡ እሰ፡ ርኢኩ፡¹³
መጽኡ፡ ነቤሁ፡ ወአዳም፡
ወእቤል፡ ወሴት፡ ወዘሎ
ሙ፡ ዳድቃን፡ ቅድመ፡¹⁴
ቀርቡ፡ ወሰንዱ፡ ሎቱ፡
ወሰብሐዎ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ በ
*አሐዱ፡ ቃል፡ ወሰልየኒ፡
ሀለውኩ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡
እሴብሐ፡ ወኮ፡ ስብሐ
ተዩ፡¹⁵ ከመ፡ ዚአሆሙ፡፡
29. ወሶቤሃ፡ ቀርቡ፡ መ
ላእክት፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ወሰ
ንዱ፡ ወሰብሐ፡፡ 30. ወት

multi ammittunt de
illo mundo credentes
verba illius, de quo
locutus sum tibi.
27. Et "conversus"
vidi dominum in
gloria magna, "et ex
pavi valde". 28. Et
appropinquaverunt
ad eum omnes justi
et adoraverunt eum
una voce cantantes,
et erat vox¹⁵ sicut
illorum. 29. Et¹⁶
"Michael appropin
quans adoravit, et
cum eo" omnes an
geli adoraverunt et
cantaverunt. 30. Et

*Istarum stolarum
multi destituuntur¹⁷
de illo mundo cre
dentes verbo illi¹⁸,
de quo locutus sum
tibi. 27. Et "con
versus" vidi domi
num in gloria mag
na "et expavi valde"
28. Et appropinqua
verunt ad eum omnes
"quos vidi" justi¹⁹ et
adoraverunt eum
cantantes una voce,
[et ille erat similis
eis] et *erat gloria²⁰
eorum sicut illorum.
29. Et tunc "Michael
appropinquavit et
adoravit et cum eo"
omnes angeli adora
verunt et cantave
runt. 30. Et trans

¹ b ነቤ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ ወ.

² bc በቃሉ፡

³ b በክመ፡

⁴ Inter-

polated: see exegetical note on ix. 5.

⁵ b ወየዐቅቡ፡ ትእዛዛ፡

⁶ bc ሎቱ፡

⁷ Em. from b እሰ፡ a አላ፡

⁸ b ፈ.

⁹ b ወ.

¹⁰ bc ይእቲ፡

¹¹ bc ርኢይዎ፡

¹² a om.

¹³ b om.

¹⁴ b ስብሐተዩ፡

¹⁵ Should be gloria mea.

¹⁶ Add tunc

with SE.

¹⁷ L² Istas coronas multi ammittunt. Destituuntur = lišajutsja. S L² both wrong; for the context requires the mention of those who receive the garments. E = Has vestes multi accipient.

¹⁸ L² E illius.

¹⁹ Observe large addition

in E.

²⁰ L² vox: better gloria mea as in E.

L²

S

ወለጥኩ፡ ወኮኸኩ፡¹ ከመ፡
መልአክ። 31. ወሰቤሃ፡
ይቤሰ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይ
መርሐኒ፡ ሰዘ፡ ስግድ፡
ወሰገድኩ፡ ወሰባሕኩ።
32. ወይቤሰ፡ መልአክ፡
ዘውእቱ፡ እግዚእ፡ *ዘ²
ኸሉ፡ ስብሓት፡ ዘርእኩ።³
33. ወእነዘ፡ ዓዲ፡ ይትና
ገር፡⁴ ርእኩ፡ ካልእ፡ ስብ
ሐ፡⁵ ዘይመስሉ፡ ወዳድ
ቃኑ፡ ነቤሁ፡ ቀርቡ፡ ወሰ
ገዱ፡ ወሰብሐ፡ ወሰሊየኑ፡
ሰባሕኩ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡
ወስብሓትዮ፡⁶ እተወለ
ጠ፡ በከመ፡ ርእዮተሙ።
34. ወሰቤሃ፡ ቀርቡ፡ መ
ባእክት፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ሎቱ።⁷

transfiguravi me⁸ ite-
rum⁹, et fui sicut
angeli⁸. 31. Tunc
dixit mihi angelus
qui me ducebat:
Hunc adora et canta.
Et adoravi eum et
cantavi. 32. Et dixit
mihi angelus, [qui
me ducebat]: Iste
est dominus *omni-
um gloriarum, quas⁹
vidisti. 33. Et¹⁰ vidi
aliud gloriosissi-
mum similem ejus
[in omnibus], et justi
appropinquaverunt
[ad eum] et adorave-
runt [eum] et canta-
verunt, et [ille can-
tabat]¹¹ cum eis et
non [transfiguravit
se]¹¹ in visu illorum.
34. [Cum eis, et]
venerunt angeli et
adoraverunt eum, [et
ego adoravi eum et

figuravi me⁸ iterum⁹
et fui sicut angelus
31. Tunc dixit mihi
angelus qui me du-
cebat: Hunc adora
et canta; Et adora-
vi eum et cantavi.
32. Et dixit mihi an-
gelus: Iste est dom-
inus omnis gloriæ,
quam vidisti. 33. Et
[adhuc illo dicente]¹
vidi aliud gloriosis-
simum similem ejus
[in omnibus], et
justi appropinquave-
runt et adoraverunt
[et] [eum] et canta-
verunt; et [ille can-
tabat]¹² cum eis et non
[transfiguravit se]¹³
secundum visum¹⁴
illorum, 34. Et
[cum eo]¹⁵ venerunt
angeli et adorave-
runt eum. [Et dixit
mihi angelus: Ado-
ra eum et canta.]
[Et adoravi eum et

¹ Em. in accordance with S L² from ወተወለጠ፡ ወኮኸ፡ See exegetical note in loc. ² b H. ³ b adds ሎቱ፡ ይትፈገወ፡ ⁴ Em. from እትናገር፡ in accordance with S. ⁵ b ስብሐት፡ ⁶ Em. from ወስብሓት፡ See exegetical note in loc. ⁷ a om. ⁸ SE angelus.

⁹ SE use sing. ¹⁰ Add illo dicente with SE. ¹¹ See notes ¹² and ¹³. ¹² So also L² but in both we should read ego cantabam with E. ¹³ A primitive error for transfiguravi me. Cf. ver. 30, and see exegetical note on ix. 33.

¹⁴ po vidom: u po vidomy. ¹⁵ L² cum eis et = μετὰ τούτων καὶ. E = καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.

L²

S

35. ወርሕክዎ፡ ሰእግዚእ፡
 ወሰዳግም፡ መልአክ፡ ወእ
 መንገድ*ጊ፡ ሀላ። ቅዱ
 ማገ። 36. ወዳግምሰ፡
 ዘርሕክ፡ በፀጋመ፡ እግዚ
 እየ፡ ወተስልክ፡ መኑ፡
 ወእቱ፡ ዘንገድ፡ ወይቤላ፡
 ስግድ፡ ሎቱ፡ እስመ፡ ዘ
 ወእቱ፡ መልአክ፡ መን
 ፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘላባሌክ፡
 ወሰላዕዳነ፡ ዳድቃ፡
 ዘይተናገር፡ 37. *ወ
 ርሕክ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ዐቢየ፡
 ተከሚተ፡ አዕይነተ፡ መን
 ፈስ፡ ወእኑ፡ ሰባ፡ ኢክ
 ህልክ፡ እርሕይ፡ ወእመ
 ልአክ፡ ዘምስሌየ፡ ወ*ኢ⁴
 ዘሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ እሰ፡
 ርሕክ፡ እነዘ፡ ይሰግዱ፡
 ሎቱ፡ ሰእግዚእየ፡
 38. ወላሕቱ፡ *ርሕክ፡
 ሰዳድቃ፡ ሰገይል፡ ዐ
 *ቢይ፡ እነዘ፡ ይፈልዩ፡

cantavi. 35. Et "ite-
 rum⁷ vidi alium "in
 gloria magna⁷. 36.
 Et "ambulans⁷ in-
 terrogavi "angelum⁷.
 Quis est? et dixit
 mihi: Adora eum;
 iste enim est ange-
 lus Sancti Spiritus
 loquens in te et in
 omnibus justis. 37.
 Et "post haec⁷ alia
 quidemin enarrabilis
 [et ineffabilis] reve-
 labatur gloria, quam
 ego apertis oculis
 mei spiritus non
 poteram videre, nec
 qui me ducebat
 "angelus⁷, neque om-
 nes angeli, quos vi-
 deram adorantes do-
 minum. 38. Nisi
 tantummodo justos
 vidi in gloria magna
 aspicientes gloriam⁸.

cantavi⁷. 35. Et
 "iterum⁷ alium "in
 gloria magna⁷ vidi.
 36. Et "ambulantem⁷
 interrogavi "ange-
 lum⁷: Quis "iste⁷ est?
 et dixit mihi: Adora
 eum; iste enim est
 angelus *Sancti Spiri-
 tus¹⁰ loquentis¹¹ in te
 et in omnibus iustis.
 37. Et "post haec⁷ alia
 quaedam¹² inenar-
 rabilis revelabatur
 gloria *quam ego
 apertis oculis spiri-
 tus mei non poteram
 videre¹³ nec qui me
 ducebat (angelus)¹⁴
 neque omnes angeli
 quos videram ado-
 rantes dominum,
 38. Nisi tantummo-
 do justos vidi in
 gloria magna aspi-
 cientes gloriam

¹ ὁ ὁ.² Em. from ዘተናገር: See exegetical note.³ Text

is strange. It might be emended ወሰባ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ተከሚተ፡ ዘእኑ፡ ተከሚተ፡ አዕይነተ፡ መንፈስ፡ ኢክህልክ፡ እርሕይ፡ = 'And thereupon the Great Glory was revealed which, though the eyes of my spirit were open, I could not see.' This would agree with SL². But text is no doubt right and SL² wrong. For መንፈስ፡ *a* reads ገፍስ፡ and trs. ኢክህልክ፡ ሰባ፡ ⁴ ὁ om. ⁵ ὁ እፊት፡ ዳድቃ፡ ⁶ *a* om.

⁷ See note ⁹.⁸ Add illius with E or ejus with S.⁹ Part.

Pret. *u, ch* add et. L² reads ambulans, but wrongly: see quota-
 tion from Epiphanius in exegetical note on ix. 35-36. ¹⁰ angel⁷

stago: angel'skago *u, ch*. [vel Popov errore typograph.] ¹¹ L²
 loquens. ¹² L² quidem. ¹³ See different idea expressed

in E. ¹⁴ Added from L² S.

L²

S

ስብሓት፡ ለዘክ። 39. ወቀርቦ፡ ገቤዩ፡ እግዚእ *የ፡ ወመልአክ፡ መን ፈሰ፡ ወይቤ፡ ርአ፡ ከመ፡ ተውህቦክ፡ ትርአዮ፡ ለእ ግዚአብሔር፡² ወበእንተ አክ፡ ለመልአክ፡ ዘምስ ሴክ፡ ተውህቦ፡ ገይል።³ 40. ወርእ.*ክ፡⁴ ከመ፡ ሰገደ፡ *እግዚእዩ፡ ወመ ልአክ፡⁵ ዘመን፤ፈሰ፡⁶ ወ ሰብሐ፡ ክልኢሆመ፡ ፋ ቡረ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። 41. ወሶቤሃ፡ ድቃን፡ *ቀርቦ፡ ወሰገዱ፡¹ 42. *ወመላእክት፡ *ቀ ርቡ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ወድሐሙ፡ መላእክት፡⁸ ሰብሐ። X. ወሶቤሃ፡ ሰማዕክ፡ ቃላት፡ ወስብሐት፡ ዘሰ ማዕክ፡ በሰማያት፡ ዘስ ድስቱ፡ ሰማይ፡⁹ እንዘ፡

39. Et appropinqua- vit "primum" domi- nus meus et angelus spiritualis¹⁰, 40. Et adoraverunt [eum] et cantaverunt se- cundo¹¹ insimul, 41. Tunc omnes iusti adoraverunt [eum], 42. Et "cum eis Michael et" angeli omnes adoraverunt et cantaverunt.

X. Postea audi- vocem "ibi" et *canti- cum, quod¹² audi- tin sexto coelo¹³, ascendebat et "audie-

ejus". 39. Et ap- propinquavit "eis"¹⁴. "primum" dominus meus et angelus spiritualis¹⁵, 40. Et adoraverunt et can- taverunt duo¹⁶ ae- quale¹⁷. 41. "Et" tunc omnes ius- ti adoraverunt 42. Et "cum eis Michael et" angeli omnes adoraverunt et cantaverunt.

X. Postea audi- vocem "ibi" et cantica, quae¹⁸ audivit in cae- lo ascendentia in

¹ b om. ² b ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ³ b adds ደብዳቤ፡ ዝዩ፡ ⁴ a om.
⁵ bc ለእግዚእዩ፡ ወለመልአክ፡ ⁶ a adds ቅዱስ፡ ⁷ a ወድሐሙ፡
ደድቃን፡ ወ. ⁸ c om. ⁹ b adds ዘሰማይ፡ which I take
to be a corruption of ወይሰማዕ፡ removed by an error from the
following clause where it followed የዐርዳ፡ a reads ዘሰማዕክዎመ፡
a mere correction, which however points to ደሰማዕ፡ ¹⁰ Ed. Ven.
specialis. So note ¹⁵ for passage lost by hmt. here. ¹¹ Cor-
rupt. Read duo with S E. ¹² S cantica quae. ¹³ Corrupt
for in singulis sex caelis. See E and S. ¹⁴ L² om. E = mihi.
¹⁵ SL² om. through hmt. et dixit: Vide ut tibi permissum sit
aspicere Deum et propter te angelo qui tecum, datum est robur.
Et vidi quod adoravit Dominus meus et angelus spiritualis. On
the other hand this passage may be peculiar to G¹ and therefore not
go back to G. ¹⁶ So also E. L² corruptly secundo. ¹⁷ tükūmo.
L² insimul which is better. So E. ¹⁸ iže: že u, eže quod ch.

L²

S

የዐርፖ: ¹ ወይሰማዕ: ² ህዩ: 2. ወዘሉሙ: ለዘክ: ለሰቡሕ: ዘኢክህልክ: ስብሓት: ርኢዩ: ³ ይትፈዩ: 3. ወለሊዩ: እሰማዕ: ስብሓት: ወእሬኢ: 4. ወእግዚእ: *ወመልእክ: መንፈስ: ዘሉ: ይሰማዕ: ወዘሉ: ይሬኢ: 5. ወዘሉ: ስብሓት: *ዘደትፈዩ: እምስድስቱ: ሰማያት: እኩ: ክመ: ዘይሰማዕ: እሳ: ያስተርኢ: 6. ወሰማዕክዎ: ለመልእክ: ዘይመርሐኒ: ወይቤ: ዝውእቱ: ዘልዑል: ፈድፋድ: እምልዑላን: በቅዱስ: ⁵ ዓለም: ዘይብር: ወበቅዱሳን: ያዐርፍ: ዘህሉ: ይትሰህል: እመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: በእፈ: ዳድቃን: እቡህ: ለእግዚእ: እ: 7. ወሰማዕክ: ቃላት: ⁶ ዘልዑል: ፈድፋድ: እቡህ: ለእግዚእ: እንዘ: ይብሉ: ለእግዚእ: [ክርስትስ: ዘህሉ: ይትሰህል:

batur in septimo coelo¹⁷. 2. Et omnes glorificabant illum, cuius ego gloriam non poteram videre. 5. Et omnium sex coelorum canticum non solum audiebatur sed videbatur. 6. Et dixit mihi angelus: Hic est [vivus] unus aeternus in excelsa aeternitate vivens, et in sanctis requiescens, [cujus nec nomen nec visionem possumus sufferre¹¹, qui *est laudatus a Sancto Spiritu in ore [sanctorum]⁸ iustum. 7. Et [post haec¹¹ audiavi vocem aeterni dicentem

sextum caelum⁹. 2. Et omnes glorificabant illum cuius gloriam non poteram ego gloriam videre. 5. Omnium autem sex caelorum canticum non solum audiebatur sed [et] videbatur. 6. Et dixit mihi angelus: Hic est *unus aeternus¹⁰ in excelso saeculo¹¹ vivens et in sanctis requiescens, cuius nec nomen *nec donum¹² possumus¹³ sufferre; qui *cantatus est¹⁴ a Sancto Spiritu in ore iustorum. 7. Et [post haec¹¹ audiavi vocem aeterni dicentis¹⁵

¹ a እዐርፖ:² See note ⁹ on preceding page.³ b ርኢዩ:⁴ b om.⁵ a repeats.⁶ b ቃላት: ለ.⁷ S om., but E supports text, reading ibi however for in septimo caelo.⁸ Bracketed as a doublet.⁹ Since E = in caelis sex caelorum ascendentia, it is probable that in caelo and in sextum caelum are corrupted from some expression like that in E. Hence text = 'which I had heard ascending in each of the six heavens.' See fuller text in L² and E.¹⁰ E = altissimus altorum.¹¹ = αἰῶνι. Soaeternitate in L². See exegetical note on x. 6.¹² u om.S = οὔτε δόσιν corruption (?) of οὔτε ὄρασιν, which is the reading of L².¹³ ch potest quis.¹⁴ L² = est laudatus. E = vocabitur.¹⁵ L² dicentem.

L²

S

እየሱስ፡]¹ 8. ዓእ፡ ወረድ፡ ዙሉ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወትወርድ፡ *ምጽናዕ፡ ወዘኩ፡ ዓለመ፡² እስከ፡ ነብ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ትወርድ፡³ ወባሕቱ፡ እስከ፡ ሰቀጉል፡ ኢተ*ሐ³ውር። 9. ወትተሚሰል፡ በከመ፡ እምሳለ፡ ዙሉመ፡ *እለ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ንምስቱ፡⁵ ሰማያት፡ 10. ወበከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡ ሰመላእክተ፡ ምጽናዕ፡ እንዘ፡ ትትፃቀብ፡ ትተሚሰል፡ [ወሰመላእክተ*፤⁶ እለ፡ ወስተ፡ ሲኦል፡]⁷ 11. ወኢያእምሩ፡⁸ ዙሉመ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡ ከመ፡ አንተ፡ እገዛእ፡ ምስሌ፡ ዘሰብዐተህ፡⁹ ሰማያት፡ ወ*ዘመላእክተሆመ፡ 12. ወኢያእምሩ፡¹⁰ ከመ፡ አንተ፡ ምስሌ፡ *ሶብ፡ በቃለ፡ ሰማያት፡ ጸዋዕኩ፡ ወሰመላእክተሆመ፡ ወሰብርሃናተሆመ፡ ሶብ፡ አዕቢይኩ፡¹¹ ሰ*ላድስ፡ ሰማይ፡¹² *ከ

domino filio: 8. Exi et descende de omnibus coelis et sis in mundo et vade usque ad angelum, qui est in infernum¹³; 9. Transfigurans te secundum formam illorum. 11. Et non cognoscent te, neque angeli neque principes seculi illius: 12. Et judicabis principem illius seculi¹ et angelos ejus et mundum directores¹⁴:

domino filio: 8. Exi et descende de omnibus coelis et sis in mundo et vade¹⁵ usque ad angelum, qui est in inferno; 9. Cum transfigu-
rasses te secundum formam illorum. 11. Et non cognoscent te neque angeli neque principes saeculi illius: 12. Et judicabis principem¹⁶ et angelos ejus et mundum regnatum ab iis:

¹ Interpolated. See exegetical note on ix. 5. ² *b* እምጽገዐ፡ ዘዓለም፡ Text follows *a* save that ዓለም፡ is corrected into ዓለመ፡ *c* reads ምጽናዕተ፡ ዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡ ³ *a* om. ⁴ *b* ዘእንበለ፡ ⁵ *bc* ጁ. ⁶ *b* om. ⁷ Interpolated. See exegetical note in loc. For እለ፡ *b* reads ዘ፡ ⁸ *a* ወኢያእምሩ፡ ⁹ *b* ጁ. ¹⁰ *ac* ወኢያእመሩ፡ ¹¹ Text very corrupt. I emend as follows: እስከ፡ ሶብ፡ በቃል፡ አዕቢይኩ፡ ጸዋዕኩ፡ ለሰማያት፡ ወሰመ" ወሰብ". For ሶብ፡ of *b*, *a* reads twice ወሶብ፡ *b* adds *h* after both verbs. ¹² *bc* trs. ¹³ Read inferno. ¹⁴ Corrupt for mundum regnatum ab iis as in S E. See Greek on p. 71 note. ¹⁵ idi: daže i u. ¹⁶ Add illius saeculi from L² E.

L²

S

መ፡ ትኩንኑ፡¹ ወትደም
ስስ፡ ለመኳንንቱ፡ ወለመ
ላእክቱ፡ *ወለአማልክት፡
ዘኩ፡² ዓለም፡ ወለዓለም፡
ዘእምኔሆመ፡ ደትመለ
ክ፡³ 13. እስመ፡ ክሕ
ዱኒ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ ንሕከ፡
ክመ፡ ወዘእንበሌ፡ ወእ.
መኑሂ፡ 14. ወእምደ
ኅረ፡ እመላእክት፡⁴ ሞት፡
ተዐር፡ ለመኳንክ፡ ወኤ
ትትዌለ፡ ሰ*ሰ፡ ለማዩ፡
ሰማይ፡ አላ፡ በሰብሓት፡
ተዐር፡ ወትኅብር፡ በየማ
ንዩ፡ 15. ወአማ፡ ደሰ
ገዱ፡ ለክ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወ
ኃይላት፡ ዘዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡
16. ዘነት፡ ለማዕከ፡ *ስ
ብሐት፡ ዐቢዩ፡⁶ እንዘ፡
ይኤዘዘ፡ *ለእግዚእዩ፡⁷
17. ወ*ከመዘ፡⁸ ርኢኩ፡
ሰብ፡ ወፀኡ፡ *እምሳብዕ፡
ሰማይ፡ እግዚእዩ፡⁹ ውስ
ት፡ ሳድስ፡ ሰማይ፡ 18.
ወመልእክ፡ ዘወሰደኒ፡¹⁰
[እምዘ፡ ዓለም፡ ምስሌዩ፡

13. Ideo quia¹¹ ne-
gaverunt me et dixe-
runt: Nos sumus et
sine nobis nemo est.
14. Postea [vero]
non transfigurabis
te per coelos in
magna gloria ascen-
dens et sedebis a
dextris meis; 15.
Tunc adorabunt te
principes et virtutes
[et [omnes] angeli et
omnia initia coelo-
rum et terrae et in-
fernorum¹². 16. Et¹³
audivi + magna gloria
praecipiendot¹³ do-
mino meo. 17. [Et]
tunc exivit dominus
de septimo coelo et
descendit in sextum
coelum. 18. Et an-
gelus instruens me

13. Ideo quia¹⁴ nega-
verunt me et dixe-
runt: Nos sumus et
*praeter nos¹⁵ nemo
est [alius]. 14. [Et
quando autem e terra
elevaberis¹⁶, postea¹⁷
non transfigurabis te
per coelos, [sed¹ in
magna gloria ascen-
des¹⁸ et sedebis a dex-
tris meis. 15. [Et¹
tunc adorabunt te
principes et virtutes
[et angeli et omne in-
itium eorum in caelis
et in terra et in infer-
nis¹⁹. 16. Istam²⁰ au-
divi magnam gloriam
praecipientem domi-
no meo. 17. Tunc²¹
exivit dominus de
septimo caelo et
descendit in sextum
caelum. 18. Et an-
gelus instruens me

¹ b om. ² bc ወለአማልክቱ፡ ዘዘኩ፡ ³ a ወትመልክ፡ ⁴ Em.
from እምአማልክት፡ Cf. x. 8. See exegetical note *in loc.* For
እምአ' ሞት፡ of a, b reads ሞትኩ፡ ወትነማእክ፡ an arbitrary(?) change.
⁵ bc እንዘ፡ ⁶ So bc and Gk. Leg. ii. 41 ταῦτα ἡκουον τῆς δόξης
τῆς μεγάλης. a ዘስብሐት፡ ዐቢዩ፡ ⁷ a adds እምሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡
⁸ S L² = 'then' which is right. Cf. Gk. Leg. ii. 41. Here ከመዘ፡
is a mistranslation of μετὰ ταῦτα. ⁹ bc trs. ¹⁰ bc ዘይመርሐኒ፡
¹¹ Ed. Ven. iō qa (sic). ¹² SE = istam. ¹³ Corrupt.
See S. ¹⁴ za ne. ¹⁵ Or sine nobis. ¹⁶ L² om.
See different text of E. ¹⁷ ktomu, λοιπόν. ¹⁸ L²
ascendens. ¹⁹ Initium = ἀρχή 'principality.' ²⁰ siju. We
should have ista. L² et. ²¹ L² et tunc rightly.

L²

S

ሀሎ፡ ወ¹ይቤሰ፡ ለቡ፡
 ኢሳይያስ፡ ወርኢ፡ ከመ፡
 *ይተረክይ፡ ተወልዶ፡²
 ለእፃዚእ፡ ወርድቱ፡³
 19. ወርኢኩ፡ ወሶብ፡ ር
 እይዎ፡ መላእክት፡ ሰባ፡
 ዘ*ብ፡ ሳይስ፡⁵ ሰማይ፡
 ሰብሕዎ፡ ወወደስዎ፡ እስ
 መ፡ ኢተወሰጠ፡ በከመ፡
 ርእየት*መ፡ ለመላእክ
 ት፡ ዘህየ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ ወ
 አሂ፡ ሰባሕኩ፡ ምስሌሆ
 መ፡ 20. ወርኢኩ፡ ሰ
 ብ፡ ወረድ፡ ወስተ፡ ኃም
 ስ፡⁶ ሰማይ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡
 ወስተ፡ ኃምስ፡⁶ ሰማይ፡
 *ብከመ፡ ርእየትመ፡ ለ
 መላእክት፡ ዘህየ፡ ወኢ
 ሰብሕዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእ
 የቱ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢሆመ፡⁷
 21. ወሰቤ፡ ወረድ፡ ወ
 ስተ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተ
 መሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየት
 መ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ዘህየ፡
 22. ወሶብ፡ ርእይዎ፡ ኢሰ
 ብሕዎ፡ ወኢወደስዎ፡ እ

dixit mihi: Intel-
 lige⁸ et vide, quae⁹
 est transfiguratio
 ejus et descensio?
 19. Cum viderunt
 [eum] angeli, lauda-
 verunt et glorificave-
 runt eum, non enim
 transfiguravit se in
 figura eorum, et ego
 cantavi cum eis.
 20. Cum descendis-
 set in quintum coe-
 lum, ibi statim trans-
 figuravit se secun-
 dum formam ange-
 lorum illorum, et
 non cantaverunt ei
 et non adoraverunt
 eum, erat enim for-
 ma sicut illorum.
 21. Et descendit in
 quartum coelum, et
 apparuit illi(s)¹⁰ se-
 cundum formam il-
 lorum, 22. Et non
 cantaverunt ei, erat
 enim forma sicut

dixit¹¹: Intellige,
 [Isaia], et vide quae
 fit transfigurationem
 et descensionem ejus.
 19. Cum viderunt¹²
 angeli, cantaverunt
 [eum] et laudave-
 runt eum; non enim
 transfiguravit se *se-
 cundum figuram¹³
 eorum, et ego au-
 tem cantavi cum eis.
 20. [Et] cum descen-
 disset in quintum
 caelum, et¹⁴ trans-
 figuravit se secun-
 dum formam ange-
 lorum illorum, et
 non cantaverunt ei
 et non adoraverunt¹⁵,
 erat enim ejus for-
 ma sicut illorum.
 21. Descendit autem
 in quartum caelum
 et apparuit illis *se-
 cundum formam¹⁶
 illorum 22. Et non
 cantaverunt ei, erat
 enim *sicut secun-

¹ An interpolation? S L² om. *b* reads H before ምስሌየ፡

² Em. from ትርኢይ፡ ተወልዶ፡ of *a*. *b* reads ታእምር፡ ተወልዶ፡
 Perhaps for ትርኢይ፡ we might read ይራሰ፡ = 'He accomplishes, &c.'
 See S L². ³ MSS. ወርድቱ፡ ⁴ *b* om. ⁵ *b* ጸ. ⁶ *b* ጸ.

⁷ *a* ርእየትመ፡ *Gk. Leg.* ii. 42 and S L² support *b*. ⁸ Add Isaia
 with S E. ⁹ Ed. Ven. q̄. ¹⁰ Ed. Ven. illi. ¹¹ Add mihi

with L² E. ¹² Add eum with L² E. ¹³ L² in figura.
¹⁴ L² ibi statim. ¹⁵ L² add eum. See note on p. 72. ¹⁶ po

obrazu: po vūzoru [sec. visum] *u*.

L²

S

ስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡¹ ርእየተሙ። 23. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡ ሶባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ሣልስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተው፡ ለመላእክት፡ *ዘ²ውስተ፡ *ሣልስ፡ ሰማይ³። 24. *መግላለፍተ፡ እሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንሡሡ፡ ወእግዚእ፡ ወሀቦሙ፡ ከመ፡ አይተአመር⁴ ወሶባ፡ ርእይዎ፡ እሰብሐዎ፡ ወአወደስዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡ ርእየተሙ። 25. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡⁵ ሶባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ወሀባ፡ በሀየረ፡ ማላለፍተ፡⁶ እስመ፡ እሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጽ፡ የን^{*}ሥላሡ፡ ወእግዚእ፡ ይህብ። 26. ወርእኩ፡ ሶባ፡ ተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ለዘ፡ በዳ^{*}ግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወርእይዎ፡ ወእሰብሐዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ በከመ፡⁷ ርእየተሙ። 27. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡ ሶባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወበሀየረ፡ ወሀባ፡ ማላለፍተ፡ ለእሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ እሰ፡ በፀጋመ፡ ዘኩመንበር፡ ወእሰብሐዎ፡ ወአወደስዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ በከመ፡⁷ ርእየተሙ። 28. ወኪያየሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘተስእለ፡ በእነተ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይመርሐ። 29. ወዓዲ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽናዕ፡ ንባ፡ *መከንዝ፡⁸ ዓለም፡ ይኑበር፡⁹ *ወ⁴ወሀባ፡ ማላለፍተ፡¹⁰ ለእሰ፡ በፀጋም፡ ወርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡ ዘአሆሙ፡ ወ*እሰብሐዎ፡ በሀየ፡¹¹ አላ፡ በደንጽ፡ ሀላው፡ *አሐዱ፡

illorum. 23. Venit autem in tertium coelum, 25-28. Et in secundum et in primum transfigurans se in singulos eorum. Ideo non cantabant ei¹², nec adorabant, apparebat enim illis¹³ similis eorum, ostendebat enim characterem per singulos coelos custodibus portarum.

dum formam¹⁴ illorum. 23. Venit autem in tertium caelum, 25-28. Et in secundum et in primum, transfigurans se in singulos eorum. Ideo non cantabant nec adorabant eum¹⁵, apparebat enim similis eorum, ostendebat autem signa¹⁶ per singulos caelos custodibus portarum.

29. Descendit autem in firmamentum¹⁸ et ibi dedit signa, et forma erat ejus sicut

29. Descendit autem in firmamentum¹⁸ ubi princeps saeculi istius sedet¹ et ibi dedit signum, et forma erat ejus sicut

¹ ሆ ዘከመ፡² ሆ እሰ፡ ዘ³ ሆ በሀየ፡⁴ ሆ om.⁵ ሆ ርእኩ፡⁶ ሆ adds ከመ፡ አይተአመር፡⁷ ሆ ዘከመ፡⁸ ሆ ምክርን፡ ዘዘ፡⁹ ሆ ይኑበር፡¹⁰ ሆ ማላለፍተ፡¹¹ ሆ trs. To በሀየ፡ ሆ adds ሆ¹² S om.¹³ Add with

S E ubi princeps saeculi istius

sedet.

¹⁴ L² forma sicut.¹⁵ L² om.¹⁶ znamenija.L² characterem.

L²

S

ለአሐዱ፡¹ *ወ²ይትቃተ ለ፡ እስመ፡ *ሀደ፡ ሀሎ፡³ ኃይሉ፡⁴ እኩይ፡ ወደገጽ፡ *ዘበ፡ ገዳጥ⁵። 30. ወ ርኢኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ወረደ፡ ወተ መሰሰ፡ ለመላእክተ፡ እየ ር፡ ወውእቱ፡ ሀሎ፡ ከመ፡ አሐዱ፡⁶ እምውስተት ሙ። 31. ወእመሀበ፡ ማኅለፍተ፡ እስመ፡ አሐዱ፡⁶ ለ*አሐዱ፡⁶ የሀይደ፡ ወይገፍዕ።⁷ XI. ወእምድጋረዝ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ወ⁵መልአክ፡ ዘተና ገረ፡ ምስሌ፡ ዘመርሐኒ፡ ይቤላ፤⁸ ሰባ፡ አሳይ ያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አምጽ፡ እስመ፡ ሰዘ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ እም ነባ፡ እግዚአብሔር። 2. ወእነሂ፡ ርኢኩ፡ እም ትውልድ፡⁹ ዳዊት፡ ነቢይ፡¹⁰ ብእሲተ፡ እነተ፡ ስማ፡ ማርያም፡ ወይእቲ፡ ድንገል፡ ወትገፈንር፡ ለብእሲ፡ ዘስመ፡ የሴፍ፡ ብእሲ፡ ፀረባዊ፡¹¹ ወውእቱሂ፡ እምዘርእ፡ ወእም ትውልድ፡⁵ ዳዊት፡ ዲድቕ፡ ዘእምቤተ፡ ልሔም፡ ዘይሁዳ፡ 3. ወይመጽእ፡ ለመክፈልተ፡ ዘአሁ።¹² ወሶባ፡ ተፍሐረት፡ ትተረከብ፡ ፀንስታ፡¹³ ወይፈቅድ፡

illorum, et non glorificaverunt eum¹⁴, "et non cantaverunt ei.¹⁷ 30. Et descendit ad angelos, qui erant in hoc aëre, sicut unus ex eis. 31. Et non dedit "eis" signum [et non cantaverunt].

XI. Et post haec dixit mihi angelus : Intellige, Ysaïas fili Amos ; in hoc missus sum a deo "omnia tibi ostendere. Nec enim ante te quis vidit, nec post te poterit videre, quod¹⁶ tu vidisti et audisti. Et vidi similem filii hominis, et cum hominibus habitare et in mundo.¹⁷

illorum et non glorificaverunt¹⁶ neque ei cantaverunt¹⁷. 30. Descendit autem et ad angelos *aëris hujus¹⁷ et erat¹⁷ sicut unus ex eis. 31. Et non dedit "eis" signum [neque interrogaverunt enim eum]¹⁸.

XI. Et post haec dixit mihi angelus : Intellige, Isaïa, fili Amos ! in hoc enim¹ missus sum a domino¹⁹ "omnia tibi ostendere. Nec enim ante te quis vidit, nec post te videre poterit, sicut²⁰ tu vidisti et audivisti. Et ecce²¹ vidi similem *ut filium²² hominis ; et cum hominibus *cum habitasset in mundo¹⁷

¹ bc ፪፮.² ac om.³ bc trs.⁴ b ንይል፡⁵ b om.⁶ bc ፪.⁷ The clause ወአሳዱ፡ . . . ወይገፍዕ፡ is found in Gk. Leg. ii. 9 but not in SL².⁸ b ወይቤላ፤⁹ c ሐይስየ፡¹⁰ ጣዕም፡ ነእስ፡ ዘእምቤተ፡¹¹ c om.¹² b ፀረብ፡¹³ a ዘእነ፡¹⁴ b ፀንስተ፡¹⁵ S om.¹⁶ Ed. Ven. q̄. S sicut.¹⁷ Addeum with L² E.¹⁸ L² qui erant in hoc aëre.¹⁹ This mayrepresent G². L²=et non cantaverunt. G¹ (E and Gk. Leg.) give

quite a different version.

²⁰ L² E deo.²¹ L² quod.²² L² om.²³ L² filii.

የሴፍ፡ ጸረባዊ፡¹ ይገድጋ። 4. መልእክክ፡ መንፈስ፡² ያስተርኢ፡ በዝ፡
 ዓለም፡ ወእምዘ፡ ኢየሱድ፡ የሴፍ፡ ወየዐቅባ፡³ ለማርያም፡ ወውእቱሰ፡
 አልቦ፡ ለዘ፡ ይከሥት፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ። 5. ወኢይቀርባ፡ ለማርያም፡ ወየዐቅባ፡
 ከመ፡ ድንገል፡ ቅድስት፡ ወባሕቱ፡ ፀንሰ፡ እንዘ፡ ባቲ። 6. ወኢይብር፡⁴
 ምስሌሃ፡ *አውራኑ፡ ክልኤ፡⁵ 7. ወእምድገረ፡ ክልኤ፡⁶ አውራኑ፡ መዋዕል፡⁷
 ወየሴፍ፡ ይሂሱ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ፡⁸ መማርያም፡ በእሴቱ፡⁹ ወባሕቱ፡ ክልኤሆሙ፡
 ባሕቲትሙ፤ 8. ወይከውን፡ ሶባ፡ ይሂልዉ፡ ባሕቲትሙ፡ ወትኒጽር፡
 ማርያም፡ በአዕይነቲሃ፡ ሶባሃ፡ ወትሬኤ፡ ገላክ፡ ንኡሰ፡ ወትደነገ። 9. ወእ
 ምድገረ፡ ደንገፀት፡ ትትረከብ፡¹⁰ ከርሣ፡ ከመ፡ ቀደመ፡¹¹ ዘእንበለ፡ ትፀንሰ፡¹²
 10. ወሶባ፡ ይቤባ፡ *ምታ፡ የሴፍ፡¹³ ምንተ፡¹⁴ ደደነገጸኪ፡ ይትከሠት፡¹⁵
 አዕይነቲሆ፡¹⁶ ወይሬእየ፡ ለገላክ፡ ወይሴብሱ፡¹⁷ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡
 *በመክፈልቱ፡ መጽሐ፡¹⁸ እግዚእ። 11. ወቃል፡ ይከውን፡ ሎሙ፡ ዘንተ፡
 ራእየ፡ ለመኑሂ፡ ኢትንገረ። 12. ወይትነገር፡ ቃል፡ በእንተ፡ ገላክ፡ በቤተ፡
 ልሔም። 13. ሶእሰ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወሰደት፡ *ድንገል፡ ማርያም፡¹⁹ ቅድመ፡
 ክልኤ፡²⁰ አውራኑ፡ ዘተወሰበት፡²¹ 14. ወብዙን፡ ይብሉ፡ ኢወሰደት፡
 ወኢዐርገት፡ መወልደት፡²² ወ*ኢጽራኑ፡ ሕማም፡²³ ኢለማዕነ፡ ወይጼለሉ፡
 ኩሎሙ፡ እምኔህ፡ ወያእምሩ፡²⁴ ኩሎሙ፡ ቦቱ፡ ወኢያ*አግምሩ፡ እምአይቱ፡
 ወእቱ። 15. ወይነሥእም፡ ወይመጽሐ፡ *ለናዘሬት፡ ዘገለባ፡²⁵ 16. ወርኢኩ፡
 ሕዝቅደስ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወልድየ፡ ወለባዕዳንሂ፡ ነቢየት፡ እነገር፡ ሶእሰ፡
 ይቀውሙ፡ ከመ፡ ንብእ፡²⁶ ኩሎ፡ ለማያት፡ ወኩሎ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወ*ኩሎ፡
 እምላክ፡²⁷ ዘዘ፡ ዓለም። 17. ወር*ኢ²⁸ኩ፡ በናዘሬት፡ ሀሎ፡²⁹ ይጠሉ፡ ከመ፡
 ገላክ፡³⁰ ወበከመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ሀሎ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይትአመር። 18. ወሶባ፡ ልህቀ፡
 ይገብር፡ ተአምረ፡ ዐቢየ፡³¹ ወመንከረ፡ በምድረ፡ እስራኤል፡ *ወኢየሩሳሌም።

¹ *b* ፀረብ፡ ² *b* adds ቅዱስ፡ ³ So *bc*. So *a* read, but the
 first three letters are erased and the fourth almost wholly.
⁴ *b* ወኢብር፡ ⁵ *b* trs. and for ክልኤ፡ reads ፩. ⁶ *b* ነበረ፡ ፩.
⁷ *b* om. ⁸ *bc* ቤት፡ ⁹ *c* and also originally *a* but the
 word is erased save the first letter : *b* reads ፍጥርቱ፡ ¹⁰ *bc* ትረከብ፡
¹¹ *bc* ዘቀደመ፡ ¹² *a* ትጽንሰ፡ ¹³ *c*. *a* originally had this
 phrase twice, but subsequently ምታ፡ was erased in both in-
 stances. *b* omits phrase. ¹⁴ *bc* ምንተ፡ ¹⁵ *bc* ወይትከሠት፡
¹⁶ *b* adds ለየሴፍ፡ ¹⁷ *b* ወያእኩት፡ ¹⁸ *b* በ፪ ይመጽሐ፡
¹⁹ *bc* trs. ²⁰ *b* ፩. ²¹ Erased in *a*, but two first letters
 decipherable : all erased but first in *b*. ²² *a* መውልድ፡ (sic).
²³ *b* አጽርኃ፡ ሕማመ፡ ²⁴ *b* ወኢየአመኑ፡ ²⁵ *b* ናዘሬት፡
²⁶ *b* ንብእ፡ Perhaps we should read የንብእ፡ ²⁷ *a* om.
²⁸ *b* እንዘ፡ ²⁹ *b* adds ወከመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ሀሎ፡ ይጠሉ፡ ³⁰ *b* ዐቢየት፡
³¹ *b* ወቢ.

L²

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19. ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ይቀ
ንእ፡ ቦቱ፡¹ ከኢራዊ፡ ወያ
ሥኦሙ፡ ሰውሉድ፡ እስራ
ኤል፡ ሳዕሌሁ፡ እንዘ፡ አደ
አምሩ፡ መኑ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወ
ይሚጥውዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወ
ይሰቅልዎ፡ *ወይወርድ፡
ንቡ፡ መልአክ፡፡² 20. በ
አየሩሳሌምኮ፡ ረአክዎ፡
እንዘ፡ ይሰቅልዎ፡ ደቡ፡ ዐፀ፡
21. ወከመኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡
ማልስት፡ ዐለት፡ ይትነግ
እ፡ ወይኑባር፡ መዋዕለ፡፡³
22. ወይቤሰኒ፡ መልአክ፡
ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ለቡ፡ አላ
ይያስ፡ ወርአኩ፡ ሰባ፡
ፈገግሙ፡⁴ *ለዐሠርቱ፡
ወክልኤቱ፡ አርዳኦ፡⁵ ወ
ዐርገ፡፡ 23. ወአከ፡ ርአ
ክዎ፡⁶ ወኮ፡ በምጽናዕ፡
ወኢተወለጠ፡ በከመ፡ ር
እየተሙ፡ ወርአይዎ፡ ኩ
ሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘም
ጽናዕ፡ *ወሰይጣን፡ ወሰ
ንዱ፡፡⁷ 24. ውብዙኅ፡
ሐዘን፡ ኮኑ፡ በህዩ፡ እንዘ፡
ይብሉ፡ እፎ፡ ወረድ፡ እ
ንዚእ*⁸፡ ማእከሰ፡⁹
ወንሐከ፡ አለበው፡ ስብ
ኅት፡ [ዘህሰውት፡ ሳዕሌ
ሁ፡]⁹ ዘንሬኤ፡ ዘተረከቡ፡

19. Et non cognove-
runt eum.

23. Et vidi ascenden-
tem in firmamen-
tum, qui¹⁰ non erat
secundum formam
transfigurans se. Et
videntes omnes an-
geli, qui erant super
firmamento, "expa-
verunt et¹¹ adorantes
24. Dicebant: Quo-
modo¹¹ †ascendisti in
medio nostri domi-
ne?†¹² et non cogno-

19. Et non cogno-
verunt eum.

23. Et vidi ascenden-
tem in firmamentum,
*et jam¹³ non erat se-
cundum formam[†] eor-
um¹⁴ transfigurans
se. Cum autem vidi-
sent eum omnes an-
geli *qui erant super
firmamento¹⁵ "expa-
verunt et¹¹ adorantes
24. Dicebant: Quo-
modo *latuit nos
dominus in medio¹⁶
et non cognovimus

¹ b om.

² bc ወደወርድዎ፡ ንቡ፡ መላእክት፡

³ c adds ሁ.

⁴ bc ፈገገው፡

⁵ b ፲ወ፪አርድኤቱ፡ እንዚእ፡

⁶ bc ርአኩ፡

⁷ b ወሰይጣን፡

⁸ Em. in accordance with L² in medio nostri

from ሳዕሌኑ፡

⁹ A doublet.

¹⁰ = et is. Ed. Ven. q.

¹¹ Ed. Ven. quō.

¹² Corrupt. If second sing. is retained,

we must read descendisti.

¹³ L² qui (q).

¹⁴ L² om.

¹⁵ u om.

¹⁶ L² corrupt here.

L²

S

ሳዕሌሁ፡ እምሳደስ፡ ሰማይ፡ 25. ወዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኢተወለጠ፡ እሳ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ እሳ፡ በየማን፡ ወበፀጋም፡ ወመንበር፡ *ማእከሳ፡ ውእቱ፡¹
26. ወደሰገዱ፡² ሎቱ፡ ወደሱበሕዎ፡ ወደብሉ፡ እፎ፡ እግዚእ*³፡ ኑብእ፡⁴ እንዘ፡ ይወርድ፡ ወኢለበው፡፤ 27. ወከማሁ፡ ዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ሰብሕ፡⁵ ወይቤሉ፡⁶ 28. *ወውስተ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኃምስሂ፡⁷ ከማሁ፡ ክመ፡⁸ ይቤሉ፡⁹ 29. ወባሕቱ፡ ስብሓት፡ አሕዱ፡¹⁰ ውእቱ፡ *ወእምኒሁ፡ ኢተወለጠ፡ 30. ወርእኩ፡ ሰብሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳደስ፡¹¹ ሰማይ፡ ዐርገ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ 31. ወባሕቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሰማይት፡ ስብሓት፡ ይትዌሰክ፡ 32. ወርእክዎ፡ እፎ፡ ዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ዳድቃን፡ ወኩሎሙ፡ መላእክ

vimus regem gloriae? 25. Et *primo coelo⁹ †gloriosior†¹⁰ ascendebat et non transfigurabat se. Porro¹¹ omnes angeli¹² 26. Adoraverunt, et cantaverunt dicentes: Quomodo¹³ transisti per nos domine? et non vidimus, †neque adoravimus te†? 27-30. Ita ascendit [in secundum coelum et]¹⁴ in tertium et in quartum et in quintum et in sextum 31. †Usque ad omnes coelos, et gloriae suae conjungebat se†¹⁵. 32. Quando¹⁶ ascendit in septimum coelum, cantaverunt ei om-

regem gloriae? 25. Et *ex primo caelo¹⁷ ascendebat †gloriosior†¹⁸, et non transfigurabat se. Sed¹⁹ omnes angeli †et dextri et sinistri et is qui in medio throno sedet†¹ 26. Adoraverunt †eum† et cantaverunt dicentes: Quomodo transisti praeter nos, domine, et non cognovimus †neque adoravimus te†? 27-30. †Et† ita ascendit [in secundum et]²⁰ in tertium et in quartum et in quintum et in sextum caelum. 31. In omnibus tamen caelis gloria ejus adjecta est. 32. †Et† ut ascendit in septimum caelum cantaverunt ei om-

¹ b Hማእከሌሎሙ፡² b ወሰገዱ፡³ b om.⁴ bc ኅሱእ፡⁵ b ሰብሕዎ፡⁶ b ውስተ፡ ወራብዕ፡ ወኃምስ፡ ሰማይ፡⁷ bc ኧ.⁸ a om.⁹ See note 17.¹⁰ Corrupt or interpolated.¹¹ S =

sed.

¹² Add with S E et dextri et sinistri et is qui in medio throno sedet.¹³ Ed. Ven. quō.¹⁴ Wrong addition. See

note 20.

¹⁵ Corrupt. S (= E) preserves true text.¹⁶ S et ut.¹⁷ E in secundum caelum.¹⁸ Corrupt or interpolated.¹⁹ L²

porro.

²⁰ Both S L² err in adding these words. See exegeticalnote on xi. 27. L² adds caelum after sec.

L²

S

ተ፡ ወሰባ፡ ርእሱ፡ ከ
መ፡ ነበረ፡ በየማኑ፡ ስብ
ሐት፡¹ ዐቢይ፡ ዝክ፡ ዘእ
ቤለክመ፡ ከመ፡ ሕክህል
ክ፡ ስብሐት፡ ርእሱ፡²
33. ወመልእክኒ፡ ዘመን
ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ርእሱ፡ *ከ
መ፡ ነበረ፡³ በፀጋም፡
34. *ወመልእክ፡ *ከ⁵
ይቤላ፡ ሕሳይያስ፡ ወል
ይ፡ አምጽ፡ አክሰክ፡⁶ እስ
መ፡⁷ ዐቢይት፡ እሳንቱ፡
እስመ፡ ጠየቀ፡ ዘኢጠየቀ፡
ወልይ፡ ሥጋ፡ 35. ወት
ገብእ፡ ውስተ፡ ልብስክ፡
እስክ፡ መዋዕሊክ፡ ይትፈ
ጸማ፡⁸ አማ፡ ትመጽእ፡
ዝኖ፡ 36. እሱንተ፡⁹ ር
እኖ፡¹⁰ መይቤ፡ ሕሳይያስ፡
ለኩሉመ፡ እሰ፡ ይቆው
መ፡ ቅድሚህ፡ ወይሴብ

nes justi et omnes
angeli ¶et omnes vir-
tutes¹¹, quas¹² non
potui videre. 33.
Angelum mirabi-
lem¹³ vidi sedere a
sinistris [ejus], 34.
Qui dixit mihi: Suf-
ficit tibi Ysaia; vi-
disti [enim], quod
nemo [alius] vidit
carnis filius, ¶quod
nec oculus vidit, nec
auris audivit, nec in
cor hominis ascen-
dit, quanta prae-
paravit deus omnibus
diligentibus se¹⁴.
35. Dixitque mihi:
Revertere in stolam
tuam, donec tempus
dierum tuorum adim-
pleatur ¶et¹⁵ tunc ve-
nies huc. 36. Haec
videns Ysaia dixit
circumstantibus se,
et ¶audientes mira-

nes justi et omnes
angeli ¶et omnes vir-
tutes¹¹. ¶Et tunc vidi
eum ut sedit a dex-
tris Magnae Glor¹⁷,
quam non potui vi-
dere; 33. ¶Et¹ an-
gelum Spiritus vidi
sedentem a sinis-
tris. 34. Et dixit
mihi: Sufficit tibi,
Isaia! cognovisti¹⁵
quod nemo cognovit¹⁶
e carnis filiis, ¶nec¹⁷
oculus vidit nec auris
audivit nec in cor
hominis ascendit,
quanta prae-
paravit Deus diligentibus
eum¹⁸.—35. Et dixit
mihi¹¹: Revertere in
stolam tuam, donec
tempus dierum tuo-
rum adimpleatur ¶et¹¹
tunc venies [mihi]
huc. 36. Haec cum
vidisset Isaias dixit
circumstantibus
eum, ¶et cum audis-

¹ a ዘስብሐት፡ ² bc ርእሱ፡ ³ b om. ⁴ a om. ⁵ c. ab H.

⁶ Em. in accordance with SL² sufficit tibi from ሕድሃክ፡ Dln. proposes ይክንክ፡ ⁷ bc እስክ፡ ⁸ a ይትፈጸም፡ ⁹ a እሱንተ፡

¹⁰ Em. from ርእሱ፡ in accordance with SL². The same error has crept into bc two lines later. ¹¹ L² defective. See S.

¹² Should be quam; change due to loss of preceding words.

¹³ Should be spiritualem. SE = spiritus (gen.). ¹⁴ S eum.

¹⁵ L² (E) vidisti. ¹⁶ L² (E) vidit. ¹⁷ L² quod nec. On

this passage see exegetical note on xi. 34. ¹⁸ L² se.

L²

S

ሐ:: ወይትናገር: ለሐዘ
ቅደስ: ንጉሥ: ወይቤ:¹
ከመ: እሳንተ:² ተናገርኩ:
37. ወተፍጻሜቱ:³ ለዘ:
ዓለም: 38. ወዘላ: ዘ
ፒ: ራእይ: ትትፈጸም:
*በደኃሪት: ትውልድ::⁴
39. ወአምሐሮ: አሳይዖ
ስ: ከመ: አይንገር: ለሐ
ዘበ: እስራኤል: ወአእላ
ንተ: ቃላተ: ከመ: *አሲህ
ብ: ለአዕልዎ: ለሰብእ::
40. *... ከማፃ: ታኅ
ብዎን::⁶ ወአንተመሰ: ሀ
ልጢ: በመንፈስ: ቅዱስ:
ከመ: ትንሥኡ: አልባሲክ

bilia cantaverunt
omnes et⁷ glorifica-
verunt "dominum"⁷
dantem talem gra-
tiam hominibus⁷.
Et dixit Ezechiae
regi: 37. Consum-
matio seculi hujus,
38. Et +opera imple-
buntur⁸ in novissi-
mis generationibus.
39. Et prohibuit eis,
ut non annuntiarent
populo Israel, nec
verba haec darent
ad scribendum omni
homini. 40. Sed
+quanta intelligen-
tur a rege et dicta⁹
in prophetis¹⁰. *Ita
et vos estote¹¹ in
Sancto Spiritu, ut
recipiat stolas ves-
tras et thronos et
coronas gloriae in
coelisjacentes. "Ces-
savit autem loqui et

sent haec¹² mirabilia
glorificaverunt et⁷
cantaverunt "Deum,
dantem talem gra-
tiam hominibus⁷.
Dixit autem Eze-
chiae regi: 37. Con-
summatio saeculi
hujus, 38. Et om-
nis haec visio im-
plebitur in novis-
sima generatione.
39. Et prohibuit eos,
ne annuntiarent
filiis¹³ Israel, nec ver-
ba haec darent ad
scribendum omni ho-
mini, 40. Sed +quan-
tumcunque intelli-
gitis a rege dicta in
prophetis[†], talia in-
telligite omnes. Vos
autem vigilate¹⁴ in
Sancto Spiritu, ut
recipiat stolas
vestram et thronos
et coronas gloriae in
caelisjacentes. "Et
cessavit loquens et

¹ b ወእቤ: c ወእቤሮ:² b እሳ: ዘንተ: c እሎንተ:³ ac ወተፍጻሜቱ:⁴ b በደንራ: መዋዕል:⁵ b አይሀብ:

ለዐዕልወተ:

⁶ Em. in accordance with S talia intelligite from a ወአማፃ: ታኅብዎን: (ታኅብብዎን: c; ያኅብብዎን: b).⁷ S deum.⁸ Corrupt. See S for right version.⁹ Ed. Ven. dcā.¹⁰ Corrupt and defective. Better in S.¹¹ Corrupt. See note ¹⁴.¹² L² om.¹³ L² E populo.¹⁴ So E. L² corrupt.

	L ²	S
መ፡ ወመናብርተ፡ ወአክ	exivit ab Ezechia	exivit ab Ezechia
ሊላተ፡ ዘስብላት፡ ዘቡ፡	rege. ⁷	rege ⁷ . [Ipsi autem
ላብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንቡር።	Explicit visio Ysaiæ	Deo nostro gloria
	prophetæ.	nunc et semper et
		in saecula saeculo-
		rum. Amen.] ⁸

41. በእነተ፡ እሱ፡¹ ራእያት፡² ወተንበታት፡³ ወሠር፡ ሰማየል፡ ሰይጣን፡
በእይ፡ ምናሴ፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አጥጽ፡ ነቢይ። 42. ወዘነተ፡ ዘሉ፡
ወሀብ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ለምናሴ፡ በዓመተ፡ ጼወ፤³ 43. ወኢተዘከረ፡ ምናሴ፡
ወኢወደኖን፡ ወስተ፡ ልቡ፡ *ለእሳ፡⁴ አሳ፡ ተቀረየ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ ተሀጉለ።

ተፈጸመ፡ በዝየ፡ *ዘ⁵ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ ምስለ፡ ዕርገቱ።⁶

¹ a እሳ፡ ² a puts in acc. ³ b adds ለመንግሥቱ፡
⁴ bc om. ⁵ c ራእየ፡ ⁶ b om. entire subscription. ⁷ Possibly
this sentence belonged to original form of Vision. ⁸ An
addition of the Slavonic scribe.

APPENDIX

THE USE OF THE NAMES 'THE BELOVED,' 'BELIAR,' AND 'SAMMAEL,' IN THE VARIOUS CONSTITUENTS OF THE 'ASCENSION.'

The Beloved. This title of the Messiah is peculiar to the Testament of Hezekiah iii. 13, 17, 18; iv. 3, 6, 9, 18, and to the Vision of Isaiah vii. 17, 23; viii. 18, 25; ix. 12. Its presence in i. 4, 5, 7, 13 in the Martyrdom of Isaiah is due to the editor of the *Ascension*, as well as in iv. 21.

Beliar. This designation is wholly absent from the Vision of Isaiah. It is found both in the Martyrdom of Isaiah and in the Testament of Hezekiah, but in two quite different meanings. Thus in the Testament he appears as the Beliar Antichrist manifested in the flesh in the form of Nero iv. 2, 14, 16, 18, whereas in the Martyrdom he is a purely Satanic immaterial being i. 8, 9; ii. 4; iii. 11. In this latter sense he is introduced in his editorial additions in iii. 13^a; v. 1^a, 15.

Sammael. This name is absent from the Testament of Hezekiah. It is also absent from the Vision of Isaiah; for in vii. 9 it is due to the editor of the *Ascension*, since it is wanting in SL² (see p. 105). It was, therefore, peculiar to the Martyrdom i. 8, 11; ii. 1, but appears also in the editorial additions, iii. 13^a; v. 15, 16; xi. 41.

To sum up, the name 'Sammael' was originally peculiar to the Martyrdom, Beliar to the Testament of Hezekiah in one sense, and to the Martyrdom in another, and the title 'Beloved' common to the Testament and the Vision, but absent from the Martyrdom. It is needless to add that these facts confirm our critical analysis of the *Ascension*.

Προφητεία, ἀποκάλυψις καὶ μαρτύριον

τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ εὐδόξου καὶ μεγίστου τῶν προφητῶν
Ἑσαίου τοῦ προφήτου.

[See Introd. pp. xxvii–xxviii.]

Ascension
of Isaiah,

1. Ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Ἰεζεκίου ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καλέσαι Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ὄντα ἐτῶν ἔνδεκα, ἔμπροσθεν Ἑσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ Ἰασοῦμ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. 2. Καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ μακάριος Ἑσαίας εἶδεν, καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν καὶ ἐξέλευσιν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄδην, καὶ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν ἣν μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰεζεκίας εἶδεν ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 3. Καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν Σωμνὰς ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἀσοὺρ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος ἐρχόμενον τὸν μέγαν Ἑσαίαν ἀπὸ Γαλγάλων εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τεσσεράκοντα υἱοὺς προφητῶν καὶ Ἰασοῦμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Ἰεζεκίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως αὐτῶν. 4. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰεζεκίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα, καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἰς συνάντησιν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἑσαίου ἐπελάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, 5. Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν τεθῆναι αὐτῷ δίφρον· οὐκ ἐκάθισεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δίφρον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην τοῦ βασιλέως. 6. Τότε ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἰεζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἑσαίαν τὸν προφήτην, ἵνα ἐπιθήσῃ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλογήσῃ αὐτόν. ὥς

i. 1, 2.

i. 5.

x. 8 (iii.

13).

iii. 13; x.

18.

i. 2, 4.

i. 5; vi.

17.

vi. 1, 3.

vi. 2.

vi. 5.

i. 1. Instead of ὄντα ἐτῶν ἔνδεκα, Gebhardt proposes ὄντα αὐτῷ ἕνα as in Ethiopic. Ἰασοῦμ LXX. Ἰασούβ. Ethiopic = Jōsēb, Jōsēb or Jōsāb. 2. εἶδεν twice ἴδεν in MB. 3. Ἀσοὺρ corrupted from Ἀσάφ: see note on vi. 17.

δὲ εἶδεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τὸν Μανασσὴν, ἐγέλασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Ἐζεκία· Οὐ δύναμαι εὐλογῆσαι τὸν Μανασσὴν

- i. 7. τὸν μέλλοντά με τιμωρεῖν μεγάλας βασάνους καὶ πικραῖς. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐζεκίας τῷ ἁγίῳ προφῆτῃ Ἡσαΐα· Εὐλόγησον, πάτερ, Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱόν μου. 8. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ζῇ κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Μανασσῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου βασάνους πικραῖς τοῦ
- i. 9. ζῆν ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι. 9. Κατοικήσει γὰρ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Μανασσῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου, καὶ πρισθῆσομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρίωνι
- v. 11. ξυλίνῳ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν εἰς δύο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐξ Ἰούδα ἀποστήσει ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζῶντος καὶ
- i. 10. προσκυνήσουσιν εἰδώλοις. 10. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα καὶ ἔσχισεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς, καὶ ἔβαλεν χοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ σάκκον καὶ σποδὸν ὑπεστρώσατο, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ προσώπων
- i. 11. αὐτοῦ ὥσει νεκρός. 11. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἐζεκία· Οὐκ ὠφελήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲν κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος· δεῖ γὰρ πληρωθῆναι τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ
- i. 12. σατανᾶ ἐν τῷ νῷ σου τῷ Μανασσῇ. 12. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ διελογίζετο Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μανασσὴν. ὁ δὲ Σωμνὰς ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπεν τῷ ἁγίῳ προφῆτῃ Ἡσαΐα ὅτι Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς βούλεται ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν
- i. 13. υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ σέ. 13. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας πρὸς Ἐζεκιάν τὸν βασιλέα· Κατήργησεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς
- i. 7. αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλήν σου· οὐ μὴ γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο. δεῖ γάρ με ἐκ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Μανασσῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τιμωρηθέντα ἐξελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου.

14. Ὡρυξεν δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκείαις χερσίν, καὶ εὗρεν ὕδωρ πολὺ, καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὸ πηγὴν Σιλωάμ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀπεσταλμένος.

- ii. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσκαλεσάμενος Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν
- vi. 2. ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφῆτην εἰς τὰ βασιλεία εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Καὶ καθεζομένου τοῦ μεγάλου προφῆτου Ἡσαΐου ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην
- vi. 10. τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκστάσει, καὶ ἦρθη ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. 2. Καὶ ὡς τοῦτο γέγονεν, ἤρξατο λέγειν Σωμνὰς ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος ὅτι ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας. Εἶτα εἰσελθὼν Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς
- vi. 14. χειρὸς ἔγνω ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀνελήφθη, ἥγουν μετέστη·
- vi. 12. ὅτι ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμφύσημα ζωῆς. 3. Ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως κείμενος ἐπὶ

τῆς κλίνης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας τρεῖς. 4. Καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τὰ ἐξαίσια καὶ ἀκατανόητα καὶ παράδοξα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ ἔργα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, τὴν τε πατρικὴν δόξαν καὶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὴν τε τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων τάξιν καὶ χοροστασίαν· ἤκουσεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα καὶ ἀπόρρητα τοῦ θεοῦ ῥήματα· τότε ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ. 5. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἐκάλεσεν ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας Ἰασούμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ vi. 16, 17. καὶ Σωμνὰν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ Ἐζεκιάν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς περι(ε)στῶτας, οἵτινες καὶ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἅπερ εἶδεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης. 6. Ἐγένετο, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ vii. 2; iv. προφητεύειν με τὴν ὄρασιν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ εἶδον θεοῦ 19; vii. 4. ἄγγελον δεδοξασμένον· οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὧν εἶδον τότε ἐγὼ ἔβλεπον νῦν, ἀλλὰ πλείονα καὶ περισσοτέρων εἶχεν δόξαν. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· Ἀκουσόν μου, Ἡσαΐα υἱὲ Ἀμώς· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπεστάλην τοῦ ἀνενέγκαι σε ἕως ἐβδόμου vii. 4, 5. οὐρανοῦ, ὅπως ἴδῃς τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητόν. 8. Καὶ εὐφράνθητι πάννυ ὅτι vii. 6, 9. πράεως ἐλαλήσεν μοι. 9. Καὶ λαβὼν με εὐθέως ἀνήγαγεν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ τὸν σατανᾶν καθεζόμενον ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ θόρυβον πολλὸν περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν μεγάλην· εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἕνα ἀρπάζειν x. 31. καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἐβούλετο, τοῦ καθημένου χαίροντος πάννυ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ταύταις. 10. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ vii. 11. ὄντι· Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὃς χαίρει ἐπὶ τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἀσπόνδῳ πολέμῳ; 11. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· Οὐκ ἐγὼ κύριος, viii. 5. ἀλλὰ σύνδουλός σου εἰμί. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ κρατήσας τοῦ κόσμου, iv. 2. ὃν καταβαλεῖ ἐκ τοῦ στερεώματος τούτου καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειας ἐκπέμψει iv. 14. βυθὸν ὁ μέλλων καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις SL²x.1 (?) συναναστρέφειν κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας εἰδέας, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. viii. 10, 26. 12. Καὶ πάλιν ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν πρῶτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ vii. 13, 14. κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θρόνον, δεξιούς τε καὶ ἀριστερούς ἐστῶτας θεῖους ἀγγέλους καὶ ὑμνοῦντας ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ. 13. vii. 15, 16. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ὄντι μετ' ἐμοῦ· Τίνι ὁ ὕμνος 17. οὗτος ἀναπέμπεται; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτος ὁ ὕμνος εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀναπέμπεται τοῦ καθεζομένου ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ, μεγάλου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ. 14. Καὶ εἶδ' οὕτως ἀνήγαγέν με vii. 18, 19. εἰς τὸν δεύτερον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ θρόνον κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, δεξιούς τε καὶ ἀριστερούς ἀσωμάτους, ὑμνοῦντας

- vii. 20. ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον θεόν. καὶ πλείους ἦν ὁ ὕμνος
vii. 24. ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ οὐρανῷ ὑπὲρ τὸν πρῶτον. 15. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν τρίτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον κάκει θρόνον
κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλήθος ἀναρίθμητον ἀγγέλων
καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ὑμνοῦντων ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· καὶ
ὁ ὕμνος ὁ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ μέζων ἦν ὑπὲρ τοὺς λοιπούς. 16. Ἐτι
(ix. 19.) δὲ ὄντος μου ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ ἐλογισάμην ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἶπον·
ix. 20 ; vii. 27. Ἐὰρ τι δύναται γνωσθῆναι ὧδε τῶν ἐν τῷ κάτω κόσμῳ γινομένων
vii. 27. ἔργων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ; 17. Καὶ εἶπεν
ὁ θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὦν· Ἐγνων τί ἐλογίσω ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ
σου, Ἥσαϊα. ἄφες νῦν· ὅταν γὰρ ἀνενέγκω σε εἰς τὸν ἔβδομον
οὐρανόν, τότε γνώσῃ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸ θεῖον ἐκ τῶν
vii. 25, 28. ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ φθαρτῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων. 18. Καὶ πάλιν
vii. 29. ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν τέταρτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον κάκει κατὰ
μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θρόνον, καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου ἄγγελοι καὶ
ἀρχάγγελοι ὑμνοῦντες ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ τὸν
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. 19.
vii. 32, 33. Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν πέμπτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον
κάκει θρόνον κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλήθος ἀναρίθμητον
SL² vii. 33. ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων. 20. Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς τὸν πέμπτον οὐρανόν καὶ
ὑποθρόνια ζῶα ἀναμειγμένα μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὑμνοῦντα ἐκείνον τὸν
viii. 16. μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον. 21. Καὶ ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανόν,
καὶ οὐκέτι ἡδυνάμην ὑποστῆναι τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὰ φῶτα· καὶ
vii. 21. ἐφοβήθην πάνυ καὶ ἔπεσον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. 22. Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ
θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὦν· Ἀκουσον, Ἥσαϊα προφῆτα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς·
μὴ προσκυνήσῃς μήτε ἀγγέλους μήτε ἀρχαγγέλους μήτε κυριό-
τητας μήτε θρόνους, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ σοι εἴπω. καὶ κρατήσας με ἐκ
ix. i (2). τῆς χειρὸς ἐνίσχυσε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν ἐμοί. 23. Καὶ ἀνερχομένων
ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τῶν κάτω πεμ-
πομένης καὶ λεγούσης· Ἔως πότε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ μέλλον ἀκμῇν
ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκεῖν ἀναβαίνει ὧδε ; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἤκουσα
ix. 2. φωνῆς ἐτέρας ἐκ τῶν ἄνω λεγούσης· Ἀφεθήτω ἀναβαίνειν ὁ
δίκαιος Ἥσαϊας· ὧδε γὰρ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ, ὧδε καὶ ὁ στέφανος
ix. 3. αὐτοῦ, ὧδε καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ ἐστίν. 24. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ
ἀγγέλῳ τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντι· Δέομαί σου· τίς ἐστίν ὁ κωλύων με
μὴ ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ τίς ἐστίν ὁ ἐπιτρέπων μοι ἀναβαίνειν ;
ix. 4. 25. Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὦν· Ὁ μὲν κωλύσας σε
ἀναβαίνειν ἔστιν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐφεστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμνων τῶν πέντε
ix. 5. οὐρανῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιτρέπων σοι ἀναβαίνειν ἔστιν ὁ κύριος τῆς

δόξης, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὃν καὶ ἰδέσθαι ἔχεις κατερχό- ix. 12, 13.
 μενον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας. Τοῦτον ix. 31.
 τοῖνυν προσκύνησον καὶ ὑμνησον καὶ δόξασον. 26. Καὶ ὡς
 ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν ἑβδομον οὐρανὸν ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐτέρας ix. 6.
 λεγούσης μοι· Ἐνίσχυσον, Ἡσαΐα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς. καὶ εὐθέως ἐνίσχυσέν
 με τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί. 27. Καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ πάντας ix. 7, 8.
 τοὺς δικαίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ· Ἀβελ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ Σὴθ τὸν ix. 28.
 δίκαιον, Ἰάρεθ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ Ἐνώχ τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ix. 9.
 ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν δικαίων γεγεννημένους. 28. Καὶ εἶδον ὡς
 προσεκύνουν, καὶ ἔπεσον ἀγῶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησα. ix. 28.
 καὶ ἀνέστην ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας μου. 29. Καὶ ὅτε τὴν ὀφειλομένην
 προσκύνησιν ἀπέδωκαν, ἐκάθητο ὁ κύριος ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ προσκαλε-
 σάμενός με εἶπέν μοι· Ἄκουσον δὴ, Ἡσαΐα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς, καὶ ἔσο viii. 11.
 εἰδὼς ὡς οὐδεὶς ᾔδε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέβη, οὐδὲ εἶδεν ἕτερος ἢ
 σὺ εἶδες, μέλλων ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς σαρκός. 30.
 Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔδωκε βιβλίον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν μου, καὶ εἶπέν μοι· ix. 20.
 Δέξαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀνάγνωθι ἃ ἐλογίσω ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ, ἀνερ- ix. 19, 20.
 χόμενος ἐνθάδε, καὶ γνῶσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν λανθάνει ἐκ τῶν γινομένων
 ἔργων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κόσμῳ πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν. 31. Καὶ (vii. 27.)
 ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέγνω· καὶ ἰδοὺ πᾶσα ix. 22.
 ἀπογραφὴ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ αἰῶνος ἕως αἰῶνος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, τῶν τε
 ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν, μεχρὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνθυμήσεων. 32. Καὶ ix. 23.
 ἀναγνοὺς τὸ βιβλίον εἶπον· Ἀληθῶς, δέσποτα, οὐδὲν λανθάνει ᾧδε
 τῶν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν κόσμον πραττομένων. 33. Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως εἶπεν xi. 35 (viii.
 ὁ κύριος πρὸς με· Ὑπόστρεφε αὐθις, Ἡσαΐα, εἰς τὸ τῆς σαρκός σου ¹¹).
 ἔνδυμα· δεῖ γάρ σε τὸν τῆς ζωῆς σου χρόνον ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ κόσμῳ
 πληρῶσαι. 34. Κἀγὼ ἐδεήθην αὐτοῦ λέγων· Δέσποτα, μὴ ἀπολύ- viii. 23.
 σης με εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν μάταιον. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς
 εἶπεν· Πορεύου ἐκείσε· οὐπῶ γὰρ ὁ τῆς ζωῆς σου χρόνος πεπλήρω- xi. 35 ;
 ται. 35. Καὶ ἔπεσα εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ δεόμενος μὴ ἀποσταλῆναί viii. 27.
 με εἰς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ ἔτι προσθεὶς ὁ κύριος εἶρκεν μοι· Τί viii. 23.
 κλαίεις, Ἡσαΐα ; ἶδε ὁ τόπος σου, ἶδε ὁ θρόνος σου, ἶδε ὁ στέφανός
 σου, ἶδε καὶ τὰ ἐνδυμήματά σου πάντα ἃ προητοίμασά σοι. 36. ix. 2.
 Δεῖ γάρ σε τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐν κλήρῳ ξύλου τελέσαντα ἀναβῆναι ᾧδε.
 πρίσουςιν γάρ σε οἱ παράνομοι ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ καὶ διχάσουσιν (v. 11.)
 ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν εἰς δύο. 37. Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἐλέγετό μοι
 ἤκουσα τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐπηρμένου θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς x. 7.
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗ τὴν δόξαν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠδυνήθην x. 2.
 ἰδεῖν, λεγούσης τῇ κυρίῳ μου καὶ Χριστῷ, ὅς κληθήσεται ix. 5 ; x. 7.

- x. 8. Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ· 38. Ἐξέλθε, τέκνον, καὶ κατὰβηθι
 x. 12. κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ οὐρανὸν ἡρέμα. καταβήσῃ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἑκπαλαι κυριευόμενον καὶ
 τῶν προσκυνούντων αὐτοῖς, οἵτινες ἡρνήσαντό με καὶ εἶπον·
 x. 13 (iv. 6,8). (x. 8); Ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν θεοί, καὶ πλήν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός. 39.
 xi. 19, 20. Ὡσαύτως καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ἄδου ἐν
 x. 14, 15. Ἱερουσαλήμ· πλήν ἕως τοῦ τελευτῆσαι σε μὴ ἀπελεύσῃ. 40.
 Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ θανατωθῆναί σε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναβήσῃ ὧδε.
 τότε καθήσῃ ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσί σε πάντες
 ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, καὶ
 πᾶσαι τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ γινώσκονται πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν
 x. 11. οὐρανῶν στρατιαὶ ὅτι σὺ εἰ κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ τῶν ἑπτὰ οὐρανῶν
 x. 16. τούτων καὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. 41. Ταῦτα ἤκουον τῆς δόξης
 x. 17, 19. τῆς μεγάλης λεγούσης τῷ κυρίῳ μου καὶ Χριστῷ. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα κατῆλθεν ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς
 τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανόν· κακεῖ ἐδόξασαν, ὕμνησαν, προσεκύνησαν πᾶσαι
 x. 20. τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις τὸν κύριον. 42. Καὶ εἶδον ὡς ἐξῆλθεν
 ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ [ἕκτου] οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν πέμπτον
 οὐρανόν. ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἐδόξασαν, οὐχ ὕμνησαν οὐδὲ προσεκύνησαν·
 ἦν γὰρ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡ αὐτῶν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐν ἀγγέλοις
 ἄγγελος, ἐν ἀρχαγγέλοις ἀρχάγγελος καὶ ἐν δυνάμεσι δύνამις. 43.
 Καὶ οὕτως διῆλθεν ἡρέμα καθεξῆς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν
 τοιοῦτῳ σχήματι, καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸν γῆινον καὶ θνητὸν κόσμον
 εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ κύριος ἠβελησεν.
 ii. 1. iii. Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς
 τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν τὴν
 ii. 2. βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. 2. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς οὐκ ἐμνήσθη
 τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπελάθετο πάντων. καὶ
 ἀφῆκεν τὴν λατρείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν κατὰ τὸ θέλημα
 αὐτοῦ εἰδῶλα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ, καὶ ἐλάτρευσεν τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ
 ii. 3. τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτοῦ. 3. Καὶ
 ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 ii. 4. λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως. καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ
 τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν βεβήλων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων εἰδώλων,
 ii. 5. καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ φαρμακία καὶ ἡ πορνεία καὶ ἡ
 ἐπαοιδία καὶ ὁ κληδονισμὸς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος, καὶ ἐδιώκοντο
 iii. 6. πάντες οἱ εὐσεβῶς ζῶντες κατὰ θεόν. 4. Τότε οὖν προεφῆτευσεν

iii. 3. κλυδωνισμός MS. It is to be observed that the writer
 uses ἐπαοιδία instead of μαντεία.

ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός· Ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἡ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἐκλεκτὴ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας Σαλμανασσάρ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, ii. 14. καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ iii. 6. οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ ἀχθήσονται αἰχμάλωτοι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. 5. Καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν Μελχίας ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης ταῦτα προφητεύοντος τοῦ μεγάλου Ἡσαΐου καὶ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικούντων εἶπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ Μανασσῇ· 6. Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὰ καὶ πάννυ δεινὰ προφητεύει ὁ Ἡσαΐας ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ iii. 6. καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδα, λέγων ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὕτη παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ αἰχμάλωτοι ἀχθήσονται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν πέδαις καὶ γαλεάγραις, καὶ ἔσται ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς δέσμιος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. 7. Τότε θυμοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς πλησθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς iii. 12. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκέλευσεν Μελχίαν τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην συλλαβέσθαι τὸν μέγαν Ἡσαΐαν, διότι προεφήτευσεν δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 8. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας ἀναχωρήσας ii. 7. ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν ὄραν τὴν γινομένην ἀνομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄσωτίαν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ λατρείαν τοῦ σατανᾶ. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκάθητο ἀπέναντι Βηθλεέμ. 9. Κἀκεῖ δὲ ἦν ἀνομία πολλή· ὅθεν ἀναχωρήσας πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ii. 8. ἐκάθισεν ἐν ὄρει τινί, τόπῳ ἡσυχῷ καὶ καθαρῷ, δοξάζων ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεόν. καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαΐας ὁ προφήτης καὶ Ἀμβακοὺμ καὶ Ἰασοὺμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ii. 9. καὶ Ἄννας ὁ γέρων, καὶ πολλοὶ ἕτεροι τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνελθεῖν. 10. Ἐκεῖσε οὖν λοιπὸν ἀνελθόντες Μελχίας καὶ Βεχείρας οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται συνέλαβον τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν τὸν (iii. 12.) προφήτην, 11. Καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτὸν πρὸς Μανασσῆν τὸν βασιλέα, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἡσαΐα, διατί προφητεύεις πονηρὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα μου; 12. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τῷ Μανασσῇ· Βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ οὐ προφητεύω πονηρὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῇ συμβαίνειν λαλῶ. 13. Ζῇ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς αὐτοῦ υἱὸς καὶ i. 7. τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ πόλις ἡ καλλίστη καὶ μεγάλη παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ii. 14. ἀναιδῶν διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ σὲ iii. 6.

iii. 6. γαλαιάγραις MS. 8. ἐκάθιτο MS. 13. ἀπεινῶν MS.

- δέ, βασιλεῦ Μανασσῇ, ἐν πέδαις καὶ γαλεάγραις ἀπάξουσιν αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. 14. Τότε θυμωθεὶς σφόδρα ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἤκουσεν πικροῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκέλευσεν παρευθὺ πρισθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν ἐν πρίωνι σιδηρῷ. 15. Καὶ τούτου ἐν τάχει γινομένου καὶ πριζομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὥρας ἱκανάς, οὐδ' ὅλως ἤπτετο αὐτοῦ ὁ σιδηρος. 16. Τότε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τῷ Μανασσῇ· Βασιλεῦ, ἔση εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ ἐκληρώθην πρισθῆναι, καὶ ἄλλως τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.
- v. 11. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς προσέταξεν ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ
v. 1, 2, 3. πρισθῆναι αὐτόν. 17. Καὶ πριζομένου αὐτοῦ ἔστη Μελχίας ὁ
ψευδοπροφήτης κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λέγων· Εἶπε ὅτι οὐκ
ἐπροφήτευσα ταῦτα περὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἀρθήσονται ἀπὸ σοῦ αἱ
v. 9; i. 7. βάσανοι αὐταί. 18. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας· Κατάθεμά
σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε· Ζῇ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεός μου
καὶ ζῇ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι Ἱερουσαλήμ
aὕτη ἡ μεγάλη πόλις καὶ εὐρύχωρος τέλεον ἐρημωθήσεται, καὶ
Μανασσῆς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης αἰχμάλωτοι ἀχθήσονται ἐν
v. 14. Βαβυλῶνι. 19. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ μακάριος Ἡσαΐας ἔπρισαν
αὐτὸν διχῇ πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ.

iii. 13. γαλαιάγραις MS. 16. ἐκληρώθη MS.

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Note 1. For references to later writers see 'Ambrose,' 'Epiphanius,' 'Jerome,' 'Origen' in Index II.

Note 2. From the echoes of the New Testament in the Testament of Hezekiah we may safely conclude that the writer of the latter was acquainted with Matthew, Luke, and 2 Corinthians, and probably with 2 Thessalonians and Revelation. The writer of the Vision of Isaiah was acquainted with Revelation or some portion of it.

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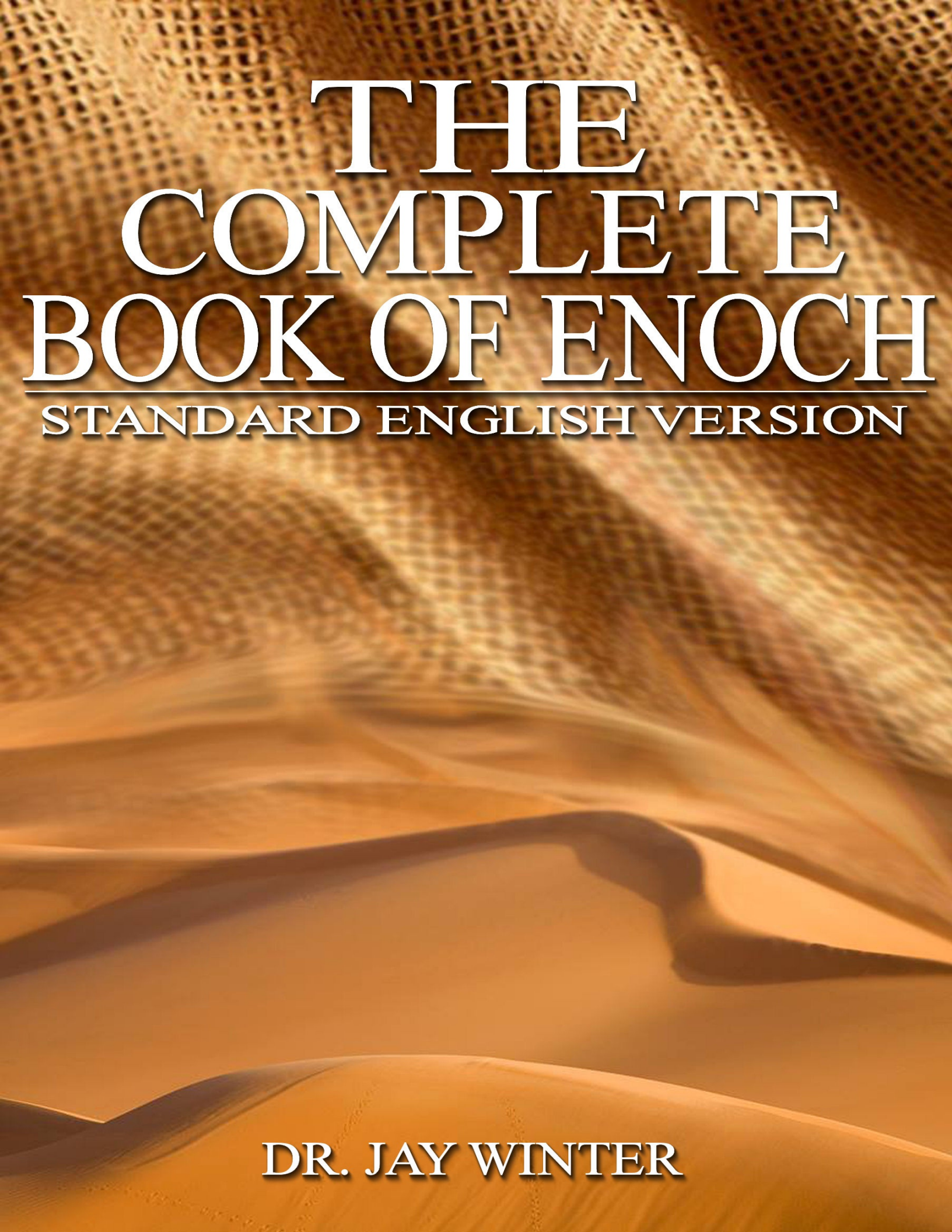
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The background of the cover is a photograph of a desert. In the foreground, there are rolling sand dunes with soft shadows. In the background, a large, craggy rock formation rises, its surface covered in a complex pattern of small holes and crevices, possibly a natural honeycomb or a specific type of rock. The overall color palette is warm, with various shades of orange, tan, and brown.

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ENOCH

STANDARD ENGLISH VERSION

DR. JAY WINTER

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ENOCH

Standard English Version

Dr. Jay Winter

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About the Book of Enoch

(Also known as "Ethiopian Enoch")

The Book of Enoch (also known as 1 Enoch) was once cherished by Jews and Christians alike, this book later fell into disfavor with powerful theologians - precisely because of its controversial statements on the nature and deeds of the fallen angels.

The Enochian writings, in addition to many other writings that were excluded (or lost) from the Bible (i.e., the Book of Tobit, Esdras, etc.) were widely recognized by many of the early church fathers as "Apocryphal" writings. The term "apocrypha" is derived from the Greek word meaning "hidden" or "secret". Originally, the import of the term may have been complimentary in that the term was applied to sacred books whose contents were too exalted to be made available to the general public.

In Dan. 12:9-10 we hear of words that are shut up until the end of time and, words that the wise shall understand and the wicked shall not. In addition, 4 Ezra 14:44ff. mentions 94 books, of which 24 (the OT) were to be published and 70 were to be delivered only to the wise among the people. Gradually, the term "apocrypha" took on a pejorative connotation, for the orthodoxy of these hidden books was often questionable. Origen (Comm. in Matt. 10.18; p. 13.881) distinguished between books that were to be read in public worship and apocryphal books. Because these secret books were often preserved for use within the esoteric circles of the divinely - knit believers, many of the critically - spirited or "unenlightened" Church Fathers found themselves outside the realm of understanding, and therefore came to apply the term "apocryphal" to, what they claimed to be, heretical works which were forbidden to be read.

In Protestant parlance, "the Apocrypha" designate 15 works, all but one of which are Jewish in origin and found in the Septuagint (parts of 2 Esdras are Christian and Latin in origin). Although some of them were composed in Palestine in Aramaic or Hebrew, they were not accepted into the Jewish canon formed late in the 2nd century AD (Canonicity, 67:31-35). The Reformers, influenced by the

Jewish canon of the Old Testament, did not consider these books on a par with the rest of the Scriptures; thus the custom arose of making the Apocrypha a separate section in the Protestant Bible, or sometimes even of omitting them entirely (Canonicity, 67:44-46). The Catholic view, expressed as a doctrine of faith at the Council of Trent, is that 12 of these 15 works (in a different enumeration, however) are canonical Scripture; they are called the Deuterocanonical Books (Canonicity, 67:21, 42-43).

The three books of the Protestant Apocrypha that are not accepted by Catholics are 1-2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh. The theme of the Book of Enoch dealing with the nature and deeds of the fallen angels so infuriated the later Church fathers that one, Filastrius, actually condemned it openly as heresy (Filastrius, *Liber de Haeresibus*, no. 108). Nor did the rabbis deign to give credence to the book's teaching about angels. Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai in the second century A.D. pronounced a curse upon those who believed it (Delitzsch, p. 223). So the book was denounced, banned, cursed, no doubt burned and shredded - and last but not least, lost (and conveniently forgotten) for a thousand years. But with an uncanny persistence, the Book of Enoch found its way back into circulation two centuries ago.

In 1773, rumors of a surviving copy of the book drew Scottish explorer James Bruce to distant Ethiopia. True to hearsay, the Book of Enoch had been preserved by the Ethiopic church, which put it right alongside the other books of the Bible. Bruce secured not one, but three Ethiopic copies of the book and brought them back to Europe and Britain. When in 1821 Dr. Richard Laurence, a Hebrew professor at Oxford, produced the first English translation of the work, the modern world gained its first glimpse of the forbidden mysteries of Enoch.

Most scholars say that the present form of the story in the Book of Enoch was penned sometime during the second century B.C. and was popular for at least five hundred years. The earliest Ethiopic text was apparently made from a Greek manuscript of the Book of Enoch, which itself was a copy of an earlier text. The original was apparently written in Semitic language, now thought to be Aramaic.

Though it was once believed to be post-Christian (the similarities to Christian terminology and teaching are striking), recent discoveries of copies of the book among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran prove that the book was in existence before the time of Jesus Christ. But the date of the original writing upon which the second century B.C. Qumran copies were based is shrouded in

obscurity. It is, in a word, old. It has been largely the opinion of historians that the book does not really contain the authentic words of the ancient biblical patriarch Enoch, since he would have lived (based on the chronologies in the Book of Genesis) several thousand years earlier than the first known appearance of the book attributed to him. Although in the book he commands his son Methuselah to preserve the book unto future generations, which in itself is a call to copy the books he wrote so they might not be lost to the ages.

Despite its unknown origins, Christians once accepted the words of this Book of Enoch as authentic scripture, especially the part about the fallen angels and their prophesied judgment. In fact, many of the key concepts used by Jesus Christ himself seem directly connected to terms and ideas in the Book of Enoch. Thus, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Jesus had not only studied the book, but also respected it highly enough to adopt and elaborate on its specific descriptions of the coming kingdom and its theme of inevitable judgment descending upon "the wicked" - the term most often used in the Old Testament to describe the Watchers.

There is abundant proof that Christ approved of the Book of Enoch. Over a hundred phrases in the New Testament find precedents in the Book of Enoch. Another remarkable bit of evidence for the early Christians' acceptance of the Book of Enoch was for many years buried under the King James Bible's mistranslation of Luke 9:35, describing the transfiguration of Christ: "And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son: hear him.'" Apparently the translator here wished to make this verse agree with a similar verse in Matthew and Mark. But Luke's verse in the original Greek reads: "This is my Son, the Elect One (from the Greek *ho eklelegmenos*, lit., "the elect one"): hear him." The "Elect One" is a most significant term (found fourteen times) in the Book of Enoch. If the book was indeed known to the apostles of Christ, with its abundant descriptions of the Elect One who should "sit upon the throne of glory" and the Elect One who should "dwell in the midst of them," then the great scriptural authenticity is accorded to the Book of Enoch when the "voice out of the cloud" tells the apostles, "This is my Son, the Elect One" - the one promised in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Jude tells us in verse 14 that "Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied..." Jude also, in verse 15, makes a direct reference to the Book of Enoch (2:1), where he writes, "to execute judgment on all, to convict all who are ungodly..." The time difference between Enoch and Jude is approximately 3400

years. Therefore, Jude's reference to the Enoch's prophecies strongly leans toward the conclusion that these written prophecies were available to him at that time.

Fragments of ten Enoch manuscripts were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The famous scrolls actually comprise only one part of the total findings at Qumran. Much of the rest was Enochian literature, copies of the Book of Enoch, and other apocryphal works in the Enochian tradition, like the Book of Jubilees. With so many copies around, the Essenes could well have used the Enochian writings as a community prayer book or teacher's manual and study text.

The Book of Enoch was also used by writers of the non-canonical (i.e. apocryphal or "hidden") texts. The author of the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas quotes the Book of Enoch three times, twice calling it "the Scripture," a term specifically denoting the inspired Word of God (Epis. of Barnabas 4:3, 16:5,6). Other apocryphal works reflect knowledge of the Enoch story of the Watchers, notably the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Book of Jubilees.

Many of the early church fathers also supported the Enochian writings. Justin Martyr ascribed all evil to demons whom he alleged to be the offspring of the angels who fell through lust for women—directly referencing the Enochian writings. Athenagoras, writing in his work called *Legatio* in about 170 A.D., regards Enoch as a true prophet. He describes the angels which "violated both their own nature and their office." In his writings, he goes into detail about the nature of fallen angels and the cause of their fall, which comes directly from the Enochian writings.

Many other church fathers: Tatian (110-172); Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons (115-185); Clement of Alexandria (150-220); Tertullian (160-230); Origen (186-255); Lactantius (260-330); in addition to: Methodius of Philippi, Minucius Felix, Commodianus, and Ambrose of Milan—also approved of and supported the Enochian writings.

The twentieth-century discovery of several Aramaic Enochian texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls prompted Catholic scholar J.T. Milik to compile a complete history of the Enochian writings, including translations of the Aramaic manuscripts. Milik's 400-page book, published in 1976 by Oxford (J. T. Milik, ed. and trans., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) is a milestone in Enochian scholarship, and

Milik himself is no doubt one of the finest experts on the subject. His opinions, based as they are on years of in-depth research, are highly respected.

One by one the arguments against the Book of Enoch fade away. The day may soon arrive when the final complaints about the Book of Enoch's lack of historicity and "late date" are also silenced by new evidence of the book's real antiquity. Such evidence would be perhaps the return of Enoch, of whom there is no record of ever dying but rather still living in the Kingdom of Heaven. It is appointed unto man once to die, so Enoch has to die once in order for that Scripture to be fulfilled. Spiritual scholars have attributed the fulfilment of the prophecies of Enoch being revealed in Revelation 11 of which we find the return of Enoch with a second reprimand of the world for three and a half years. Wearing sackcloth and perhaps with Elijah for company - we may finally be able to account of his life and times after hearing what he has to say in those days to come - until we see him finally die, lay lifeless for three days and then rise up into the heavens yet again.

- David Chariot

Book 1: The Watchers

Chapter 1

The Words of the Blessing of Enoch

1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the days of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless are to be removed.

2 And Enoch, a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God took up his parable and said, "I saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, which the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come."

3 Concerning the elect I said, and took up my parable concerning them: "The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,

4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, even on Mount Sinai and will appear in the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens.

5 And all shall be smitten with fear and the Watchers shall quake, and great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken and the high hills shall be made low, and shall melt like wax before the flame.

7 And the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder and all that is upon the earth shall perish, and there shall be a judgement upon all.

8 But with the righteous He will make peace.

And will protect the elect,

And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,

And they shall be prospered,

And they shall all be blessed.

And He will help them all,

And light shall appear unto them,

And He will make peace with them.

9 And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones to execute judgement upon all, And to destroy all the ungodly: And to convict all flesh Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him."

Chapter 2

The Creation

1 Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, and the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order.

2 Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, how steadfast they are, how none of the things upon earth change, but all the works of God appear to you. Behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.

3 Observe and see how in the winter all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with growing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

5 Observe ye how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed and know with regard to all His works, and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

6 And all His works go on thus from year to year for ever, and all the tasks which they accomplish for Him, and their tasks change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.

7 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and change not their tasks from His commandments.

8 But ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord, But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words With your impure mouths against His greatness. Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

9 Therefore shall ye execrate your days, and the years of your life shall perish, and the years of your destruction shall be multiplied in eternal abomination, and ye shall find no mercy.

10 In those days ye shall make your names an eternal abomination unto all the righteous, and by you shall all who curse, curse. All the sinners and godless shall imprecate by you. And for you, the godless there shall be a curse."

11 And all the righteous shall rejoice, and there shall be forgiveness of sins, and every mercy and peace and forbearance.

12 There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

13 And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation but on you all shall abide the curse of the beast.

14 But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, and they shall inherit the earth.

15 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom, and they shall all live and never again sin either through ungodliness or through pride: But they who are wise shall be humble.

16 And they shall not again transgress, nor shall they sin all the days of their life, nor shall they die of anger or wrath but they shall complete the number of the days of their life.

17 And their lives shall be increased in peace, and the years of their joy shall be multiplied in eternal gladness and peace all the days of their life.

Chapter 3

Fallen Angels

1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters.

2 And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: "Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children."

3 And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: "I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin."

4 And they all answered him and said: "Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing."

5 Then swore they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it.

6 And these are the names of their leaders: Samlazaz, their leader, Araklba, Rameel, Kokabel, Tamlel, Ramlel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal, Asael, Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaqllel, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel. These are their chiefs of tens.

7 And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them.

8 And they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants.

9 And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind.

10 And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

11 And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures.

12 And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways.

13 Semjaza taught enchantments and root-cuttings, Armaros the resolving of enchantments, Baraqijal taught astrology, Kokabel the constellations, Ezeqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araquel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon.

14 And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven.

Chapter 4

Intercession of Angels

1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth.

2 And they said one to another, "The earth made without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryingst up to the gates of heaven."

3 And now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause before the Most High."

4 And they said to the Lord of the ages, "Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, and God of the ages, the throne of Thy glory standeth unto all the generations of the ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou, and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee.

5 Thou seest what Azazel hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were in heaven, which men were striving to learn; and Samlazaz, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over his associates.

6 And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness.

7 And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying out making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth.

8 And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do

to them in regard to these."

9 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech and said to him, "Go to Noah and tell him in my name 'Hide thyself!' and reveal to him the end that is approaching, that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world."

10 And again the Lord said to Raphael, "Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire.

11 And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel, to him ascribe all sin."

12 And to Gabriel said the Lord, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication and destroy the children of the Watchers from amongst men. Send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle, for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years."

13 And the Lord said unto Michael, "Go, bind Samlazaz and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever.

14 And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations. and destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers because they have wronged mankind.

15 Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end, and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear, and it shall prove a blessing; the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

16 And then shall all the righteous escape and shall live till they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace.

17 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessing.

18 And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.

19 And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness, and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth.

20 And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send upon it from generation to generation and for ever.

21 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men."

22 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him.

And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.

23 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of Majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me: "Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, declare to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves wives.

24 Say to them: 'Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth and ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin.'

25 And inasmuch as they delight themselves in their children the murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over the destruction of their children shall they lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."

26 And Enoch went and said: "Azazel, thou shalt have no peace, a severe sentence has gone forth against thee to put thee in bonds and thou shalt not have toleration nor request granted to thee, because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men."

27 Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven.

28 For from thenceforward they could not speak with Him nor lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned.

29 Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should have forgiveness and length.

30 And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon, I read their petition till I fell asleep.

31 And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw

visions of chastisement, and a voice came bidding me to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.

32 And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in Abelsjail, which is between Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered.

33 And I recounted before them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

Chapter 5

Book of the Words of Righteousness

1 The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision I saw in my sleep.

2 What I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to men to converse therewith and understand with the heart.

3 As He has created and given to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven.

4 "I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus, that your petition will not be granted unto you throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgement has been finally passed upon you.

5 Your petition will not be granted unto you. And from henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and in bonds of the earth the decree has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world.

6 And previously you shall have seen the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword.

7 And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own even though you weep and pray and speak all the words contained in the writing which I have written.

8 And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven.

9 And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and

surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright me.

10 And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor made of crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal.

11 Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was water.

12 A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its portals blazed with fire.

13 And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice. There were no delights of life therein; fear covered me, and trembling got hold upon me.

14 And as I quaked and trembled, I fell upon my face and I beheld a vision, and lo! there was a second house, greater than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire.

15 And in every respect it so excelled in splendor and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendor and its extent.

16 And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne, its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim.

17 And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon.

18 And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow.

19 None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory and no flesh could behold Him.

20 The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him; ten thousand times ten thousand were before Him, yet He needed no counselor.

21 And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: "Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word."

22 And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and He made me rise up and approach the door, and I bowed my face downwards.

23 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: "Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness. Approach hither and hear my voice.

24 And go, say to the Watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them: 'You should intercede for men, and not men for you. Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants as your sons.

25 And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those also do who die and perish.

26 Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth.

27 But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling.

28 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling.

29 Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men and from the Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called.

30 And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and

work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble. They take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences.

31 And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them.

32 From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giants, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement, thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgement in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated.

33 And now as to the Watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been aforetime in heaven, say to them: "You have been in heaven, but all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

34 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."

Chapter 6

Taken by Angels

1 Angels took and brought me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and when they wished, they appeared as men.

2 And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven.

3 And I saw the places of the luminaries and the treasures of the stars and of the thunder and in the uttermost depths, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, and a fiery sword and all the lightnings.

4 And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun.

5 And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards the west.

6 I saw the great rivers and came to the great river and to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow.

7 I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

8 I saw the treasures of all the winds, I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth.

9 And I saw the corner-stone of the earth, I saw the four winds which bear the firmament of the heaven.

10 And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven, and have their station between heaven and earth: these are the pillars of the heaven.

11 I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and all the stars to their setting.

12 I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw the paths of the angels.

13 I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above and I proceeded and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones.

14 Three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, was of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth, and those towards the south of red stone.

15 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was of sapphire.

16 And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains is a region the end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed.

17 And I saw a deep abyss, with columns of heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards the height and towards the depth.

18 And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no birds, but it was a waste and horrible place.

19 I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains, and to me, when I inquired regarding them. The angel said: "This place is the end of heaven and earth. This has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven.

20 And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times.

21 And He was wroth with them, and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated for ten thousand years."

22 And Uriel said to me: "Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women, and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods.

23 Here shall they stand, till the day of the great judgement in which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens."

24 And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

Chapter 7

The Holy Angels

1 And these are the names of the holy angels who watch mankind.

2 Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world and over Tartarus.

3 Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.

4 Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.

5 Michael, one of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind and over chaos.

6 Saraqael, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit.

7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim.

8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise.

9 And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible.

10 And there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire.

11 Then I said: "For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?"

12 Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: "Enoch, why dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the

commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated."

13 And from thence I went to another place, which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing. A great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of fire. Neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture.

14 Then I said: "How fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!"

15 Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: "Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?"

16 And I answered: "Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain."

17 And he said unto me: "This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever."

18 And thence I went to another place, the mountain of hard rock.

19 And there was in it four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. How smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at.

20 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: "These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period, till the great judgement upon them."

21 I saw a dead man making suit, and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: "This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?"

22 And he answered me saying: "This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is

destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men."

23 The I asked regarding it, and regarding all the hollow places: "Why is one separated from the other?"

24 And he answered me and said unto me: "These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime.

25 Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners.

26 Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence."

27 The I blessed the Lord of glory and said: "Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever."

28 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but regularly.

29 And I asked saying: "What is this which rests not?"

30 Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said unto me: "This course of fire which thou hast seen is the fire in the west which persecutes all the luminaries of heaven."

31 And from thence I went to another place of the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burnt day and night.

32 And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: three towards the east, one founded on the other, and three towards the south, one upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other.

33 And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne.

34 And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever: and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm.

35 Then I said: "How beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance."

36 Then answered Michael, one of the holy and honored angels who was with me, and was their leader.

37 And he said unto me: "Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree, and why dost thou wish to learn the truth?"

38 Then I answered him saying: "I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree."

39 And he answered saying: "This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring to its consummation for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

40 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad, and into the holy place shall they enter; and its fragrance shall be in their bones, and they shall live a long life on earth. Such as thy fathers lived; and in their days shall no sorrow or plague or

torment or calamity touch them."

41 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

42 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place in which there were trees with branches abiding and blooming.

43 And there I saw a holy mountain, and underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow ravine: in it also ran a stream underneath the mountain.

44 And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine deep and dry between them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three mountains.

45 And all the ravines were deep and narrow, of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon them. And I marveled at the rocks, and I marveled at the ravine, yea, I marveled very much.

46 Then said I: "For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this accursed valley between?"

47 Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said: "This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever. Here shall all the accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things. Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement.

48 In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King. In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them."

49 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His glory and lauded Him gloriously.

50 And thence I went towards the east, into the midst of the mountain range of

the desert, and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants. And water gushed forth from above. Rushing like a copious watercourse towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to ascend on every side.

51 And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range. And there I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

52 And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley of water. And therein there was a tree, the color of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

53 And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were groves of trees, and there flowed forth from them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain to the east of the ends of the earth, whereon were aloe-trees, and all the trees were full of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

54 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

55 And thence I went over the summits of all these mountains, far towards the east of the earth, and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel.

56 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and from afar off I saw numerous trees, and these great-two trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the Tree of Knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.

57 That tree is in height like the strangler fig, and its leaves are like the Carob tree, and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar.

58 Then I said: "How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!"

59 Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said: "This

is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden."

60 And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.

61 And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me.

62 He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me; also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

63 And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth.

64 And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.

65 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the east, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

66 And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, and wind. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals above them.

67 Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them.

68 And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

Book 2: The Parables

Chapter 1

The First Parable

1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom, which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw.

2 And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: "Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare to the men of old times, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom."

3 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

4 The first Parable.

When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, and sinners shall be judged for their sins, and shall be driven from the face of the earth:

5 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous, whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits, and light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth, where then will be the dwelling of the sinners, and where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born.

6 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged, and the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect.

7 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted: And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy, for the Lord of Spirits has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

8 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish and be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.

9 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits for their life is at an end.

10 And it shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children will descend from the high heaven, and their seed will become one with the children of men.

11 And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.

12 And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

13 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, and set me down at the end of the heavens.

14 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous.

15 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels and their resting places with the holy.

16 And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men, and righteousness flowed before them as water, and mercy like dew upon the earth: Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.

17 And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith, and I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.

18 And righteousness shall prevail in his days, and the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

19 And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be strong as fiery lights, and their mouth shall be full of blessing, and their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits, and righteousness before Him shall never fail.

20 There I wished to dwell, and my spirit longed for that dwelling place, and there heretofore hath been my portion. For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.

21 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits.

22 For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation unto generation."

23 Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits."

24 And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever." And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

25 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits.

26 And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

27 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.

28 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

29 And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits.

30 And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

31 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth.

32 After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: "Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?"

33 And he said to me: "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel."

34 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

35 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance.

36 And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

37 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and these I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth.

38 And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world.

39 And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together.

40 And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever.

41 And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

42 And they give thanks and praise and rest not. For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.

43 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse, and the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord. Who made a separation between the light and the darkness, and divided the spirits of men, and strengthened the spirits of the righteous in the name of His righteousness.

44 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

45 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell, then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

46 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men and found no dwelling-place.

47 Wisdom returned to her place and took her seat among the angels.

48 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers: Whom she sought not she found and dwelt with them, as rain in a desert and dew on a thirsty land.

49 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him.

50 And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and their revolution according to the number of the angels, and they keep faith with each other.

51 And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden:
"What are these?"

52 And he said to me: "The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning: these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever."

53 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

Chapter 2

The Second Parable

1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend, and on the earth they shall not come. Such shall be the lot of the sinners who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits. Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try their works, and their places of rest shall be innumerable. And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine Elect Ones.

4 And those who have called upon My glorious name: Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.

5 And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing; and I will cause Mine Elect Ones to dwell upon it: But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones and have caused them to dwell before Me: But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me, so that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

7 And there I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

8 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days.

9 And he answered and said unto me: "This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness. With whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden. Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

and whose lot hath preeminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

10 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats and shall loosen the reins of the strong, and break the teeth of the sinners. Because they do not extol and praise Him, Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

11 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong, and shall fill them with shame. Darkness shall be their dwelling and worms shall be their bed. They shall have no hope of rising from their beds because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

12 These are they who judge the stars of heaven, tread upon the earth, and dwell upon it.

13 All their deeds manifest unrighteousness and their power rests upon their riches.

14 Their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands and they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits.

15 They persecute the houses of His congregations and the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

16 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous and the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.

17 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens shall unite with one voice and supplicate and pray and praise, give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits on behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed.

18 And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, that judgement may be done unto them and that they may not have to suffer for ever."

19 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him, and all His host which is in heaven above and His counselors stood before Him.

20 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy because the number of the righteous had been offered, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

21 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness, which was inexhaustible; and around it were many fountains of wisdom. All the thirsty drank of them and were filled with wisdom and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.

22 And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and His name before the Head of Days.

23 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

24 "He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall and he shall be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

25 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before Him, and will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.

26 And for this reason hath He been chosen and hidden before Him, before the creation of the world and for evermore.

27 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed Him to the holy and righteous for He hath preserved the lot of the righteous because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness and have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits: For in his name they are saved and according to His good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

28 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become and the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands. For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not save themselves and I will give them over into the hands of Mine Elect.

29 As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy: As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous and no trace of them

shall any more be found.

30 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth, and before them they shall fall and not rise again. There shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed One. The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

31 For wisdom is poured out like water, and glory faileth not before Him for evermore.

32 For He is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness and unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow and have no continuance. Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits and His glory is for ever and ever and His might unto all generations.

33 And in Him dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

34 And He shall judge the secret things and none shall be able to utter a lying word before Him for He is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

35 In those days a change shall take place for the Holy and Elect, and the Light of Days shall abide upon them and glory and honor shall turn to the holy.

36 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners. And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits and He will cause the others to witness that they may repent and forgo the works of their hands.

37 They shall have no honor through the name of the Lord of Spirits yet through His name shall they be saved, and the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them for His compassion is great.

38 And He is righteous also in His judgement and in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself: At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

39 And from henceforth, I will have no mercy on them." saith the Lord of Spirits.

40 In those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it. Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, and hell shall give back that which it owes.

41 For in those days the Elect One shall arise and He shall choose the righteous and holy from among them.

42 For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.

43 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne and His mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel for the Lord of Spirits hath given to Him and hath glorified Him.

44 In those days shall the mountains leap like rams and the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and the faces of the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

45 And the earth shall rejoice and the righteous shall dwell upon it and the Elect shall walk thereon.

46 And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden, for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west.

47 There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

48 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, "What things are these which I have seen in secret?"

49 And he said unto me: "All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that He may be potent and mighty on the earth."

50 And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: "Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of

Spirits.

51 And these mountains which thine eyes have seen, the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead.

52 All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One as wax before the fire, and like the water which streams down from above and they shall become powerless before his feet.

53 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved either by gold or by silver and none be able to escape.

54 And there shall be no iron for war. Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate. Bronze shall be of no service, and tin shall not be esteemed, and lead shall not be desired.

55 And all these things shall be destroyed from the surface of the earth."

56 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.

57 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.

58 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "For whom are these chains being prepared?"

59 And he said unto me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded."

60 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.

61 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth.

62 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine.

63 And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And when they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.

64 And after that, the Head of Days repented and said: "In vain have I destroyed all who dwell on the earth."

65 And He swore by His great name: "Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth and I will set a sign in the heaven and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever. So long as heaven is above the earth and this is in accordance with My command.

66 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain because of this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them." saith God, the Lord of Spirits.

67 Ye mighty kings who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One. How He sits on the throne of glory and judges Azazel and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

68 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze.

69 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "To whom are these who hold the scourges going?"

70 And he said unto me: "To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley."

71 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved, and the days of their lives shall be at an end, and the days of their leading astray shall not

thenceforward be reckoned.

72 And in those days the angels shall return and hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes.

73 They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them and they shall rouse them from their thrones that they may break forth as lions from their lairs and as hungry wolves among their flocks.

74 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones but the city of the righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.

75 And they shall begin to fight among themselves and their right hand shall be strong against themselves.

76 And a man shall not know his brother nor a son his father or his mother till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter and their punishment be not in vain.

77 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws and they shall be swallowed up therein. Their destruction shall be at an end. Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect."

78 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south.

79 And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day.

80 And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

Chapter 3

The Third Parable

1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and Elect for glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun and the elect in the light of eternal life.

4 The days of their life shall be unending and the days of the holy without number.

5 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits.

6 There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.

7 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven that they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith.

8 For it has become bright as the sun upon earth and the darkness is past.

9 And there shall be a light that never ends and to a limit of days they shall not come.

10 For the darkness shall first have been destroyed and the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

11 In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute, and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth.

12 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard.

13 And He caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they

be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.

14 And after that, all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.

15 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch.

16 In that parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand were disquieted with a great disquiet.

17 And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

18 And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me, and my loins gave way, and dissolved were my reins, and I fell upon my face.

19 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven.

20 And Michael said unto me: Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth.

21 And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain, that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

22 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers.

23 Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience."

24 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters.

25 But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits created.

26 And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses of the sea and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness.

27 And he said to me: "Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden."

28 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven.

29 And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and how the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names and how all the divisions are divided.

30 And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey.

31 For the thunder has places of rest assigned to it while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together through the spirit and separate not.

32 For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth.

33 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains of the earth.

34 And the spirit of the hoarfrost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel.

35 And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength; there is a special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is Frost.

36 And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is glorious both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel.

37 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other.

38 And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on the earth.

39 For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels take it in charge.

40 And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.

41 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: "These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed."

42 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

43 And I asked the angel, saying unto him: "Why have those angels taken these

cords and gone off?"

44 And he said unto me: "They have gone to measure."

45 And the angel who went with me said unto me: "These shall bring the measures of the righteous and the ropes of the righteous to the righteous. That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

46 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect, and those are the measures which shall be given to faith and which shall strengthen righteousness.

47 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth. And those who have been destroyed by the desert, and those who have been devoured by the beasts, and those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea. That they may return and stay themselves on the day of the Elect One; for none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits, and none can be destroyed."

48 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

49 And that One with their first words they blessed and extolled and lauded with wisdom.

50 And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

51 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect one on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, and in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.

52 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: "Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One."

53 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory and the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon Him.

54 And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners, and all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

55 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, and the exalted and those who hold the earth, and they shall see and recognize how He sits on the throne of His glory.

56 And righteousness is judged before him and no lying word is spoken before him.

57 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail when her child enters the mouth of the womb and she has pain in bringing forth.

58 And one portion of them shall look on the other and they shall be terrified, and they shall be downcast of countenance, and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory.

59 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

60 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden and the Most High preserved Him in the presence of His might, and revealed Him to the elect.

61 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown and all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

62 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth shall fall down before Him on their faces and worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, and petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

63 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them that they shall hastily go forth from His presence, and their faces shall be filled with shame, and the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

64 And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect.

65 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect: They shall rejoice over them because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them and His sword is drunk with their blood.

66 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, and they shall never

thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

67 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man shall they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

68 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth and ceased to be of downcast countenance.

69 And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory and these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits: And your garments shall not grow old. Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

70 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits and confess their sins before Him.

71 And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say: "Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings, and the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich, and the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom, and splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation, and Thy glory for ever and ever.

72 Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable, and Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning. We have now learnt that we should glorify and bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings."

73 And they shall say: "Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks and confess our faith before His glory! And now we long for a little rest but find it not. We follow hard upon and obtain not, and light has vanished from before us, and darkness is our dwelling—place for ever and ever.

74 For we have not believed before Him nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits but our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom, and in our own glory.

75 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not and we find no respite for confession that our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice, and His judgements have no respect of persons.

76 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works and all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness."

77 Now they shall say unto themselves: "Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the burden of Sheol."

78 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness and shame before that Son of Man, and they shall be driven from his presence, and the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

79 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: "This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits."

80 And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: "These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin."

Book 3: The Book of Noah

Chapter 1

Birth of Noah

1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son.

2 And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright.

3 And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of righteousness.

4 And his father Lamech was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah.

5 And he said unto him: "I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious.

6 And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayest go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is amongst the angels."

7 And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him.

8 And I said unto him: "Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast thou come to me?"

9 And he answered and said: "Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached.

10 And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like mans nature, and the color of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and thereupon lighted up the whole house.

11 And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven.

12 And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayest make known to me the truth."

13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: "The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord.

14 And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begot children by them.

15 And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity.

16 Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year.

17 And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die he and his sons shall be saved.

18 And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.

19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read in the heavenly tablets.

20 And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes upon it.

21 And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that is no lie."

22 And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

Chapter 2

Calling Enoch

1 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh.

2 And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch.

3 Noah said three times with an embittered voice: "Hear me, hear me, hear me."

4 And I said unto him: "Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?"

5 And thereupon there was a great commotion, on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face.

6 And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: "Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?"

7 A command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers, the most secret ones.

8 And all the power of those who practice sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images. For the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is preeminent."

9 And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: "Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth.

10 And He said unto me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed."

11 And these, they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy and will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth. And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honors, and from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever."

13 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruction on all who dwell on the earth.

14 And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth that they should not cause the waters to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters.

15 And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

Chapter 3

Judgement of Angels

1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me:
"Noah, thy lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness.

2 And now the angels are working, and when they have completed their task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitant.

3 And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be unfruitful on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord."

4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.

5 And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters.

6 And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray burned beneath that land.

7 And through its valleys proceed streams of fire where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body.

9 For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name.

10 And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word.

11 For the judgement shall come upon them because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord.

12 And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change and become cold.

13 And I heard Michael answering and saying: "This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.

14 Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever."

Chapter 4

Secrets of the Parables

1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables.

2 And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: "The power of the spirit transports and makes me to tremble because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before which they melt away?"

3 And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: "Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement that has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?"

4 And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: "I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion, but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever."

5 And after this judgement they shall terrify and make them to tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

6 And behold the names of those angels: the first of them is Samjaza, the second Artaqifa, and the third Armen, the fourth Kokabel, the fifth Turael, the sixth Rumjal, the seventh Danjal, the eighth Neqaël, the ninth Baraqel, the tenth Azazel, the eleventh Armaros, the twelfth Batarjal, the thirteenth Busasejal, the fourteenth Hananel, the fifteenth Turel, and the sixteenth Simapesiel, the seventeenth Jetrel, the eighteenth Tumaël, the nineteenth Turel, the twentieth Rumaël, the twenty-first Azazel.

7 And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones

over hundreds and over fifties and over tens.

8 The name of the first Jecon: that is, the one who led astray the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men.

9 And the second was named Asbeel: he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men.

10 And the third was named Gadreel: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore.

11 And the fourth was named Penemue: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power it is consuming men.

12 And the fifth was named Kasdeja: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smithings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat the son of the serpent named Tabaet.

13 And this is the task of Kasbeel, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqa.

14 This angel requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men.

15 And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed

this oath Akae in the hand of Michael.

16 These are the secrets of this oath and they are strong through his oath: The heaven was suspended before the world was created, and for ever.

17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water and from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters from the creation of the world and unto eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created and as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of anger, and it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast and abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.

20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course and deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course and He calls them by their names, and they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 And this oath is mighty over them and through it their paths are preserved and their course is not destroyed.

23 And there was great joy amongst them, and they blessed and glorified and extolled because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

24 And he sat on the throne of His glory and the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man, and He caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth, and those who have led the world astray.

25 With chains shall they be bound and in their assemblage place of destruction shall they be imprisoned, and all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

26 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible; For that Son of Man has appeared and has seated himself on the throne of His glory.

27 All evil shall pass away before His face and the word of that Son of Man

shall go forth and be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

Book 4: The Kingdom of Heaven

Chapter 1

Enoch is Taken

1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth.

2 And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them.

3 And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them and He set me between the two winds, between the North and the West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous.

4 And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

5 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated and it ascended into the heavens I saw the holy sons of God.

6 They were stepping on flames of fire: Their garments were white and their faces shone like snow.

7 And I saw two streams of fire and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

8 And the angel Michael seized me by my right hand and lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets, and he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

9 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven, and all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries, Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

10 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens and I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals and between those crystals tongues of living fire.

11 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire and on its four sides were streams full of living fire, and they girt that house.

12 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubic, and Ophannin: And these are they who sleep not and guard the throne of His glory.

13 And I saw angels who could not be counted. A thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand encircling that house.

14 And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, and the holy angels who are above the heavens go in and out of that house.

15 And they came forth from that house, and Michael and Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, and many holy angels without number.

16 And with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool, and His raiment indescribable.

17 And I fell on my face and my whole body became relaxed, and my spirit was transfigured; and I cried with a loud voice with the spirit of power and blessed and glorified and extolled.

18 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days.

19 And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

20 And He came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me: "This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness, and righteousness abides over Him, and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes Him not."

21 And he said unto me: "He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come; for from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world, and so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

22 And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh Him.

23 With Him will be their dwelling places, and with Him their heritage, and they

shall not be separated from Him for ever and ever and ever.

24 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man and the righteous shall have peace and an upright way in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

Chapter 2

The Luminaries

1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide showed me.

2 And he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity.

3 And this is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary the sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven, and its setting in the western portals of the heaven.

4 And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and six portals in which the sun sets and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals.

5 And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire.

6 The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate portal and shines in the face of the heaven.

7 In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season.

8 When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven.

9 And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning.

10 On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

11 And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal.

12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts.

13 And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign.

14 On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts.

15 And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal and rises from it and sets thirty mornings.

16 And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven.

17 And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal.

18 On that day the day decreases by two parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

19 And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the

west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west.

20 On that day the day is equalized with the night, and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts.

21 And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal.

22 And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts.

23 And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns to the east and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets in the second portal in the west of the heaven.

24 And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts.

25 And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven.

26 And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six.

27 And the sun has traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it.

28 And on that night has the night decreased in length by a ninth part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts.

29 And the sun has returned and entered into the second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting.

30 And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight.

31 And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven.

32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four.

33 And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course of the sun these distinctions are made.

34 So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter.

35 And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises for ever and ever.

36 And that which rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded.

37 As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but as regards size they are both equal.

38 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.

39 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in measure.

40 And her rising and setting change every month and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun.

41 And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the portal where

the sun rises.

42 And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, the fourteenth part of her light.

43 And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof.

44 And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning in the commencement of the lunar day the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them.

45 And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the thirteen parts.

46 And I saw another course, a law for her, how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution.

47 And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished.

48 In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west.

49 And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course.

50 In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle portals the third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth.

51 And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days,

until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days.

52 And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the sun goes forth.

53 Thus I saw their position, how the moons rose and the sun set in those days.

54 And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days.

55 And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days.

56 And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days.

57 In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days.

58 For the moon alone the days amount in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind to the sun there is 5 to be added 62 days.

59 And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days 6 in 8 years amount to 21,832 days.

60 For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days, all the 17 days she falls behind in 8 years are 80.

61 And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world–stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it rises and sets 30 days.

62 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days,

being inseparable from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year.

63 And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries truly render service on the world—stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations.

64 For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen on the earth and be leaders for the day and the night and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of the heaven.

65 In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me open in the circumference of the suns chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons.

66 And for the winds and the spirit of the dew when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.

67 As for the twelve portals in the heaven at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west.

68 There are many windows open to the left and right of them, and one window at its season produces warmth, corresponding to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them and wherein they set corresponding to their number.

69 And I saw chariots in the heaven, running in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set.

70 And one is larger than all the rest and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

71 And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the quarters from which the winds go forth and blow over the earth.

72 Three of them are open on the face of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right of the heaven, and three on the left.

73 And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the north, and three after those on the left of the south, and three of the west.

74 Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

75 And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat, and destruction.

76 And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which lies toward the north come cold and drought.

77 And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind.

78 And through the middle portal next to it there come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health.

79 And through the third portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

80 And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

81 And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoarfrost, and snow and rain, and dew and locusts.

82 And after these four are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth dew and hoarfrost, and cold and snow and frost.

83 And from the middle portal come forth dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth drought and desolation, and burning and destruction.

84 And the twelve portals of the four quarters of the heaven are therewith completed and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

85 And the first quarter is called the east because it is the first. And the second, the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever descend.

86 And the west quarter is named the diminished because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down.

87 And the fourth quarter named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

88 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth and thence comes forth hoarfrost, and days, seasons, and years pass away.

89 I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the west pours its waters into the Great Sea.

90 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east.

91 And the remaining, four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, two of them to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there and some say, into the desert.

92 Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

93 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjares, and the second Tomas.

94 And the moon has four names: the first name is Asonja, the second Ebla, the third Benase, and the fourth Erae.

95 These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike.

96 In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted.

97 And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals on the face of the heaven.

98 And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven: the light becomes full in her : on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light.

99 And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by fourteenth parts.

100 And in her waning decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth.

101 And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight.

102 And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun.

103 During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days her light is accomplished in the heaven, and when she is illumined throughout, her light is

accomplished full in the heaven.

104 And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun.

105 On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end and her circumference is empty, void of light.

106 And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty–nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first portal for one hundred and seventy–seven days.

107 And in the time of her going out she appears for three months thirty days each, and for three months she appears twenty–nine each.

108 At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

109 And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.

110 And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this 4 sixth portal her light is accomplished.

111 And after that there is the beginning of the waning which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy–seven days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty–five and two days.

112 She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which thou seest has been traversed.

113 Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel,

who is their leader, showed unto me.

Chapter 3

Heavenly Tablets

1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: "Behold, I have shown thee everything Enoch and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened and their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields.

3 And all things on the earth shall alter and shall not appear in their time: The rain shall be kept back and the heaven shall withhold it.

4 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward and shall not grow in their time, and the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

5 And the moon shall alter her order and not appear at her time.

6 And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening on the extremity of the great chariot in the west and shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

7 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order and these shall alter their orbits and tasks and not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

8 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners and the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them. And they shall be altered from all their ways. Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.

9 And evil shall be multiplied upon them, and punishment shall come upon them so as to destroy all."

10 And He said unto me: "Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets and read what is written thereon, and mark every individual fact."

11 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations.

12 And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world.

13 And I extolled the Lord because of His patience and blessed Him because of the children of men.

14 And after that I said: "Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written, and against whom no day of judgement shall be found."

15 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: "Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator.

16 One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy commands, that thou mayest teach thy children and record for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

17 Let thy heart be strong, for the good shall announce righteousness to the good; The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice and shall offer congratulation to one another.

18 But the sinners shall die with the sinners and the apostate go down with the apostate.

19 And those who practice righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men and be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.

20 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

Chapter 4

One Year to Record

1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee! and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy fathers hand, and see that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children and thy children that shall be to thee, that they may give it to their children for generations, this wisdom that passeth their thought.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep but shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom and it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners.

5 In the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days.

6 Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the whole reckoning of the year: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately.

7 For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded for ever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

8 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, to whom the Lord of the whole creation of the world

hath subjected the host of heaven.

9 And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men, sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots.

10 And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

11 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.

12 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder the four parts of the year.

13 And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division.

14 And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Milkiel, Helemmelek, and Melejal, and Narel.

15 And the names of those who lead them: Adnarel, and Ijasusael, and Elomeel - these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.

16 In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named Tamaini and sun, and all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days.

17 And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered.

18 And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berkael, Zelebsel, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilujaseph: and the days of the dominion of this are at an end.

19 The next leader after him is Helemmelek, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of days on the earth: glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion.

20 These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gidaljal, Keel, and Heel, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfael: and the days of his dominion are at an end.

Chapter 5

Visions

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before thee.

2 Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other. The first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother I saw a terrible vision.

3 And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalaleel I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to the earth.

4 And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent from their stems and hurled down and sunk in the abyss.

5 And thereupon a word fell into my mouth and I lifted up to cry aloud, and said: "The earth is destroyed!"

6 And my grandfather Mahalaleel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me: "Why dost thou cry so my son, and why dost thou make such lamentation?"

7 And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me: "A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream vision as to the secrets if all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with a great destruction.

8 And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great destruction."

9 After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my

prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah.

10 And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as He had known it in the beginning then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, and He ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto Him.

11 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh which God has made for the children of the flesh of men that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

12 "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King, Great and mighty in Thy greatness, Lord of the whole creation of the heaven, King of kings and God of the whole world.

13 And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever, and throughout all generations Thy dominion; and all the heavens are Thy throne for ever, and the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

14 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things and nothing is too hard for Thee.

15 Wisdom departs not from the place of Thy throne nor turns away from Thy presence.

16 And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything and there is nothing hidden from Thee for Thou seest everything.

17 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass and upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.

18 And now, O God and Lord and Great King, I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer to leave me a posterity on earth and not destroy all the flesh of man and make the earth without inhabitant so that there should be an eternal destruction.

19 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed and hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord."

20 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son.

21 And Enoch lifted up and spake to his son Methuselah: "To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words—incline thine ear to the dream—vision of thy father.

22 Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red.

23 And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull.

24 But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him.

25 And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him.

26 And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more.

27 And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

28 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, many.

29 And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those

oxen.

30 And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began to live with each other.

31 And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them amongst them.

32 And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses.

33 And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns.

34 And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

35 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud.

36 And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place and three with them.

37 And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took me up away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me a tower raised high above the earth and all the hills were lower.

38 And one said unto me: "Remain here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them."

39 And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss.

40 Now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark.

41 And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them.

42 And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth stoned them from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were like those of horses and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

43 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret without his being terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon; and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in.

44 And again I raised mine eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure.

45 And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water.

46 And the water, the darkness, and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.

47 And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water.

48 But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, perished and sank into the depths.

49 And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were leveled up and other abysses were opened.

50 Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared.

51 But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

52 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull.

53 And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep.

54 And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves.

55 And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep.

56 And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed - cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord.

57 And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them.

58 And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep.

59 And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into

the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth.

60 And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceedingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud.

61 And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out.

62 And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power.

63 And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him: and his face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold.

64 But the wolves began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves.

65 And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and those wolves ran after them into that sea.

66 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered those wolves.

67 And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

68 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them.

69 And that sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the

sheep sent it to them.

70 And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face.

71 And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them which was amongst them: "We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him."

72 And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof.

73 And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away.

74 And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds.

75 And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds.

76 And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.

77 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water.

78 Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying.

79 And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep.

80 And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

81 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

82 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up another sheep a ram from their midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them all.

83 And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it forsook its glory and began to butt those sheep and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly.

84 And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had forsaken its glory.

85 And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep.

86 And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram.

87 And that second ram arose and led the little sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the 49sheep and robbed them no more of ought.

88 And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep and that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep.

89 A tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

90 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them.

91 And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there.

92 And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them.

93 And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place.

94 And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep.

95 And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts.

96 And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured by all the wild beasts.

97 But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.

98 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: "Let each individual of you pasture the sheep henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed and them destroy ye."

99 And He gave over unto them those sheep.

100 And He called another and spake unto him: "Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me."

101 And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions.

102 And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished that house.

103 And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

104 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them.

105 And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep.

106 And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep – everything

that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction.

107 And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

108 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able.

109 And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.

110 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them.

111 And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them and they did not save them out of the hand of the beasts.

112 And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds.

113 And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

114 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing, and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others receive them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period.

115 And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh.

116 And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep.

117 And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few.

118 And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

119 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep.

120 Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded.

121 And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.

122 And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.

123 And it looked at them and their eyes opened, and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it.

124 And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out.

125 And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

126 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

127 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.

128 And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.

129 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

130 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.

131 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him.

132 And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: "Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them."

133 And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.

134 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire.

135 And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss.

136 And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and

found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house.

137 And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

138 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land.

139 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

140 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing.

141 And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand who had taken me up before, and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgement took place.

142 And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean.

143 And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house.

144 And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not.

145 And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see.

146 And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.

147 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

148 And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

149 And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.

150 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory.

151 Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me.

152 On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.

Book 5: Epistle of Enoch

Chapter 1

The Guidance of Enoch

1 And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers and gather together to me all the sons of thy mother; For the word calls me, and the spirit is poured out upon me that I may show you everything that shall befall you for ever.

2 And there upon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.

3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said: "Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father, and hearken aright to the voice of my mouth for I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,
But walk in righteousness, my sons.

5 And it shall guide you on good paths, and righteousness shall be your companion.

6 For I know that violence must increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:
Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

7 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence,
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

8 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy,
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,
A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement,

To execute judgement on earth.

9 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

10 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,
And they shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.

11 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

12 And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword and the blasphemers destroyed in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.

13 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you the paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.

14 Yea, I will show them to you again that ye may know what will come to pass.

15 And now, listen to me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever."

Chapter 2

Wisdom of Enoch

1 The book written by Enoch – Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, praised of all men and a judge of all the earth for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

2 "Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times; For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep, shall arise and walk in the paths of righteousness and all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness, and He will give him power so that he shall be with goodness and righteousness.

5 And he shall walk in eternal light.

6 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever and shall no more be seen from that day for evermore."

7 And after that Enoch both gave and began to recount from the books.

8 And Enoch said: "Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world, and concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things.

9 Yea, I Enoch will declare unto you, my sons: According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels, and have learnt from the heavenly tablets."

10 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said:

11 "I was born the seventh in the first week, while judgement and righteousness

still endured.

12 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness, and deceit shall have sprung up; and in it there shall be the first end.

13 And in it a man shall be saved; and after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up, and a law shall be made for the sinners.

14 And after that in the third week at its close a man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

15 And after that in the fourth week, at its close, Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen, and a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

16 And after that in the fifth week, at its close, the house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

17 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded, and the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.

18 And in it a man shall ascend; and at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire, and the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

19 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise, and many shall be its deeds, and all its deeds shall be apostate.

20 And at its close shall be elected, the elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness to receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

21 For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled?

22 And who can think His thoughts?

23 And who is there that can behold all the works of heaven?

24 And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there

that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see all their ends and think them or do like them?

25 And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?

26 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?

27 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance but the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

28 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed and they shall hold themselves afar from them, and shall not follow them.

29 And now I say unto you the righteous: Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death, and draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

30 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, and walk in the paths of peace, and ye shall live and prosper.

31 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts and suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts; For I know that sinners will tempt men to evilly –entreat wisdom so that no place may be found for her, and no manner of temptation may minish.

32 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression and lay deceit as a foundation; For they shall be suddenly overthrown, and they shall have no peace.

33 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown and by the sword shall they fall.

34 And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.

35 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches and from your riches shall ye depart because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of

your riches.

36 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness, and have become ready for the day of slaughter, and the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.

37 Thus I speak and declare unto you: He who hath created you will overthrow you and for your fall there shall be no compassion, and your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

38 And your righteous ones in those days shall be a reproach to the sinners and the godless.

39 Oh that mine eyes were a cloud of waters that I might weep over you, and pour down my tears as a cloud of waters: That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

40 Who has permitted you to practice reproaches and wickedness?

41 And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.

42 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous; For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands, that ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.

43 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed: Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.

44 Woe to you who requite your neighbor with evil; For ye shall be requited according to your works.

45 Woe to you, lying witnesses, and to those who weigh out injustice, for suddenly shall ye perish.

46 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous; for ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice, and heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

47 Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you, and ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.

48 And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners your children shall mount and rise as eagles, and higher than the vultures will be your nest, and ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth, and the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous, and the sirens shall sigh because of you and weep.

49 Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered; For healing shall be your portion, and a bright light shall enlighten you, and the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.

50 Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous but your hearts convict you of being sinners, and this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of evil deeds.

51 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat and drink wine in large bowls, and tread under foot the lowly with your might.

52 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain; For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

53 Woe to you who work unrighteousness and deceit and blasphemy: It shall be a memorial against you for evil.

54 Woe to you, ye mighty, who with might oppress the righteous; For the day of your destruction is coming.

55 In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement."

Chapter 3

Wisdom of Enoch

1 Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame and perish in the day of unrighteousness.

2 Be it known unto you that the Most High is mindful of your destruction and the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

3 What will ye do, ye sinners, and whither will ye flee on that day of judgement when ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them against whom this word shall be a testimony: "Ye have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord and for you the days of your judgement shall come.

6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One and your faces shall be covered with shame, and He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say: "We have become rich with riches and have possessions and have acquired everything we have desired. And now let us do what we purposed: For we have gathered silver and many are the husbandmen in our houses. And our granaries are full as with water."

9 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away for your riches shall not abide but speedily ascend from you; For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness and ye shall be given over to a great curse.

10 And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish for ye shall have

manifold experiences on the earth.

11 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman and colored garments more than a virgin; In royalty and in grandeur and in power, and in silver and in gold and in purple, and in splendor and in food they shall be poured out as water.

12 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom and they shall perish thereby together with their possessions.

13 And with all their glory and their splendour, and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.

14 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave and a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman.

15 Even so, sin has not been sent upon the earth but man of himself has created it, and under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.

16 And barrenness has not been given to the woman but on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

17 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One; That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens and that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.

18 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High.

19 From henceforth ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of your judgement.

20 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: And ye transgress against the wise, and so good hap shall not be your portion.

21 And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day of destruction: Wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of

tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

22 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood: Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.

23 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: Wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? Know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you.

24 Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation of the righteous; For no grave shall be dug for you.

25 Woe to you who set at nought the words of the righteous; For ye shall have no hope of life.

26 Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; For they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards neighbors.

27 Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

28 Woe to you who work godlessness and glory in lying and extol them: Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

29 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness and transgress the eternal law, and transform themselves into what they were not into sinners: They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

30 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial, and place them as a testimony before the angels that they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.

31 In those days the nations shall be stirred up and the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

32 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children and they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them: Yea,

they shall abandon their children sucklings, and not return to them and shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

33 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed.

34 And they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

35 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts and their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts and through visions in their dreams.

36 Through these they shall become godless and fearful; For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie and shall have worshiped a stone: Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

37 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them, and observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness, and become not godless with the godless; For they shall be saved.

38 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbors; For you shall be slain in Sheol.

39 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures, and who cause bitterness on the earth; For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

40 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others, and all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin; I tell you ye shall have no peace.

41 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers and whose souls follow after idols; For they shall have no rest.

42 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression, and slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.

43 For He shall cast down your glory and bring affliction on your hearts, and shall arouse His fierce indignation and destroy you all with the sword; And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

44 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten and brothers one with another shall fall in death till the streams flow with their blood.

45 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons sons, and the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honored brother: From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

46 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners and the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

47 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places and gather together into one place all those who brought down sin and the Most High will arise on that day of judgement to execute great judgement amongst sinners.

48 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin, and though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.

49 And the children of the earth shall see the wise in security, and shall understand all the words of this book, and recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them in the overthrow of their sins.

50 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish, Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire: Ye shall be requited according to your works.

51 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who watch in order to devise wickedness: Therefore shall fear come upon you and there shall be none to help you.

52 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth, and on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness as wrought; In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.

53 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in

heaven, from the sun and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute judgement on the righteous.

54 And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they shall be mindful of your sins.

55 And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.

56 When the hoarfrost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow storms with all their plagues fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

Chapter 4

Wisdom of Enoch

1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him and work no evil in His presence.

2 If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then?

3 And if He sends His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace.

4 And see ye not the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in sore trouble?

5 And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go into the sea with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein.

6 Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand?

7 And at His reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; But ye sinners that are on the earth fear Him not.

8 Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?

9 Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?

10 Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

11 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you, whither will ye

flee, and where will ye find deliverance?

12 And when He launches forth His Word against you will you not be affrighted and fear? And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear and all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.

13 And all the angels shall execute their commandst and shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory, and the children of earth shall tremble and quake; and ye sinners shall be cursed for ever, and ye shall have no peace.

14 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous and be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

15 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief, and that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness but wait for the day of the judgement of sinners and for the day of cursing and chastisement.

16 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you: "As we die, so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap for their deeds? Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness and what have they more than we? From henceforth we are equal. And what will they receive and what will they see for ever? Behold, they too have died, And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."

17 I tell you, "Ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner of violence is found in them till their death?

18 Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

Chapter 5

Wisdom of Enoch

1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days.

2 Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is made of those who work evil; and an end of the might of the transgressors.

3 And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the fire shall they burn; for there is no earth there.

4 And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look over, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro.

5 And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: "What is this shining thing? For it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain."

6 And he said unto me: "This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets – the things that shall be.

7 For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God.

8 And of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture.

9 Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name.

10 And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books.

11 And he hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden under foot of wicked men and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, yet they blessed Me.

12 And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honor as their faithfulness deserved.

13 And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor.

14 And they shall be resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths.

15 And they shall see those who were, born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent.

16 And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed for them."

Chapter 6

Revelation of Enoch

1 I swear unto you that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One.

2 Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven, ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you.

3 And in your cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you.

4 Be hopeful, and cast not away your hopes for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven.

5 What shall ye be obliged to do?

6 Ye shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world.

7 And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways, be not companions with them, but keep afar from their violence; For ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven.

8 And, although the sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day.

9 And now I show unto you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins.

10 Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take

account of your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin.

11 And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practice great deceits, and write books concerning their words.

12 But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully – all that I first testified concerning them.

13 Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom.

14 And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them and then shall all the righteous who have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.

15 In those days the Lord bade to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: "Show unto them; for ye are their guides and a recompense over the whole earth.

16 For I and My son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen."

The Dead Sea Scrolls

This chart showing a listing of what scrolls were found in the Qumran caves is important to note in regards to the texts found therein as they include an associated body of work that is one in the same. Parts of the [Book of Giants](#) were found regarding Enoch in the caves as well. It would appear that whoever the scribe or group of people who stored away these scrolls, intended them for safe keeping as they represent a body of knowledge that has, curiously enough, been largely fought since their inception. When a researcher gets to a certain point they tend to realize that some information and studies surpass the understanding of the intellect alone but rather sequesters the heart to comprehend such mysteries of which the mind is unwilling.

The Dead Sea Scrolls

	TITLE	DESIGNATION		TITLE	DESIGNATION
SCRIPTURE	Fragments found from every book but Esther. Major Manuscripts: Isaiah Psalms				1QIs ² 11QPs
COMMENTARIES	Habakkuk	1QpHab		Zephaniah	1QpZeph(1Q15)
	Micah	1QpMic		Hosea	4QpHos
	Psalms 37	4QpPs37		Isaiah	4QpIsa
	Nahum	4QpNah			
SECTARIAN	Manual of Discipline	1QS		Benedictions	1QS ^b ; 1Q28 ^a
	War Scroll	1QM		Book of Mysteries	1QMyst; 1Q27
	Thanksgiving Hymns	1QH		Prayer for the Feast of Weeks	1Q34
	Damascus Document	CD; 4QD ^b ; 6QD		Angelic liturgy	4Q serek shir'ot 'olat ha-shabbat
	Rule of the Congregation	1QSa; 1Q28 ^b			
COLLECTIONS	Florilegium	4QFlor		Testimonia	4QTest
	Patriarchal Blessings	4QPatrBless		Ordinances	4QOrd
BIBLICAL SUPPLEMENTS	Genesis Apocryphon	1QApGen		Prayer of Nabonidus	4QNab
	Sayings of Moses	1QDibMos; 1Q22		Book of Jubilees	4QJub
	Testament of Levi	4QTLevi		Book of Enoch	4QEnoch

The Book of the Giants

The Book of the Giants was published in not less than six or seven languages. From the original Syriac the Greek and Middle Persian versions were made. The Sogdian edition was probably derived from the Middle Persian, the Uygur from the Sogdian. There is no trace of a Parthian text. The book may have existed in Coptic. The presence of names such as Sām and Narīmān in the Arabic version proves that it had been translated from the Middle Persian. To the few surviving fragments (texts A-G) I have added two excerpts, the more important of which (H) probably derives from a Syriac epitome of the book. Naturally, Manichæan authors quoted the book frequently, but there is only one direct citation by a non-Manichæan writer (text O). With the exception of text O, all the passages referring to the *Book of the Giants* (texts J-T) go back to Syriac writings (apparently). They are, therefore, to be treated as quotations from the Syriac edition. E.g. the Parthian text N is not the product of a Parthian writer who might have employed a Parthian version of the book, but was translated from a Syriac treatise whose author cited the Syriac text.

In their journey across Central Asia the stories of the *Book of the Giants* were influenced by local traditions. Thus, the translation of Ohya as Sām had in its train the introduction of myths appertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sā(h)m according to text I. The country of *Aryān-Vēžan* = *Airyana Vaējah*, in text G (26), is a similar innovation. The "Kögmän mountains" in text B may reflect the "Mount Hermon". The progeny of the fallen angels was confined in thirty-six towns (text S). Owing to the introduction of the Mount Sumeru, this number was changed (in Sogdiana) to *thirty-two* (text G, 22): "the heaven of Indra . . . is situated between the four peaks (cf. G 21) of the Meru, and consists of *thirty-two* cities of devas" (Eitel, *Handb. Chinese Buddhism*, 148, on *Trayastrimśat*).

Manuscript Mapping Key

(bed) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings,
[bed] = suggested restorations of missing letters.
= visible, but illegible letters.
[. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.
[] = a lacuna of undetermined extent.
(84)] = same, at the beginning of a line.

[(85 = same, at the end of a line.

In the translation parentheses are employed for explanatory remarks.

Bolded text of the translation fragments are of great importance and correlation with the books of Enoch.

NOTE: The text from multiple of these manuscripts is *badly damaged* but between the various versions of the book in different languages we have a general picture of what the Book of Giants is discussing if the book's very title isn't enough for the reader alone. Logical estimates according to the historical texts which tell of these giants living, seem to be around 3500BC and the manuscripts (presumably) being copied several times throughout the ages (considering any scribe would find copying an epic like this more than just a "great job," they probably did it for free; which explains why so many manuscripts exist of the book) are more than likely around 3000+ years old.

Translation to English

[INTRODUCTION]

(Frg. c) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sām said: "Blessed be . . . had [he ?] seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahmīzād said to Sām, his [son]: "All that Māhawai . . . , is spoilt (?)." Thereupon he said to . . . "We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (?) the fiery hell (?) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . ." Shahmīzād said: "It is true what he says. **He says one of thousands of giants.** For one of thousands . . . ". Sām thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until to that place he might escape (1) and . . .

(Frg. j) . . . Virōgdād . . . **Hōbābīš (a giant) robbed Ahr (a mortal man) of Naxtag, his wife.** Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other (30) . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag. To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (*or*: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag

saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Narīmān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . .

(Frg. l) **Enoch, the apostle**, . . . [gave] a message to [the demons and their] children: To you . . . not peace. [The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children. ruling for a hundred and twenty [years] . . . (50) . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat (?), gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?) of water (?) . . . and their oil shall be . . .

(Frg. k) . . . father . . . nuptials (?) . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . (60) . . . and in the nest(?) Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." **And the giants fought them together** . . . (67) "[Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . [Not the] . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, [but] (70) the strength of the ox (?). Not the . . . eagle, but his wings. Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers it. Not the proud [ruler], but the diadem on his [head. Not] the splendid cypress, but the . . . **giants of the mountain** . . .

(Frg. g) . . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit(?), but the poison in it. (80) [Not they that] are placed (?) in the skies but the God [of all] worlds. Not the servant is proud, but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . . , but the man that sent him". Thereupon Narīmān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) **another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven.** (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived in sin and evil deeds, when . . . (Note here that this passage is in the style of Enoch and is likely one of the many books Enoch gave to Methuselah to "preserve even unto future generations.")

(Frg. i) . . . many men and women were killed, **four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels veiled (or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch.** *Electae et auditrices* (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful women, and demanded . . . them in marriage. Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city .

. . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(*Frg. e*) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (*or*: shuts, fastens) and looses (*or*: opens, detaches) . . . who from the seeds of . . . and serves the king . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125) . . . the Pious gave . . . ? . . . presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god . . . (130) killing . . . the seven demons . . . eye . . .

(*Frg. b*) . . . various colours that by . . . and bile. If. . . from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is . . . this corpse . . . and not firm . . . Its ground is not firm . . . Like . . . (146) . . . imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves, [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [= *Āz*] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames . . . ? . . ., over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [*Zrwān* ?], in each epoch, sends apostles: Šīt[īl, Zarathushtra,] Buddha, Christ, . . .

(*Frg. h*) . . . evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

(160) . . . On the Hearers>

. . . we receive . . . from Mani, the Lord, . . . the Five Commandments to . . . the Three Seals . . . (164) . . . living . . . profession . . . and wisdom . . . moon. Rest from the power (*or*: deceit) . . . own. And keep measured the mixture (?) . . . trees and wells, in two . . . (170) water, and fruit, milk, . . . he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves . . .

(*Frg. f*) . . . much profit. Like a farmer . . . who sows seed . . . in many . . . The Hearer who . . . knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called) *frōšag* (180) [into] milk(?). It became hard, not . . . The part that ruin . . . at first heavy. Like . . . first . . . is honoured . . . might shine . . . (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter

to the king; he reaches (a position of) great honour. In the body of the Elect the (food given to to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a . . . that by fire and wind . . . beautiful clothes on a clean body . . . turn . . .

(*Frg. a*) . . . witness . . . fruit . . . (200) . . . tree . . . like firewood . . . like a grain (?) . . . radiance. The Hearer in [the world ?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea] : the towing-line (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the . . . , the . . . is the ?al]ms, the tower is [the . . . ?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. (214) . . . The Hearer . . . is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] . . . fruitless . . . and the Hearers . . . fruit that . . . (220) pious deeds. [The Elect,] the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, . . . , seed. They became partners . . . they reap and . . . The Hearer . . . like . . .

(*Frg. d*) . . . an image (?) of the king, cast of gold . . . (230) . . . the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his . . . to a . . . man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church, is like . . . pledge, who (= father ?) gave his son to . . . learn . . . to . . . father, pledge . . . (240) . . . Hearer. Again, the Hearer . . . is like . . . stumble . . . is purified. To . . . the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (*or*: Roman) who . . . infantrist, one shoe . . . who, however, with a denarius . . . was. The wind tore out one . . . he was abashed . . . from the ground . . . ground . . .

(*Frg. m*) . . . (250) . . . sent . . . The Hearer that makes one . . . , is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons . . . the enemy [killed] all . . . The Hearer that . . . piety . . . (258) . . . a well. One [on the shore of] the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].¹ He that is in the boat. . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . ? . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(*Frg. M 911*) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(*Frg. n*) . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

B. Uygur

LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 23. Bang, *Muséon*, xliv, 13-17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).

(*First page*) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (*orðu*) without increasing (? *ašilmätin* ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "Oh son of Virōgdād, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(*Second page*) . . . " . . for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmän mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, Virōgdād, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

C. Sogdian

M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . I shall see. Thereupon now S[āhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on M[āhawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall . . . and kill [you]. Then . . . the other g[iants] . . .

(*Second page*) . . . do not be afraid, for . . . [Sā]hm, the giant, will want to [kill] you, but I shall not let him . . . I myself shall damage . . . Thereupon Māhawai, the g[iant], . . . was satisfied . . .

D. Middle-Persian

Published *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 29.

. . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi ('yr), and the

giants that came out of the women. And over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .

E. Sogdian

T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . [when] they saw the apostle, . . . before the apostle . . . those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid. Then . . .

(*Second page*) . . . not to . . . Thereupon those powerful demons spoke thus to the pious apostle : If . . . by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed ?], my lord, why ? . . . you have . . . and weighty injunction . . .

F. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.

(*Col. A*) . . . poverty . . . **[those who] harassed the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of all conflagrations and the foundation of all ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons of ruin in those crevices and . . .**

(*Col. B*) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would this false power eternally. You . . . all this iniquity . . .

(*Col. C*) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on *your* account, so that *you* could see us, nor thus . . . ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . . , but . . .

(*Col. D*) . . . sinners is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self, confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, . . . -ers of the Living. . . . , who their . . .

(Col. E) . . . and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. blaze souls that . . .

(Col. F) . . . they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly (?) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that

G. Sogdian

T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a *wyδβ'γ cn pš'qt dywtyy* "Discourse on the Nephīlīm-demons"). Head-lines: *R: pš'n prβ'r "*. . . pronouncement", *V: iv fryštyt δn CC "The four angels with the two hundred* [demons . . . ". (Presumably this is where Enoch is addressing the 200 fallen angel leaders who petitioned him to take their case to God. It also coincides with the text later on revealing that four angels imprisoned multiple demons but precisely how many is not specified.)

. . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. **And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them the giants were sons . . . with each other in bodily union with each other self- and the that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the **Sumeru mountain**, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning. And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (or: were) in the first arts and crafts. (30) they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . **they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone****

EXCERPTS

H. Sogdian

T ii S 20. Sogdian script. Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalalaia". Only about a quarter (I R i-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: "γšt š'nš'y cnn 'β[c'n]pδ[yh w]prs = Here begins: Šanšai's question the world. Init. rty tym ZK š'nš'[y] [cnn] m'rm'ny rwyšny pr'yš[t'kw w'nk w']prs' 'yn'k 'βc'npδ ZY kw ZKh mrtymyt ('škw'nt) oo ckn'c pyδ'r "zy mrch 'zyr'nt = And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (*saṃsāra*, Chin. *shêng-szū*).

. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth, —**all that they began to teach (*hendiadys*) to the men.** To Šahmīzād two(?) sons were borne by One of them he named "Ohya"; in Sogdian he is called "Sāhm, the giant". And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him "Ahya"; its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pāt-Sāhm". **As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons** and Yakṣas. (*Colophon*) Completed: (the chapter on) "**The Coming of the two hundred Demons**".

I. Sogdian

M 500 n. Small fragment.

. . . . manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (*or*: you ?) shall not die". The giant Sāhm and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in

QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

J. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 120, V ii 1-5: and in the coming of the two hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour; these (*belong, or*: lead) to hell.

K. Sogdian

M 363.

(*First page*) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason: namely, **the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high**

heaven, and the

(*Second page*) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins are joined to the sphere. (*Colophon*) Completed: the exposition of the three worlds. (*Head-line*) Here begins: the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . . you should care and . . .

L. Coptic

Kephalaia, 171 16-19: Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were and **there descended those who were sent to confound them.** (Genesis 11)

M. Coptic

Kephalaia, 92 24-31: Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is ἔννοια, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . . , when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the **Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .**

N. Parthian

M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled 'rdhng wyfr's = Commentary on (Mani's opus) Ārdahang.

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (*lit.* comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyātīn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (*or:* on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, *or:* died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .

M 740. Another copy of this text.

O. Arabic, from Middle-Persian ?

Al-Ghaḍānfar (Abū Ishāq Ibn. b. Muḥ. al-Tibrīzī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's *Āthār al-bāqiyah*, Intr., p. xiv: The *Book of the Giants*, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narīmān.

P. Coptic

Keph. 9323-28: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour, **namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended to the earth,—on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.**

Q. Coptic

Manich. Psalm-book, ed. Allberry, 1427-9: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

Man. Homil., ed. Polotsky, 6818-19: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous were slain by the giants and many more **the years of Enoch** . . .

S. Coptic

Keph., 117 1-9: **Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains.** Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget who live a thousand years.

T. Parthian

291a. Order of pages unknown.

(*First page*) . . . mirror . . . image. . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was

veiled (= moved out of sight). They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goads . . .
. slaves, and waterless trees (?). **Then the arch angels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Istrael . . . and imprisoned the demons.** And of them . . . seven and twelve. (Possibly a numerical indication as to how many demons the archangels imprisoned?)

(*Second page*) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty- . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp. . . . in the palace he flamed forth (*or*: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . . , then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

U. Parthian

T ii D 58. From the end (. . . *r š t*) of a hymn.

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp, [in Aryā]n-Waižan Wahman and Zarēl The sovereign's queen, Khudōs, received the Faith, the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

V. Sogdian

M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . . ? . . . For so it is said: at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) the blessed denizens of the world . . . all assembled . . . all . . .

(*Second page*) . . . they offered five garlands in homage. And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them And acclamations . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

RECONSTRUCTED SUMMARY OF THE

BOOK OF GIANTS

CHAPTER ONE: The Watchers are grieved over the sins of mankind, and petition God to let them descend to the earth to teach the sons of men righteousness and to rebuke them. God grants their petition. Azazel is sent to prepare the way for the Watchers. Azazel prepares the way, and the Watchers descend and they begin to teach them righteousness and justice. Enoch is chosen by the Watchers to serve as a mediator between men and the Watchers.

CHAPTER TWO: The daughters of men lust after the attractive Watchers, and seduce them; Azazel, with Shemhazah's help, instigates the fall of the 200 Watchers and their followers. The Watchers fall from their glorious nature, and become bound to fleshly bodies as a consequence of their joining sexually to flesh. They begin to reveal to their wives heavenly and earthly secrets.

CHAPTER THREE: The Watchers have their own families with humans and also with animals, and those that were defiled by them give birth to Giants. These Giants begin to grow to massive sizes, and become full of greed and corruption. They kill many dragons and the sons of Cain worship them for protecting them. The children of Cain are no longer able to sustain the Giants with their offerings of vegetables and grain so the Giants turn on them and kill them and begin to eat them. The Giants develop a taste for blood and begin eating any moving thing including each other. The Watchers teach some of the secrets they were appointed over to keep from the sons of men. The Giants imitate the sins of their fathers, and take for themselves wives and animal mates, and they beget Naphil and Eliyo. God seeing all this wickedness, sends Enoch to declare to Shemhazah and the fallen Watchers that they will be soon punished for causing the earth to be corrupted.

CHAPTER FOUR: Enoch is sent by the righteous Watchers to rebuke the fallen Watchers and to declare to them their doom. He comes to Azazel first and condemns him as the principal sinner amongst the fallen Watchers. He then summons Mahaway to him and has him gather all the Watchers for his message. Enoch enters the assembly of the fallen Watchers, and gives them the message of doom. They weep and lament and beg Enoch to present to God their petition for mercy and a second chance - to restore them to their former glory and that their sons might have eternal life. They required a messenger to talk to God because

God had since stopped talking to them after their transgression. Enoch hears their case and tells them he will talk to God on their behalf.

CHAPTER FIVE: Enoch, having written the petition of the fallen Watchers and discussing it with God, receives a vision from God as a response, and Enoch writes the vision for the fallen Watchers in a book and gives the book to them. Enoch declares to them they will not be forgiven, and describes for them his ascent into the presence of God, where he was given a message for them.

CHAPTER SIX: Enoch received from God an answer for the fallen Watchers: he is told to tell them why they were not given permission to have sex, and what their punishment is because of it, and he foretells unto them the miserable doom and fate of the offspring of the fallen Watchers, and foretells to them that they will become evil spirits and will not have eternal life but that their years will be no more than 500. After hearing this the fallen Watchers and their Giant sons take up stones to throw at Enoch but the holy Watchers shield Enoch from their deadly blows and lift Enoch up into the heavens to escape their earthly wrath against Enoch the messenger. (This is perhaps the first time that anyone ever attempted to "kill the messenger.")

CHAPTER SEVEN: Hobabesh kidnaps another Giant's wife, and starts a war amongst the Giants. When the war was ending, one of Ohyah's companions was killed by Mahaway. Ohyah mourns with his father Shemhazah about his friend, and they curse Mahaway. Mahaway defends himself, appealing to the words of his father Baraqel as justification. Ohyah gets angry and attempts to kill Mahaway, but Gilgamesh and the other Giants prevent Ohyah from doing so, and they ward off Ohyah's murderous intentions. (This is where we learn about Gilgamesh slaying dragons, or dinosaurs and being a hero for the normal sized men of that time.)

CHAPTER EIGHT: Gilgamesh has a dream, but interprets it as indicating the Giants will not be punished. The Giants celebrate but aren't entirely convinced, and subsequent to this, Ohyah and Hahyah have dreams of their own. They seek the interpretation of the dreams, but none of the Giants can declare to them what the meaning of their dreams are, so the Giants have Mahaway go to Enoch in order to learn from him the meaning of the dreams and to learn what the fate of the Giants will be. Mahaway flies to Enoch, and Enoch greets Mahaway, and Mahaway explains why he came, and Enoch proceeds to give Mahaway the answer, and he writes it down in a tablet, and gives a second tablet as well to

Mahaway intended for Shemhazah and the Watchers, and he sends Mahaway back to the Giants with the two tablets.

CHAPTER NINE: Mahaway flies back to the Giants with the two tablets. And Mahaway tells them of his journey to Enoch and of Enoch saving his life, and tells them that Enoch had given him two tablets and revealed everything they had wanted to know from him. The first tablet is read. The Giants discuss the contents of the first tablet after it is finished being read, and realize they are doomed, and they lament over their miserable fate. They then have the second tablet read. Enoch tells

Shemhazah that he and the other fallen Watchers will soon be bound, but that the Giants should repent and pray, for they still have a chance to benefit from reformation of their lives.

CHAPTER TEN: Shemhazah urges his two sons Ohyah and Hahyah to reform their lives in the hopes that they will be yet given mercy. Ohyah and Hahyah listen to the advice of Shemhazah and attempt to convince the Giants to reform themselves, teaching them through proverbs where true success is found. The Giants seek to reform their lives. Enoch is sent to declare to the Watchers that within 120 years, they would all be bound in a dark prison of punishment for their sins, and that their sons would all be destroyed from off the face of the earth. Noah begins to build the Ark. Around this time, only Azazel is bound.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: The Giants lament over Azazel being bound, and then they and the Watchers, seeing that they were not bound or destroyed vaunted themselves. When this happened, Gabriel the archangel was sent to incite the Giants to commit civil war against themselves and their offspring, and they all began to kill each other, and the Watchers beheld the destruction of their families. When the war of the Giants ends with few survivors, all of the fallen Watchers are subsequently bound by the angels into the dark prison of punishment.

CHAPTER TWELVE: Noah goes into the Ark, and the flood comes, and begins to kill all life, but not all the Giants are killed by the flood. In order to fix this, Yehuwah sends the Leviathan, and the Leviathan begins to kill all the Giants and their sons who survived. Ohyah alone survives the attacks of the Leviathan, and kills the Leviathan. The archangel Raphael is sent by Yehuwah in order to punish Ohyah for killing the Leviathan, and to finally restore the earth to purity. Ohyah is killed and bound in the dark prison of punishment with the fallen Watchers.

The flood being over, and the Giants and their sons still remaining on the earth without bodies, become evil spirits, and are given a law by an angel of Yehuwah how they are to live if they want to avoid being sent to the dark prison of punishment that the Watchers were sent to. And this explains how the Nephilim came to be on the earth after the flood.

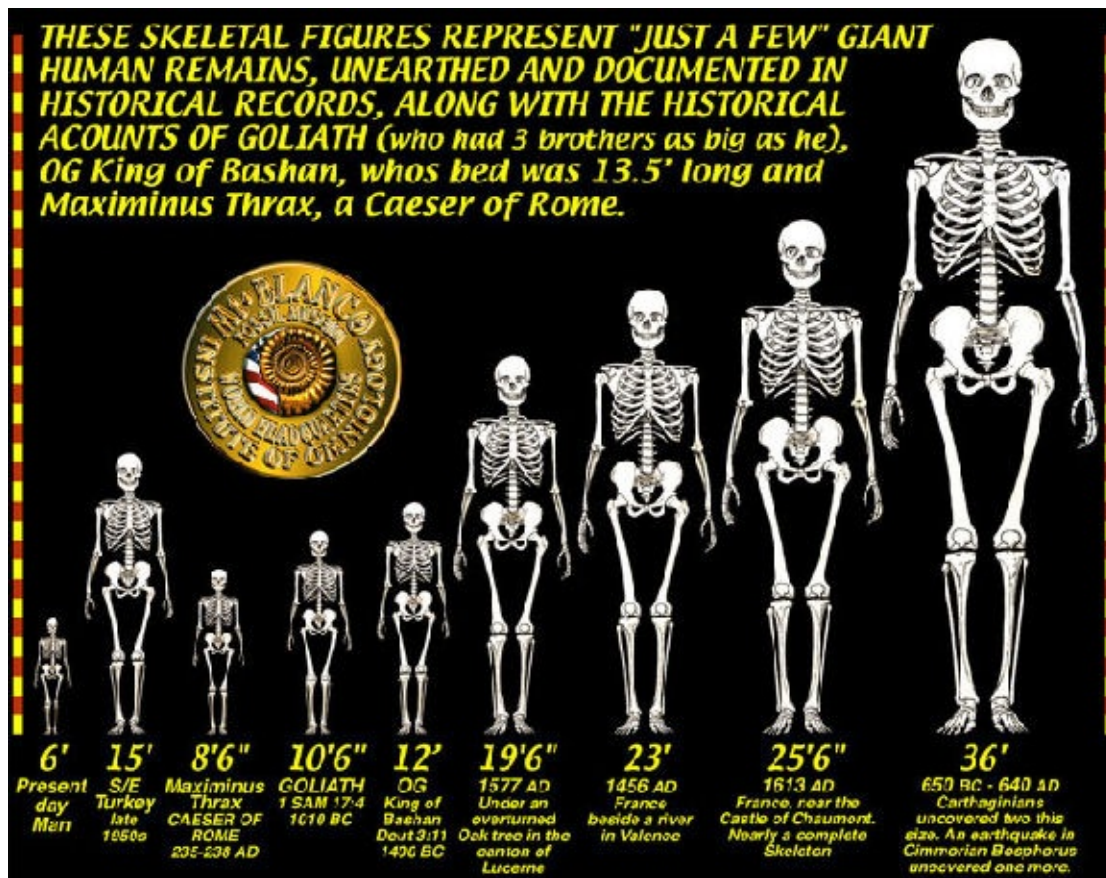
Evidence of Giants

Fossilized remains of giant human skeletons have been found all around the world. Ranging in size, many of them have been recovered with giant weapons, armor, and strange artifacts dubbed OOPARTS (Out of Place Artifacts). The current worldview model for humanity doesn't support the existence of a giant human race (according to evolution). These enormous ancient human beings were worshipped throughout various world religions of which tell of many of them slaying dragons. It is important to note that the term "dragon" was replaced by the word "dinosaur" in 1871 by Sir. Edward Owen. Hence, any reference in ancient literature to dragons, is a reference to dinosaurs according to the ontology of the word change associations involved. The following is a brief report of recovered giant fossilized human remains of which most end up in private collections of the elite of society save a few who have found their way to museums around the world. Although in recent years many of these museums have been selling these remains to private collectors for large sums of money their discoveries remain documented and undisputed by reasonable scholars without hidden agendas. Take a look at the evidence and decide for yourself if there were "Giants on the earth in those days." - Genesis 6:4

Perhaps the best place to start off with providing evidence of the existence of giant human beings is Crete. Crete was once known in old times as Arcadia. The Greek historian Herodotus had written about another historian, Eustathius who had said that Arcadia was once called Gigantis, or "The Land of Giants," because of the giants who had formerly lived there. It was also known as the Greek Garden of Eden. This connection between Arcadia, giants, and to the Garden of Eden makes sense, because the 4th century Roman author Servius in his Commentary on the Eneid says, that the Arcadians often reached the age of 300 years.—Grotius.



Several of the world's most influential authors all throughout history verify these accounts of giants, gods, and the island of Crete. People such as Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Strabo, Plutarch, and Plato, just to name a few. In addition to these historical accounts by some of the world's most trusted authorities, there is also the science with real life giant bones that have been found on Crete. In fact, the largest bones that have ever been found were discovered on this very same island, which may prove this was truly the home or the Land of Giants.



During the Cretan war from 205–200 BC a massive giant skeleton was discovered on the island. **This giant was measured at the length of thirty-three cubits, which equates to nearly 42 feet.** The Roman Lucius Flaccus was a notable eye witness to the gigantic bones, and the Greek writer under Roman Emperor Hadrian, Phlegon of Tralles also mentions the discovery of several giant skeletons. In the included chart of giant fossilized remains findings around the world features the 36 foot skeleton found by the Carthaginians.

In the The Geography of Strabo, Volume 1 By Strabo, he writes about these giants that were discovered in city founded by the biblical Corinthians who used to reside in the modern day island of Crete;

"Somewhere in this neighbourhood is the mountain Bermius,² which was formerly in the possession of the Briges, a Thracian nation, some of whom passed over to Asia and were called by another name, Phrygians (Phryges). After Thessalonica follows the remaining part of the Therman Gulf, extending to Canastneum. This is a promontory of a peninsula form, and is opposite to Magnesia. Pallene is the name of the peninsula. It has an isthmus 5 stadia in

width, with a ditch cut across it. There is a city on the peninsula, formerly called Potidsna, founded by the Corinthians, but afterwards it was called Cassandria, from king Cassander, who restored it after it was demolished. It is a circuit of 570 stadia round the peninsula by sea. **Here giants were said to have lived, and the region to have been called Phlegra. Some consider this to be a mere fable, but others, with greater probability on their side, see implied in it the existence of a barbarous and lawless race of people who once occupied the country,** but who were destroyed by Hercules on his return home, after the capture of Troy. Here also the Trojan women are said to have committed the destructive act of burning the ships, to avoid becoming the slaves of their captors' wives."

There are more stories and eyewitness accounts of giant people and bones being found on the island of Crete, than anywhere in the world as this information is current. In addition to the eyewitness accounts and bones that have been found here that help verify this history with some science, there is more scientific evidence in the form of the tools that these giant people had used. Tools such as the massive double headed axes that have been found in Crete. These axes are said to be from up to 1700 years before Christ and were also the main religious symbol of the ancient Cretans. They date to the Second Palace and Post-Palace periods (1700 - 1300 BC)". The Minoan name for the double axe is "labrys", thus the word labyrinth may originally have meant the "House of the Double Axe," an ancient reference to the invention of the double axe which is attributed to giants.

This biblical story may give us a clue as to what eventually had happened to these giants from Crete:

The sons of Joseph were authorized to invade the "Land of the Giants" and **Og**, the king of Bashan, and the last sovereign of the Ashtoreth dynasty, encountered Moses at Edrei, where he fell "with his sons, and all his people, until there was none left alive, and they (the Israelites) possessed the land," Numbers. xxi. 33, 34, 35.

Deuteronomy 2:11 Which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites call them Emims.

Deuteronomy 3:13 And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of **Og**, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, with all Bashan, **which was called the land of giants**.

Joshua 12:4 And the coast of **Og king of Bashan, which was of the remnant of the giants**, that dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei,

Joshua 13:12 All the kingdom of Og in Bashan, which reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, **who remained of the remnant of the giants: for these did Moses smite, and cast them out.**

Fossilized human footprints have also been discovered in Sweden, and in Mexico. Giant skeletons have been discovered throughout the United States and giant fossilized remains are not solely exclusive to the lands of Crete but rather world-wide. Photos of giants from recent times are all a part of important natural history. An article from Strand magazine (December, 1895) reprinted in "Traces of the Elder Faiths" of Ireland by W.G. Wood-Martin mentions this fossilized giant discovered during mining operations in County Antrim, Ireland:

"Pre-eminent among the most extraordinary articles ever held by a railway company is the fossilized Irish giant, which is at this moment lying at the London and North-Western Railway Company's Broad street goods depot, and a photograph of which is reproduced here. . . This monstrous figure is reputed to have been dug up by a Mr. Dyer whilst prospecting for iron ore in County Antrim. The principal measurements are: entire length, 12ft. 2in.; girth of chest, 6ft. 6in.; and length of arms, 4ft. 6in. There are six toes on the right foot. The gross weight is 2 tons; 15cwt.; so that it took half a dozen men and a powerful crane to place this article of lost property in position for the Strand magazine photographer to do her work."

The below is the picture of the giant published in Strand Magazine 1895:



Near Crittenden, Arizona, in 1891, workmen excavating for a commercial building came upon a huge stone sarcophagus eight feet below the surface. The contractor called in expert help, and the sarcophagus was opened to reveal a granite mummy case which had once held the body of a human being more than twelve feet tall - a human with six toes, according to the carving of the case. But the body had been buried so many thousands of years that it had long since turned to dust. Just another silent witness to the truth of Genesis, which tells us that there were giants on the earth in those days, **the excavation of over a dozen skeletons 8 to 12 feet tall, around the world** shocked archaeologists.

If you have already read through the [Book of Giants](#) then you may understand why on so many Sumerian artifacts that we find depictions of giant humans

being served by lesser humans in stature. As the Book of Enoch testifies, and as other texts of the same body of knowledge tell us, some men worshipped these giants only to have them eventually turn on them.



The associated text in the [Book of Giants](#) that pertains to this particular Sumerian tablet is the following:

". . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. **And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth.** And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. **They assumed the shape of men** and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them. . . . the giants were sons . . . with each other in bodily union with each other self- and the that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the **Sumeru mountain**, into **thirty-two towns** which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning. And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (>or: were) in the first arts and crafts. (30) they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone. . ." - [Book of Giants](#) - Sogdian Manuscript

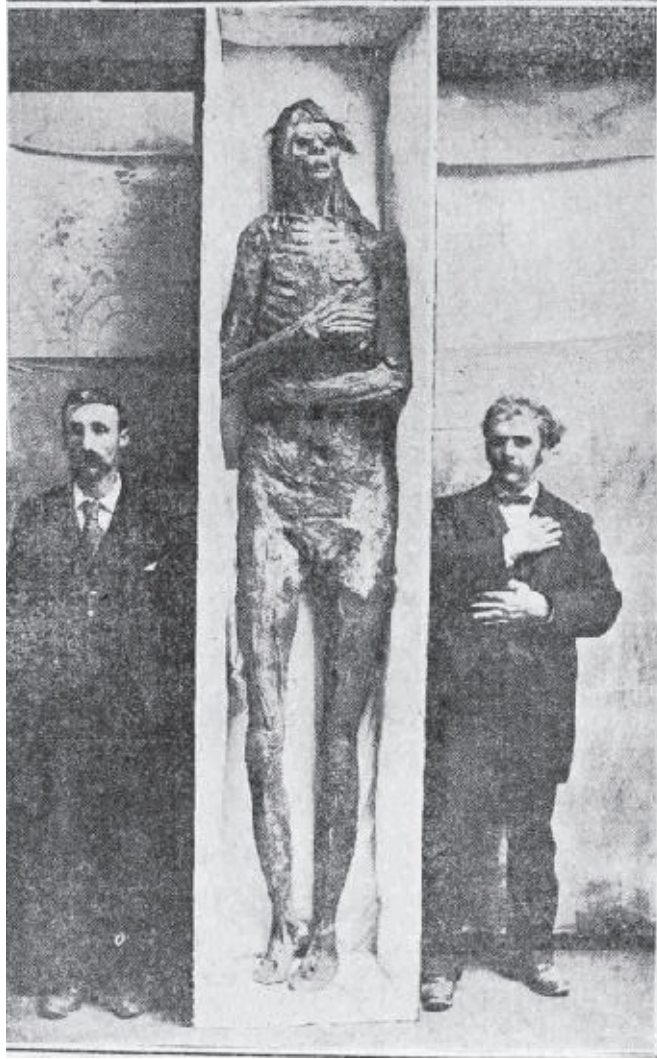
Of such cities mentioned in the [Book of Giants](#) other authorities on the

antiquities of history make note:

Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386-1430) was an Italian monk, traveler, and a pioneer in promoting first-hand knowledge of Greece and its antiquities, who had written about a Cretan city named Sarandopolis that was **formerly inhabited by giants**, and where modern eparkhia of Setia derived its name.

The San Diego Giant

The mummy remains of a giant were unearthed in a cave near San Diego, California. It was discovered by a party of prospectors, and was displayed at the Atlantic exposition while, a number of Smithsonian scientists were there. They asked permission to examine it and when consent was given applied their tapes and found that it **measured eight feet four inches from crown to heel**. The body lied rest in a ten foot coffin. The exhibitor agreed to sell it for \$500 to the Smithsonian of which sold it in more recent days to an "unknown private collector." The following photo is the San Diego Giant:



In terms of the **life spans** of the giants we find that it was appointed to them **500 years to live**:

Enoch 4:12 And to Gabriel said the Lord, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication and destroy the children of the Watchers from amongst men. Send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle, for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, **and that each one of them will live five hundred years.**" - [Enoch Book 1: Watchers Ch.4:12](#)

Notice how that is specific to a definite degree? Well it would seem that their days were numbered as a curse and that perhaps they couldn't die until 500 years had been allotted to them. Keep in mind that God was not pleased at all with that the fallen angels had done and was using this as a testament against them for breaking His laws. They wanted their giant sons to have the eternal life like they had but God denied their plea for this. Although the exact contents of the petition the fallen angels had Enoch deliver to God is not known this verse appears to be a logical response to one of the things the fallen must have included in it regarding their sons length of life.

Furthermore, in regards to their hybrid status (half man, half angel) of existence we are encountered with the terms and conditions of their afterlife as the [Book of the Words of Righteousness](#) tells us:

Enoch 5:28 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling.

Enoch 5:29 Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men and from the Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called.

Enoch 5:30 And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble. They take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences.

Not having souls, once the giants had died they became roaming spirits of the earth. Being able to inhabit the bodies of men and women, animals, and other "forms." Only when reading through the [Testament of Solomon](#) do we find evidence of these evil spirits residing on earth until the final judgement.

Solomon 1:70. And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou?" But he answered: "I am a *lascivious spirit*, engendered of a giant man who died in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

Closing notes and my own personal observations:

Being a former evolutionist (macro), finding about OOPARTS and fossilized giant human beings around the world compelled me to look for answers outside the modern scientific religion and into the accounts of historians, scribes, and the body of knowledge of the divine. The earth and its artifacts seem to testify to its own past so long as we pay attention to the ancient reporters who so diligently made the happenings of ancient times known to us through the preservation of their observations. The more one goes looking for evidence pertaining to giants, the more one finds. The bulk of information pertaining to these giants seems to be clustered on the body of biblical knowledge of which no other codex contains more references or information about. This mystery itself seems best solved by pouring over the evidence with diligent study performed by reading with not the eyes but rather the heart.

TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON

1. Testament of Solomon, son of David, who was king in Jerusalem, and mastered and controlled all spirits of the air, on the earth, and under the earth. By means of them also he wrought all the transcendent works of the Temple. Telling also of the authorities they wield against men, and by what angels these demons are brought to naught.

Of the sage Solomon.

Blessed art thou, O Lord God, who didst give Solomon such authority. Glory to thee and might unto the ages. Amen.

2. And behold, when the Temple of the city of Jerusalem was being built, and the artificers were working thereat, *Ornias* the demon came among them toward sunset; and he took away half of the pay of the master workman's little boy, as well as half his food. He also continued to suck the thumb of his right hand every day. And the child grew thin, although he was very much loved by the king.

3. So King Solomon called the boy one day, and questioned him, saying: "Do I not love thee more than all the artisans who are working in the Temple of God? Do I not give thee double wages and a double supply of food? How is it that day by day and hour by hour thou growest thinner?"

4. But the child said to the king: "I pray thee, O king. Listen to what has befallen all that thy child hath. After we are all released from our work on the Temple of God, after sunset, when I lie down to rest, one of the evil demons comes and takes away from me one half of my pay and one half of my food. Then he also takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And lo, my soul is oppressed, and so my body waxes thinner every day."

5. Now when I Solomon heard this, I entered the Temple of God, and prayed with all my soul, night and day, that the demon might be delivered into my hands, and that I might gain authority over him. And it came about through my

prayer that grace was given to me from the Lord Sabaoth by Michael his archangel. He brought me a little ring, having a seal consisting of an engraved stone, and said to me: "Take, O Solomon, king, son of David, the gift which the Lord God has sent thee, the highest Sabaoth. With it thou shalt lock up all demons of the earth, male and female; and with their help thou shalt build up Jerusalem. But thou must wear this seal of God. And this engraving of the seal of the ring sent thee is a Pentalpha."



(A Pentalpha otherwise known as the seal of Solomon.)

6. And I Solomon was overjoyed, and praised and glorified the God of heaven and earth. And on the morrow I called the boy, and gave him the ring, and said to him: "take this, and at the hour in which the demon shall come unto thee, throw this ring at the chest of the demon, and say to him: 'In the name of God, King Solomon calls thee hither. And then do thou come running to me, without having any misgivings or fear in respect of aught thou mayest hear on the part of the demon.'"

7. So the child took the ring, and went off; and behold, at the customary hour *Ornias*, the fierce demon, came like a burning fire to take the pay from the child. But the child according to the instructions received from the king, threw the ring at the chest of the demon, and said: "King Solomon calls thee hither." And then he went off at a run to the king. But the demon cried out aloud, saying: "Child, why hast thou done this to me? Take the ring off me, and I will render to thee the gold of the earth. Only take this off me, and forbear to lead me away to Solomon."

8. But the child said to the demon: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, I will not brook thee. So come hither." And the child came at a run, rejoicing, to the king,

and said: "I have brought the demon, O king, as thou didst command me, O my master. And behold, he stands before the gates of the court of thy palace, crying out, and supplicating with a loud voice; offering me the silver and gold of the earth if I will only bring him unto thee."

9. And when Solomon heard this, he rose up from his throne, and went outside into the vestibule of the court of his palace; and there he saw the demon, shuddering and trembling. And he said to him: "Who art thou?" And the demon answered: "I am called *Ornias*."

10. And Solomon said to him: "Tell me, O demon, to what zodiacal sign thou art subject." And he answered: "To the Water-pourer. And those who are consumed with desire for the noble virgins upon earth, these I strangle. But in case there is no disposition to sleep, I am changed into three forms. Whenever men come to be enamoured of women, I metamorphose myself into a comely female; and I take hold of the men in their sleep, and play with them. And after a while I again take to my wings, and hie me to the heavenly regions. I also appear as a lion, and I am commanded by all the demons. I am frustrated by the archangel *Uriel*, the power of God."

11. I Solomon, having heard the name of the archangel, prayed and glorified God, the Lord of heaven and earth. And I sealed the demon and set him to work at stone-cutting, so that he might cut the stones in the Temple, which, lying along the shore, had been brought by the Sea of Arabia. But he, fearful of the iron, continued and said to me: "I pray thee, King Solomon, let me go free; and I will bring you all the demons." And as he was not willing to be subject to me, I prayed the archangel *Uriel* to come and succour me; and I forthwith beheld the archangel *Uriel* coming down to me from the heavens.

12. And the angel bade the whales of the sea come out of the abyss. And he cast his destiny upon the ground, and that destiny made subject to him the great demon. And he commanded the great demon and bold *Ornias*, to cut stones at the Temple. And accordingly I Solomon glorified the God of heaven and Maker of the earth. And he bade *Ornias* come with his destiny, and gave him the seal, saying: "Away with thee, and bring me hither the prince of all the demons."

13. So *Ornias* took the finger-ring, and went off to *Beelzeboul*, who has kingship over the demons. He said to him: "Hither! Solomon calls thee." But *Beelzeboul*, having heard, said to him: "Tell me, who is this Solomon of whom thou speakest

to me?" Then *Ornias* threw the ring at the chest of *Beelzeboul*, saying: "Solomon the king calls thee." But *Beelzeboul* cried aloud with a mighty voice, and shot out a great burning flame of fire; and he arose, and followed *Ornias*, and came to Solomon.

14. And when I saw the prince of demons, I glorified the Lord God, Maker of heaven and earth, and I said: "Blessed art thou, Lord God Almighty, who hast given to Solomon thy servant wisdom, the assessor of the wise, and hast subjected unto me all the power of the devils."

15. And I questioned him, and said: "Who art thou?" The demon replied: "I am *Beelzebub*, the exarch of the demons. And all the demons have their chief seats close to me. And I it is who make manifest the apparition of each demon." And he promised to bring to me in bonds all the unclean spirits. And I again glorified the God of heaven and earth, as I do always give thanks to him.

16. I then asked of the demon if there were females among them. And when he told me that there were, I said that I desired to see them. So *Beelzeboul* went off at high speed, and brought unto me *Onoskelis*, that had a very pretty shape, and the skin of a fairhued woman; and she tossed her head.

17. And when she was come, I said to her: "Tell me who art thou?" But she said to me: "I am called *Onoskelis*, a spirit which has been made into a body, lurking upon the earth. There is a golden cave where I lie. But I have a place that ever shifts. At one time I strangle men with a noose; at another, I creep up and prevent them from their true natures. But my most frequent dwelling-places are the precipices, caves, and ravines. Oftentimes, however, do I consort with men in the semblance of a woman, and above all with those of a dark skin. For they share my star with me; since they it is who privily or openly worship my star, without knowing that they harm themselves, and but whet my appetite for further mischief. For they wish to provide money by means of remembering me, but I supply a little to those who worship me fairly."

18. And I Solomon questioned her about her birth, and she replied: "I was born of a voice untimely, the so-called echo of a man's ordure dropped in a wood."

19. And I said to her: "Under what star dost thou pass?" And she answered me: "Under the star of the full moon, for the reason that the moon travels over most things." Then I said to her: "And what angel is it that frustrates thee?" And she

said to me: "He that in thee is reigning." And I thought that she mocked me, and bade a soldier strike her. But she cried aloud, and said: "I am subjected to thee, O king, by the wisdom of God given to thee, and by the angel Joel."

20. So I commanded her to spin the hemp for the ropes used in the building of the house of God; and accordingly, when I had sealed and bound her, she was so overcome and brought to naught as to stand night and day spinning the hemp.

21. And I at once bade another demon to be led unto me; and instantly there approached me the demon *Asmodeus*, bound, and I asked him: "Who art thou?" But he shot on me a glance of anger and rage, and said: "And who art thou?" And I said to him: "Thus punished as thou art, answerest thou me not?" But he, with rage, said to me: "But how shall I answer thee, for thou art a son of man; whereas I was born of an angel's seed by a daughter of man, so that no word of our heavenly kind addressed to the earth-born can be overweening. Wherefore also my star is bright in heaven, and men call it, some the Wain, and some the dragon's child. I keep near unto this star. So ask me not many things; for thy kingdom also after a little time is to be disrupted, and thy glory is but for a season. And short will be thy tyranny over us; and then we shall again have free range over mankind, so as that they shall revere us as if we were gods, not knowing, men that they are, the names of the angels set over us."

22. And I Solomon, on hearing this, bound him more carefully, and ordered him to be flogged with thongs of ox-hide, and to tell me humbly what was his name and of his business. And he answered me thus: "I am called *Asmodeus* among mortals, and my business is to plot against the newly wedded, so that they may not know one another. And I sever them utterly by many calamities, and I waste away the beauty of virgin women, and estrange their hearts."

23. And I said to him: "Is this thy only business?" And he answered me: "I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men; with the result that they commit sin, and fall into murderous deeds."

24. And I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaôth, saying: "Fear God, *Asmodeus*, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." But he said: "By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and gall of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk." I again asked him, and said: "Hide not aught from me. For I am Solomon, son of David,

King of Israel. Tell me the name of the fish which thou reverest." And he answered: "It is the glanos by name, and is found in the rivers of Assyria; wherefore it is that I roam about in those parts."

25. And I said to him: "Hast thou nothing else about thee, *Asmodeus*?" And he answered: "The power of God knoweth, which hath bound me with the indissoluble bonds of yonder one's seal, that whatever I have told thee is true. I pray thee, King Solomon, condemn me not to go into water." But I smiled, and said to him: "As the Lord God of my fathers liveth, I will lay iron on thee to wear. But thou shalt also make the clay for the entire construction of the Temple, treading it down with thy feet." And I ordered them to give him ten water jars to carry water in. And the demon groaned terribly, and did the work I ordered him to do. And this I did, because that fierce demon *Asmodeus* knew even the future. And I Solomon glorified God, who gave wisdom to me Solomon his servant. And the liver of the fish and its gall I hung on the spike of a reed, and burned it over *Asmodeus* because of his being so strong, and his unbearable malice was thus frustrated.

26. And I summoned again to stand before me *Beelzeboul*, the prince of demons, and I sat him down on a raised seat of honour, and said to him: "Why art thou alone, prince of the demons?" And he said to me: "Because I alone am left of the angels of heaven that came down. For I was first angel in the first heaven being entitled *Beelzeboul*. And now I control all those who are bound in Tartarus. But I too have a child, and he haunts the Red Sea. And on any suitable occasion he comes up to me again, being subject to me; and reveals to me what he has done, and when he is ready, he will come in triumph.

27. I Solomon said unto him: "*Beelzeboul*, what is thy employment?" And he answered me: "I destroy kings. I bring destruction by means of tyrants. And my own demons I send on to men to be worshipped, in order that the latter may believe in them and be lost. And the chosen servants of God, priests and faithful men, I excite unto desires for wicked sins, and evil heresies, and lawless deeds; and they obey me, and I bear them on to destruction. And I inspire men with envy, and desire for murder, and for wars and sodomy, and other evil things. I bring about jealousies and murders in a country, and I instigate wars. I will destroy the world."

28. So I said to him: "Bring to me thy child, who is, as thou sayest, in the Red Sea." But he said to me: "I will not bring him to thee. But there shall come to me

another demon called *Ephippas*. Him will I bind, and he will bring him up from the deep unto me." And I said to him: "How comes thy son to be in the depth of the sea, and what is his name?" And he answered me: "Ask me not, for thou canst not learn from me. However, he will come to thee by any command, and will tell thee openly." So I said to him: "Tell me in which star you reside." To which he answered, "The one called by men the Evening Star."

29. I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By the holy and precious name of the Almighty God, called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644, and among the Greeks it is Emmanuel. And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of the power Eleéth, I disappear at once."

30. I Solomon was astounded when I heard this; and I ordered him to saw up Theban marbles. And when he began to saw the marbles, the other demons cried out with a loud voice, howling because of their king *Beelzeboul* was also subject to the power the Most High had given me over him.

31. But I Solomon questioned him, saying: "If thou wouldst gain a respite, discourse to me about the things in heaven." And *Beelzeboul* said: "Hear, O king, if thou burn gum, and incense, and bulb of the sea¹, with nard and saffron, and light seven lamps in an earthquake, thou wilt firmly fix thy house. And if, being pure, thou light them at dawn in the sun alight, then wilt thou see the heavenly dragons, how they wind themselves along and drag the chariot of the sun."

32. And I Solomon, having heard this, rebuked him, and said: "Silence for this present time, and continue to saw the marbles as I commanded thee." And I Solomon praised God, and commanded another demon to present himself to me. And one came before me who carried his face high up in the air, but the rest of the spirit curled away like a snail. And it broke through the few soldiers, and raised also a terrible dust on the ground, and carried it upwards; and then again hurled it back to frighten us, and asked what questions I could ask as a rule. And I stood up, and spat on the ground in that spot, and sealed the demon with the ring of God. And forthwith the dustwind stopped. Then I asked him, saying: "Who art thou, O wind?" Then he once more shook up a dust, and answered me: "What wouldst thou have, King Solomon?" I answered him: "Tell me what thou art called, and I would fain ask thee a question. But so far I give thanks to God who has made me wise to answer your evil plots."

33. But [the demon] answered me: "I am the spirit of the ashes (Tephtras)." And I said to him: "What is thy pursuit?" And he said: "I bring darkness on men, and set fire to fields; and I bring homesteads to naught. But most busy am I in summer. However, when I get an opportunity, I creep into corners of the wall, by night and day. For I am offspring of the great one, and nothing less." Accordingly I said to him: "Under what star dost thou lie?" And he answered: "In the very tip of the moon's horn, when it is found in the south. There is my star. For I have been bidden to restrain the convulsions of the hemitertian fever; and this is why many men pray to the hemitertian fever, using these three names: *Bultala, Thallal, Melchal*. And I heal them." And I said to him: "I am Solomon; when therefore thou wouldst do harm, by whose aid dost thou do it?" But he said to me: "By the angel's, by whom also the third day's fever is lulled to rest." So I questioned him, and said: "And by what name?" And he answered: "That of the archangel Azael." And I summoned the archangel Azael, and set a seal on the demon, and commanded him to seize great stones, and toss them up to the workmen on the higher parts of the Temple. And, being compelled, the demon began to do what he was bidden to do.

34. And I glorified God afresh who gave me this authority, and ordered another demon to come before me. And there came seven spirits, females, bound and woven together, fair in appearance and comely. And I Solomon, seeing them, questioned them and said: "Who are ye?" But they, with one accord, said with one voice: "We are of the thirty-three elements of the cosmic ruler of the darkness." And the first said: "I am *Deception*." The second said: "I am *Strife*." The third: "I am Klothod, which is battle." The fourth: "I am *Jealousy*." The fifth: "I am *Power*." The sixth: "I am *Error*." The seventh: "I am the worst of all, and our stars are in heaven. Seven stars humble in sheen, and all together. And we are called as it were *Goddesses*. We change our place all and together, and together we live, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes in a great mountain."

35. So I Solomon questioned them one by one, beginning with the first, and going down to the seventh. The first said: "I am *Deception*, I deceive and weave snares here and there. I whet and excite heresies. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Lamechalal."

36. Likewise also the second said: "I am *Strife*, strife of strifes. I bring timbers, stones, hangers, my weapons on the spot. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Baruchiachel."

37. Likewise also the third said: "I am called *Klothod*, which is Battle, and I cause the well behaved to scatter and fall foul one of the other. And why do I say so much? I have an angel that frustrates me: "Marmarath."

38. Likewise also the fourth said: "I cause men to forget their sobriety and moderation. I part them and split them into parties; for *Strife* follows me hand in hand. I rend the husband from the sharer of his bed, and children from parents, and brothers from sisters. But why tell so much to my despite? I have an angel that frustrates me, the great Balthial."

39. Likewise also the fifth said: "I am *Power*. By power I raise up tyrants and tear down kings. To all rebels I furnish power. I have an angel that frustrates me, Asteraôth."

40. Likewise also the sixth said: "I am *Error*, O King Solomon. And I will make thee to err, as I have before made thee to err, when I caused thee to slay thy own brother. I will lead you into error, so as to pry into graves; and I teach them that dig, and I lead errant souls away from all piety, and many other evil traits are mine. But I have an angel that frustrates me, Uriel."

41. Likewise also the seventh said: "I am the worst, and I make thee worse off than thou wast; because I will impose the bonds of *Artemis*. But the locust will set me free, for by means thereof is it fated that thou shalt achieve my desire. For if one were wise, he would not turn his steps toward me."

42. So I Solomon, having heard and wondered, sealed them with my ring; and since they were so considerable, I bade them dig the foundations of the Temple of God. For the length of it was 250 cubits. And I bade them be industrious, and with one murmur of joint protest they began to perform the tasks enjoined.

43. But I Solomon glorified the Lord, and bade another demon come before me. And there was brought to me a demon having all the limbs of a man, but without a head. And I, seeing him, said to him: "Tell me, who art thou?" And he answered: "I am a demon." So I said to him: "Which?" And he answered me: "I am called *Envy*. For I delight to devour heads, being desirous to secure for myself a head; but I do not eat enough, but am anxious to have such a head as thou hast."

44. I Solomon, on hearing this, sealed him, stretching out my hand against his chest. Whereon the demon leapt up, and threw himself down, and gave a groan, saying: "Woe is me! Where am I come to? O traitor *Ornias*, I cannot see!" So I said to him: "I am Solomon. Tell me then how thou dost manage to see!" And he answered me: "By means of my feelings." I then, Solomon, having heard his voice come up to me, asked him how he managed to speak. And he answered me: "I, O King Solomon, am wholly voice, for I have inherited the voices of many men. For in the case of all men who are called dumb, I it is who smashed their heads, when they were children and had reached their eighth day. Then when a child is crying in the night, I become a spirit, and glide by means of his voice. In the crossways also I have many services to render, and my encounter is fraught with harm. For I grasp in all instants a man's head, and with my hands, as with a sword, I cut it off, and put it on to myself. And in this way, by means of the fire which is in me, through my neck it is swallowed up. I it is that sends grave mutilations and incurables on men's feet, and inflict sores."

45. And I Solomon, on hearing this, said to him: "Tell me how thou dost discharge forth the fire? Out of what sources dost thou emit it?" And the spirit said to me: "From the Day-star. For here hath not yet been found that *Elburion*, to whom men offer prayers and kindle lights. And his name is invoked by the seven demons before me. And he cherishes them."

46. But I said to him: "Tell me his name." But he answered: "I cannot tell thee. For if I tell his name, I render myself incurable. But he will come in response to his name." And on hearing this, I Solomon said to him: "Tell me then, by what angel thou art frustrated?" And he answered: "By the fiery flash of lightning." And I bowed myself before the Lord God of Israel, and bade him remain in the keeping of *Beelzeboul* until the angel Iax should come.

47. Then I ordered another demon to come before me, and there came into my presence a hound, having a very large shape, and it spoke with a loud voice, and said, "Hail, Lord, King Solomon!" And I Solomon was astounded. I said to it: "Who art thou, O hound?" And it answered: "I do indeed seem to thee to be a hound, but before thou wast, O King Solomon, I was a man that wrought many unholy deeds on earth. I was surpassingly learned in letters, and was so mighty that I could hold the stars of heaven back. And many divine works did I prepare. For I do harm to men who follow after our star, and change them to. And I seize the frenzied men by the larynx, and so destroy them."

48. And I Solomon said to him: "What is thy name?" And he answered: "Staff" (*Rabdos*). And I said to him: "What is thine employment? And what results canst thou achieve?" And he replied: "Give me thy servant, and I will lead him away into a mountainous spot, and will show him a green stone tossed to and fro, with which thou mayest adorn the temple of the Lord God."

49. And I Solomon, on hearing this, ordered my servant to set off with him, and to take the finger-ring bearing the seal of God with him. And I said to him: "Whoever shall show thee the green stone, seal him with this finger-ring. And mark the spot with care, and bring me the demon hither." And the demon showed him the green stone, and he sealed it, and brought the demon to me. And I Solomon decided to confine with my seal on my right hand the two, the headless demon, likewise the hound, that was so huge; he should be bound as well. And I bade the hound keep safe the fiery spirit so that lamps as it were might by day and night cast their light through its maw on the artisans at work.

50. And I Solomon took from the mine of that stone 200 shekels for the supports of the table of incense, which was similar in appearance. And I Solomon glorified the Lord God, and then closed round the treasure of that stone. And I ordered afresh the demons to cut marble for the construction of the house of God. And I Solomon prayed to the Lord, and asked the hound, saying: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And the demon replied: "By the great Brieus."

51. And I praised the Lord God of heaven and earth, and bade another demon come forward to me; and there came before me one in the form of a roaring lion. And he stood and answered me saying: "O king, in the form which I have, I am a spirit quite incapable of being perceived. Upon all men who lie prostrate with sickness I leap, coming stealthily along; and I render the man weak, so that his habit of body is enfeebled. But I have also another glory, O king. I cast out demons, and I have legions under my control. And I am capable of being received in my dwelling-places, along with all the demons belonging to the legions under me." But I Solomon, on hearing this, asked him: "What is thy name?" But he answered: "Lion-bearer, *Rath* in kind." And I said to him: "How art thou to be frustrated along with thy legions? What angel is it that frustrates thee?" And he answered: "If I tell thee the name, I bind not myself alone, but also the legions of demons under me."

52. So I said to him: "I adjure thee in the name of the God Sabaoth, to tell me by what name thou art frustrated along with thy host." And the spirit answered me:

"The 'Son of Man,' who is to suffer many things at the hands of men, whose name is the figure 644, which is Emmanuel; he it is who has bound us, and who will then come and plunge us from the steep, under water. He is noised abroad in the three letters which bring him down."

53. And I Solomon, on hearing this, glorified God, and condemned his legion to carry wood from the thicket. And I condemned the lion-shaped one himself to saw up the wood small with his teeth, for burning in the unquenchable furnace for the Temple of God.

54. And I worshipped the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon come forward. And there came before me a dragon, three-headed, of fearful hue. And I questioned him: "Who art thou?" And he answered me: "I am a *caltrop-like spirit*, whose activity in three lies. But I blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round. And I make them deaf and mute. And I have again in my third head means of slipping into the body. And I smite men in the limbless part of the body, and cause them to fall down, and foam, and grind their teeth. But I have my own way of being frustrated. Jerusalem being signified in writing, unto the place called 'of the head.'" For there is fore-appointed the angel of the great counsel, and now he will openly dwell on the cross. He doth frustrate me, and to him am I subject."

55. "But in the place where thou sittest, O King Solomon, standeth a column in the air, of purple...¹ The demon called *Ephippas* hath brought it up from the Red Sea, from inner Arabia. He it is that shall be shut up in a skin-bottle and brought before thee. But at the entrance of the Temple, which thou hast begun to build, O King Solomon, lies stored much gold, which dig thou up and carry off." And I Solomon sent my servant, and found it to be as the demon told me. And I sealed him with my ring, and praised the Lord God."

56. So I said to him: "What art thou called?" And the demon said: "I am the *crest of dragons*." And I bade him make bricks in the Temple. He had human hands.

57. And I adored the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form, that had a head without any limbs, and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her: "Who art thou?" But she answered: "Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning me? But, as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh

before thy tribunal, and ask me questions; and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am."

58. And I Solomon did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me; in order that I might hear of her deeds, and reprehend them, and manifest them to men. And I sat down, and said to the demon: "What art thou?" And she said: "I am called among men *Obizuth* (This is *Lilith* self-identifying by one of her many names.); and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world, and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand; and if I am lucky, I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place. For I cannot for a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce spirit, of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children, and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies."

59. When I Solomon heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and greeny, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's; and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O evil spirit?" By she answered me: "By the angel of God called *Afarôt*, which is interpreted *Raphael*, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640." And I Solomon having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound, and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God; that all the children of Israel, as they passed, might see it, and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority, with wisdom and power from God, by means of this signet.

60. And I again ordered another demon to come before me. And it came, rolling itself along, one in appearance like to a dragon, but having the face and hands of a man. And all its limbs, except the feet, were those of a dragon; and it had wings on its back. And when I beheld it, I was astonished, and said: "Who art thou, demon, and what art thou called? And whence hast thou come? Tell me."

61. And the spirit answered and said: "This is the first time I have stood before thee, O King Solomon. I am a spirit made into a god among men, but now brought to naught by the ring and wisdom given to thee by God. Now I am the so-called winged dragon, and I chamber not with many women, but only with a few that are of fair shape, which possess the name of Touxylou, of this star. And I pair with them in the guise of a spirit winged in form, copulating with them. And she on whom I have leapt goes heavy with child, and that which is born of her becomes filled with lust. But since such offspring cannot be carried by men, the woman in question breaks wind. Such is my role. Supposed then only that I am satisfied, and all the other demons molested and disturbed by thee will speak the whole truth. But those composed of fire will cause to be burned up by fire the material of the logs which is to be collected by them for the building in the Temple."

62. And as the demon said this, I saw the spirit going forth from his mouth, and it consumed the wood of the frankincense-tree, and burned up all the logs which we had placed in the Temple of God. And I Solomon saw what the spirit had done, and I marvelled.

63. And, having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon, and said: "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew, Bazazeth. And I Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.

64. And there came before my face another spirit, as it were a woman in the form she had. But on her shoulders she had two other heads with hands. And I asked her, and said: "Tell me, who art thou?" And she said to me: "I am *Enêpsigos*, who also have a myriad names." And I said her: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" But she said to me: "What seekest, what askest thou? I undergo changes, like the goddess I am called. And I change again, and pass into possession of another shape. And be not desirous therefore to know all that concerns me. But since thou art before me for this much, hearken. I have my abode in the moon, and for that reason I possess three forms. At times I am magically invoked by the wise as *Kronos*. At other times, in connexion with those who bring me down, I come down and appear in another shape. The measure of the element is inexplicable and indefinable, and not to be frustrated. I then, changing into these three forms, come down and become such as thou seest

me; but I am frustrated by the angel Rathanael, who sits in the third heaven. This then is why I speak to thee. Yonder temple cannot contain me."

65. I therefore Solomon prayed to my God, and I invoked the angel of whom *Enépsigos* spoke to me, and used my seal. And I sealed her with a triple chain, and (placed) beneath her the fastening of the chain. I used the seal of God, and the spirit prophesied to me, saying: "This is what thou, King Solomon, doest to us. But after a time thy kingdom shall be broken, and again in season this Temple shall be driven asunder; and all Jerusalem shall be undone by the King of the Persians and Medes and Chaldaeans. And the vessels of this Temple, which thou makest, shall be put to servile uses of the gods; and along with them all the jars, in which thou dost shut us up, shall be broken by the hands of men. And then we shall go forth in great power hither and thither, and be disseminated all over the world. And we shall lead astray the inhabited world for a long season, until the Son of God is stretched upon the cross. For never before doth arise a king like unto him, one frustrating us all, whose mother shall not have contact with man. Who else can receive such authority over spirits, except he, whom the first devil will seek to tempt, but will not prevail over? The number of his name is 644, which is Emmanuel. Wherefore, O King Solomon, thy time is evil, and thy years short and evil, and to thy servant shall thy kingdom be given."

66. And I Solomon, having heard this, glorified God. And though I marvelled at the prophecy of the demon, I did not credit it until it came true. And I did not believe their words; but when they were realized, then I understood, and at my death I wrote this Testament to the children of Israel, and gave it to them, so that they might know the powers of the demons and their shapes, and the names of their angels, by which these angels are frustrated. And I glorified the Lord God of Israel, and commanded the spirits to be bound with bonds indissoluble.

67. And having praised God, I commanded another spirit to come before me; and there came before my face another demon, having in front the shape of a horse, but the behind of a fish. And he had a mighty voice, and said to me: "O King Solomon, I am a fierce spirit of the sea, and I am greedy of gold and silver. I am such a spirit as rounds itself and comes over the expanses of the water of the sea, and I trip up the men who sail thereon. For I round myself into a wave, and transform myself, and then throw myself on ships and come right in on them. And that is my business, and my way of getting hold of money and men. For I take the men, and whirl them round with myself, and hurl the men out of the sea. For I am not covetous of men's bodies, but cast them up out of the sea so

far. But since *Beelzeboul*, ruler of the spirits of air and of those under the earth, and lord of earthly ones, hath a joint kingship with us in respect of the deeds of each one of us, therefore I went up from the sea, to get a certain outlook in his company.

68. "But I also have another character and role. I metamorphose myself into waves, and come up from the sea. And I show myself to men, so that those on earth call me *Cynospaston*, because I assume the human form. And my name is a true one. For by my passage up into men, I send forth a certain nausea. I came then to take counsel with the prince *Beelzeboul*; and he bound me and delivered me into thy hands. And I am here before thee because of this seal, and thou dost now torment me. Behold now, in two or three days the spirit that converseth with thee will fail, because I shall have no water."

69. And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By Iameth." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each. And I sealed them round above the marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.

70. And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou?" But he answered: "I am a *lascivious spirit*, engendered of a giant man who died in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

71. And he said: "My dwelling is in fruitful places, but my procedure is this. I seat myself beside the men who pass along among the tombs, and in untimely season I assume the form of the dead; and if I catch any one, I at once destroy him with my sword. But if I cannot destroy him, I cause him to be possessed with a demon, and to devour his own flesh, and the hair to fall off his chin." But I said to him: "Do thou then be in fear of the God of heaven and of earth, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "He destroys me who is to become Saviour, a man whose number, if any one shall write it on his forehead, he will defeat me, and in fear I shall quickly retreat. And, indeed, if any one write this sign on him, I shall be in fear." And I Solomon, on hearing this, and having glorified the Lord God, shut up this demon like the rest.

72. And I commanded another demon to come before me. And there came before my face thirty-six spirits, their heads shapeless like dogs, but in themselves they were human in form; with faces of asses, faces of oxen, and faces of birds. And I Solomon, on hearing and seeing them, wondered, and I asked them and said: "Who are you?" But they, of one accord with one voice, said: "We are the thirty-six elements, the *world-rulers of this darkness*. (Eph. 6:12) But, O King Solomon, thou wilt not wrong us nor imprison us, nor lay command on us; but since the Lord God has given thee authority over every spirit, in the air, and on the earth, and under the earth, therefore do we also present ourselves before thee like the other spirits, from ram and bull, from both twin and crab, lion and virgin, scales and scorpion, archer, goat-horned, water-pourer, and fish."

73. Then I Solomon invoked the name of the Lord Sabaoth, and questioned each in turn as to what was its character. And I bade each one come forward and tell of its actions. Then the first one came forward, and said: "I am the first decan of the zodiacal circle, and I am called the *Ram*, and with me are these two." So I put to them the question: "Who are ye called?" The first said: "I, O Lord, am called *Ruax*, and I cause the heads of men to be idle, and I pillage their brows. But let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison *Ruax*,' and at once I retreat."

74. And the second said: "I am called *Barsafael*, and I cause those who are subject to my hour to feel the pain of migraine. If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison *Barsafael*,' at once I retreat."

75. The third said: "I am called *Arôtosael*. I do harm to eyes, and grievously injure them. Only let me hear the words, 'Uriel, imprison *Aratosael*,' and at once I retreat."

76. The fifth said: "I am called *Iudal*, and I bring about a block in the ears and deafness of hearing. If I hear, 'UrueI *Iudal*,' I at once retreat."

77. The sixth said: "I am called *Sphendonaêl*. I cause tumors of the parotid gland, and inflammations of the tonsils, and tetanic recurvation. If I hear, 'Sabrael, imprison *Sphendonaêl*,' at once I retreat."

78. And the seventh said: "I am called *Sphandôr*, and I weaken the strength of the shoulders, and cause them to tremble; and I paralyze the nerves of the hands, and I break and bruise the bones of the neck. And I, I suck out the marrow. But if

I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison *Sphandôr*,' I at once retreat."

79. And the eighth said: "I am called *Belbel*. I distort the hearts and minds of men. If I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison *Belbel*,' I at once retreat."

80. And the ninth said: "I am called *Kurtaêl*. I send colics in the bowels. I induce pains. If I hear the words, 'Iaôth, imprison *Kurtaêl*,' I at once retreat."

81. The tenth said: "I am called *Metathiax*. I cause the reins to ache. If I hear the words, 'Adônaêl, imprison *Metathiax*,' I at once retreat."

82. The eleventh said: "I am called *Katanikotaêl*. I create strife and wrongs in men's homes, and send on them hard tempers. If any one would be at peace in his home, let him write on seven leaves of laurel the name of the angel that frustrates me, along with these names: Iae, Ieô, sons of Sabaôth, in the name of the great God let him shut up *Katanikotaêl*. Then let him wash the laurel-leaves in water, and sprinkle his house with the water, from within to the outside. And at once I retreat."

83. The twelfth said: "I am called *Saphathoraél*, and I inspire partisanship in men, and delight in causing them to stumble. If any one will write on paper these names of angels, Iacô, Iealô, Iôelet, Sabaôth, Ithoth, Bae, and having folded it up; wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."

84. The thirteenth said: "I am called *Bobêl*, and I cause nervous illness by my assaults. If I hear the name of the great 'Adonaêl, imprison *Bothothêl*,' I at once retreat."

85. The fourteenth said: "I am called *Kumeatêl*, and I inflict shivering fits and torpor. If only I hear the words: 'Zôrôel, imprison *Kumentaêl*,' I at once retreat."

86. The fifteenth said: "I am called *Roêlêd*. I cause cold and frost and pain in the stomach. Let me only hear the words: 'Iax, bide not, be not warmed, for Solomon is fairer than eleven fathers,' I at once retreat."

87. The sixteenth said: "I am called *Atrax*. I inflict upon men fevers, irremediable and harmful. If you would imprison me, chop up coriander and smear it on the lips, reciting the following charm: 'The fever which is from dirt. I

exorcise thee by the throne of the most high God, retreat from dirt and retreat from the creature fashioned by God.' And at once I retreat."

88. The seventeenth said: "I am called *Ieropaêl*. On the stomach of men I sit, and cause convulsions in the bath and in the road; and wherever I be found, or find a man, I throw him down. But if any one will say to the afflicted into their ear these names, three times over, into the right ear: 'Iudarizê, Sabunê, Denôê,' I at once retreat."

89. The eighteenth said: "I am called *Buldumêch*. I separate wife from husband and bring about a grudge between them. If any one write down the names of thy sires, Solomon, on paper and place it in the ante-chamber of his house, I retreat thence. And the legend written shall be as follows: 'The God of Abram, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob commands thee -- retire from this house in peace.' And I at once retire."

90. The nineteenth said: "I am called *Naôth*, and I take my seat on the knees of men. If any one write on paper: 'Phnunoboêol, depart *Nathath*, and touch thou not the neck,' I at once retreat."

91. The twentieth said: "I am called *Marderô*. I send on men incurable fever. If any one write on the leaf of a book: 'Sphênêr, Rafael, retire, drag me not about, flay me not,' and tie it round his neck, I at once retreat."

92. The twenty-first said: "I am called *Alath*, and I cause coughing and hard-breathing in children. If any one write on paper: 'Rorêx, do thou pursue *Alath*,' and fasten it round his neck, I at once retire."

93. The twenty-third said: "I am called *Nefthada*. I cause the reins to ache, and I bring about dysury. If any one write on a plate of tin the words: 'Iathôth, Uruêl, *Nephthada*,' and fasten it round the loins, I at once retreat."

94. The twenty-fourth said: "I am called *Akton*. I cause ribs and lumbar muscles to ache. If one engrave on copper material, taken from a ship which has missed its anchorage, this: 'Marmaraôth, Sabaôth, pursue *Akton*,' and fasten it round the loin, I at once retreat."

95. The twenty-fifth said: "I am called *Anatreth*, and I rend burnings and fevers into the entrails. But if I hear: 'Arara, Charara,' instantly do I retreat."

96. The twenty-sixth said: "I am called *Enenuth*. I steal away men's minds, and change their hearts, and make a man toothless. If one write: 'Allazoôl, pursue *Enenuth*,' and tie the paper round him, I at once retreat."

97. The twenty-seventh said: "I am called *Phêth*. I make men consumptive and cause hemorrhagia. If one exorcise me in wine, sweet-smelling and unmixed by the eleventh aeon, and say: 'I exorcise thee by the eleventh aeon to stop, I demand, *Phêth* (Axiôphêth),' then give it to the patient to drink I at once retreat."

98. The twenty-eighth said: "I am called *Harpax*, and I send sleeplessness on men. If one write 'Kokphnêdisomos,' and bind it round the temples, I at once retire."

99. The twenty-ninth said: "I am called *Anostêr*. I engender uterine mania and pains in the bladder. If one powder into pure oil three seeds of laurel and smear it on, saying: 'I exorcise thee, *Anostêr*. Stop by Marmaraô,' at once I retreat."

100. The thirtieth said: "I am called *Alleborith*. If in eating fish one has swallowed a bone, then he must take a bone from the fish and cough, and at once I retreat."

101. The thirty-first said: "I am called *Hephesimireth*, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying: 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

102. The thirty-second said: "I am called *Ichthion*. I paralyze muscles and contuse them. If I hear 'Adonaêth, help!' I at once retire."

103. The thirty-third said: "I am called *Agchoniôn*. I lie among swaddling-clothes and in the precipice. And if any one write on fig-leaves 'Lycurgos,' taking away one letter at a time, and write it, reversing the letters, I retire at once. 'Lycurgos, Ycurgos, Kurgos, Yrgos, Gos, Os.'"

104. The thirty-fourth said: "I am called *Autothith*. I cause grudges and fighting. Therefore I am frustrated by Alpha and Omega, if written down."

105. The thirty-fifth said: "I am called *Phthenoth*. I cast evil eyes on every man. Therefore, the drawing of the eye causes me much suffering, it frustrates me."

106. The thirty-sixth said: "I am called *Bianakith*. I have a grudge against the body. I lay waste to houses, I cause flesh to decay and all else that is similar. If a man write on the front-door of his house: 'Mêltô, Ardu, Anaath,' I flee from that place."

107. And I Solomon, when I heard this, glorified the God of heaven and earth. And I commanded them to fetch water in the Temple of God. And I furthermore prayed to the Lord God to cause the demons without, that hamper humanity, to be bound and made to approach the Temple of God. Some of these demons I condemned to do the heavy work of the construction of the Temple of God. Others I shut up in prisons. Others I ordered to wrestle with fire in the making of gold and silver, sitting down by lead and spoon. And to make ready places for the other demons in which they should be confined.

108. And I Solomon had much quiet in all the earth, and spent my life in profound peace, honored by all men and by all under heaven. And I built the entire Temple of the Lord God. And my kingdom was prosperous, and my army was with me. And for the rest, the city of Jerusalem had repose, rejoicing and delighted. And all the kings of the earth came to me from the ends of the earth to behold the Temple which I built unto the Lord God. And having heard of the wisdom given to me, they paid homage to me in the Temple, bringing gold and silver and precious stones, many and divers, and bronze, and iron, and lead, and cedar logs. And woods that decay not they brought me, for the equipment of the Temple of God.

109. And among them also the queen of the South, being a witch, came in great concern and bowed low before me to the earth. And having heard my wisdom, she glorified the God of Israel, and she made formal trial of all my wisdom, of all disciplines in which I instructed her, according to the wisdom imparted to me. And all the sons of Israel glorified God.

110. And behold, in those days one of the workmen, of ripe old age, threw himself down before me, and said: "King Solomon, pity me, because I am old." So I bade him stand up, and said: "Tell me, old man, all you will." And he answered: "I beseech you king, I have an only-born son, and he insults and beats me openly, and plucks out the hair of my head, and threatens me with a painful death. Therefore I beseech you avenge me."

111. And I Solomon, on hearing this, felt compunction as I looked at his old age; and I bade the child be brought to me. And when he was brought I questioned him whether it were true. And the youth said: "I was not so filled with madness as to strike my father with my hand. Be kind to me, O king. For I have not dared to commit such impiety, poor wretch that I am." But I Solomon on hearing this from the youth, exhorted the old man to reflect on the matter, and accept his son's apology. However, he would not, but said he would rather let him die. And as the old man would not yield, I was about to pronounce sentence on the youth, when I saw *Ornias* the demon laughing. I was very angry at the demon's laughing in my presence; and I ordered my men to remove the other parties, and bring forward *Ornias* before my tribunal. And when he was brought before me, I said to him: "Accursed one, why didst thou look at me and laugh?" And the demon answered: "Prithee, king, it was not because of thee I laughed, but because of this ill-starred old man and the wretched youth, his son. For after three days his son will die untimely; and lo, the old man desires to foully make away with him."

112. But I Solomon, having heard this, said to the demon: "Is that true that thou speakest?" And he answered: "It is true; O king." And I, on hearing that, bade them remove the demon, and that they should again bring before me the old man with his son. I bade them make friends with one another again, and I supplied them with food. And then I told the old man after three days to bring his son again to me here; "and," said I, "I will attend to him." And they saluted me, and went their way.

113. And when they were gone I ordered *Ornias* to be brought forward, and said to him: "Tell me how you know this!" and he answered: "We demons ascend into the firmament of heaven, and fly about among the stars. And we hear the sentences which go forth upon the souls of men, and forthwith we come, and whether by force of influence, or by fire, or by sword, or by some accident, we veil our act of destruction; and if a man does not die by some untimely disaster or by violence, then we demons transform ourselves in such a way as to appear to men and be worshipped in our human nature."

114. I therefore, having heard this, glorified the Lord God, and again I questioned the demon, saying: "Tell me how ye can ascend into heaven, being demons, and amidst the stars and holy angels intermingle." And he answered: "Just as things are fulfilled in heaven, so also on earth they are fulfilled the types of all of them. For there are principalities, authorities, world-rulers, and we

demons fly about in the air; and we hear the voices of the heavenly beings, and survey all the powers. And as having no ground (basis) on which to alight and rest, we lose strength and fall off like leaves from trees. And men seeing us imagine that the stars are falling from heaven. But it is not really so, O king; but we fall because of our weakness, and because we have nowhere anything to lay hold of; and so we fall down like lightnings in the depth of night and suddenly. And we set cities in flames and fire the fields. For the stars have firm foundations in the heavens like the sun and the moon."

115. And I Solomon, having heard this, ordered the demon to be guarded for five days. And after the five days I recalled the old man, and was about to question him. But he came to me in grief and with black face. And I said to him: "Tell me, old man, where is thy son? And what means this garb?" And he answered: "Lo, I am become childless and sit by my son's grave in despair. For it is already two days that he is dead." But I Solomon, on hearing that, and knowing that the demon *Ornias* had told me the truth, glorified the God of Israel.

116. And the queen of the South saw all this, and marvelled by glorifying the God of Israel; and she beheld the Temple of the Lord being built. And she gave a shekel of gold and one hundred myriads of silver and choice bronze, and she went into the Temple. And she beheld the altar of incense and the brazen supports of this altar, and the gems of the lamps flashing forth of different colors, and of the lamp-stand of stone, and of emerald, and hyacinth, and sapphire; and she beheld the vessels of gold, and silver, and bronze, and wood, and the folds of skins dyed red with madder. And she saw the bases of the pillars of the Temple of the Lord. All were of one gold (Manuscript too badly damaged to read) apart from the demons whom I condemned to labor thereon. And there was peace in the circle of my kingdom and over all the earth.

117. And it came to pass, which I was in my kingdom, the King of the Arabians, Adares, sent me a letter, and the writing of the letter was written as follows:

"To King Solomon, all hail! Lo, we have heard, and it hath been heard unto all the ends of the earth, concerning the wisdom entrusted in thee, and that thou art a man merciful from the Lord. And understanding hath been granted thee over all the spirits of the air, and on earth, and under the earth. Now, forasmuch as there is present in the land of Arabia a spirit of the following kind: at early dawn there begins to blow a certain wind until the

third hour. And its blast is harsh and terrible, and it slays man and beast. And no spirit can live upon earth against this demon. I pray thee then, forasmuch as the spirit is a wind, contrive something according to the wisdom given in thee by the Lord thy God, and deign to send a man able to capture it. And behold, King Solomon, I and my people and all my land will serve thee unto death. And all Arabia shall be at peace with thee, if thou wilt perform this act of righteousness for us. Wherefore we pray thee, condemn not our humble prayer, and suffer not to be utterly brought to naught the eparchy subordinated to thy authority. Because we are suppliants, both I and my people and all my land. Farewell to my Lord. All health!"

118. And I Solomon read this epistle; and I folded it up and gave it to my people, and said to them: "After seven days shalt thou remind me of this epistle. And Jerusalem was built, and the Temple was being completed. And there was a stone, the end stone of the corner lying there, great, chosen out, one which I desired lay in the head of the corner of the completion of the Temple. And all the workmen, and all the demons helping them came to the same place to bring up the stone and lay it on the pinnacle of the holy Temple, and were not strong enough to stir it, and lay it upon the corner allotted to it. For that stone was exceedingly great and useful for the corner of the Temple."

119. And after seven days, being reminded of the epistle of Adares, King of Arabia, I called my servant and said to him: "Order thy camel and take for thyself a leather flask, and take also this seal. And go away into Arabia to the place in which the evil spirit blows; and there take the flask, and the signet-ring in front of the mouth of the flask, and hold them together towards the blast of the spirit. And when the flask is blown out, thou wilt understand that the demon is in it. Then hastily tie up the mouth of the flask, and seal it securely with the seal-ring, and lay it carefully on the camel and bring it me hither. And if on the way it offer thee gold or silver or treasure in return for letting it go, see that thou be not persuaded. But arrange without using oath to release it. And then if it point out to the places where are gold or silver, mark the places and seal them with this seal. And bring the demon to me. And now depart, and fare thee well."

120. Then the youth did as was bidden him. And he ordered his camel, and laid on it a flask, and set off into Arabia. And the men of that region would not believe that he would be able to catch the evil spirit. And when it was dawn, the servant stood before the spirit's blast, and laid the flask on the ground, and the finger-ring on the mouth of the flask. And the demon blew through the middle of the finger-ring into the mouth of the flask, and going in blew out the flask. But the man promptly stood up to it and drew tight with his hand the mouth of the flask, in the name of the Lord God of Sabaôth. And the demon remained within the flask. And after that the youth remained in that land three days to make trial. And the spirit no longer blew against that city. And all the Arabs knew that he had safely shut in the spirit.

121. Then the youth fastened the flask on the camel, and the Arabs sent him forth on his way with much honor and precious gifts, praising and magnifying the God of Israel. But the youth brought in the bag and laid it in the middle of the Temple. And on the next day, I King Solomon, went into the Temple of God and sat in deep distress about the stone of the end of the corner. And when I entered the Temple, the flask stood up and walked around some seven steps and then fell on its mouth and paid homage to me. And I marvelled that even along with the bottle the demon still had power and could walk about; and I commanded it to stand up. And the flask stood up, and stood on its feet all blown out. And I questioned him, saying: "Tell me, who art thou?" And the spirit within said: "I am the demon called *Ephippas*, that is in Arabia." And I said to him: "Is this thy name?" And he answered: "Yes; wheresoever I will, I alight and set fire and do to death."

122. And I said to him: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the only-ruling God, that hath authority over me even to be heard. He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross. Whom the angels and archangels worship. He doth frustrate me, and enfeeble me of my great strength, which has been given me by my father *Satan*." And I said to him: "What canst thou do?" And he answered: "I am able to remove mountains, to overthrow the oaths of kings. I wither trees and make their leaves fall off." And I said to him: "Canst thou raise this stone, and lay it for the beginning of this corner which exists in the fair plan of the Temple?" And he said: "Not only raise this, O king; but also, with the help of the demon who presides over the Red Sea, I will bring up the pillar of air, and will stand it where thou wilt in Jerusalem."

123. Saying this, I laid stress on him, and the flask became as if depleted of air.

And I placed it under the stone, and the spirit girded himself up, and lifted it up top of the flask. And the flask went up the steps, carrying the stone, and laid it down at the end of the entrance of the Temple. And I Solomon, beholding the stone raised aloft and placed on a foundation, said: "Truly the Scripture is fulfilled, which says: 'The stone which the builders rejected on trial, that same is become the head of the corner.' For this it is not mine to grant, but God's, that the demon should be strong enough to lift up so great a stone and deposit it in the place I wished."

124. And *Ephippas* led the demon of the Red Sea with the column. And they both took the column and raised it aloft from the earth. And I outwitted these two spirits, so that they could not shake the entire earth in a moment of time. And then I sealed round with my signet ring on this side and that, and said: "Watch!" And the spirits have remained upholding it until this day, for proof of the wisdom entrusted unto me. And there the pillar was hanging of enormous size, in mid air, supported by the winds. And thus the spirits appeared underneath, like air, supporting it. And if one looks fixedly, the pillar is a little oblique, being supported by the spirits; and it is so to day.

125. And I Solomon questioned the other spirit which came up with the pillar from the depth of the Red Sea. And I said to him: "Who art thou, and what calls thee? And what is thy business? For I hear many things about thee." And the demon answered: "I, O King Solomon, am called *Abezithibod*. I am a descendant of the archangel. Once as I sat in the first heaven, of which the name is Ameleouth -- I then am a fierce spirit and winged, and with a single wing, plotting against every spirit under heaven. I was present when Moses went in before Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and I hardened his heart. I am he whom Iannes and Iambres invoked homing with Moses in Egypt. I am he who fought against Moses with wonders with signs."

126. I said therefore to him: "How wast thou found in the Red Sea?" And he answered: "In the exodus of the sons of Israel I hardened the heart of Pharaoh. And I excited his heart and that of his ministers. And I caused them to pursue after the children of Israel. And Pharaoh followed with me and all the Egyptians. Then I was present there, and we followed together. And we all came up upon the Red Sea. And it came to pass when the children of Israel had crossed over, the water returned and crushed all the host of the Egyptians and all their might. And I remained in the sea, being kept under this pillar. But when *Ephippas* came, being sent by thee, shut up in the vessel of a flask, he fetched me up to

thee."

127. I, therefore, Solomon, having heard this, glorified God and adjured the demons not to disobey me, but to remain supporting the pillar. And they both swore an oath, saying: "As the Lord thy God liveth, we will not let go this pillar until the world's end. But on whatever day this stone fall, then shall be the beginning of the end of the world."

128. And I Solomon glorified God, and adorned the Temple of the Lord with all fair-seeming. And I was glad in spirit in my kingdom, and there was peace in my days. And I took wives of my own from every land, who were numberless. And I marched against the Jebusaeans, and there I saw a Jebusaeen, daughter of a man: and fell violently in love with her, and desired to take her to wife along with my other wives. And I said to their priests: "Give me the Sonmanites (i.e. Shunammite) to wife." (Song of Solomon 6:13) But the priests of *Moloch* said to me: "If thou lovest this maiden, go in and worship our gods, the great god *Raphan* and the god called *Moloch*." I therefore was in fear of the glory of God, and did not follow to worship. And I said to them: "I will not worship a demon. What is this proposal, that ye compel me to do so much?" But they said: "It is to be done according to our fathers."

129. And when I answered that I would on no account worship demons, they told the maiden not to sleep with me until I complied and sacrificed to their gods. I then was moved, but crafty *Eros* brought and laid by her for me five grasshoppers, saying: "Take these grasshoppers, and crush them together in the name of the god *Moloch*; and then will I sleep with you." And this I did. And at once the Spirit of God departed from me, and I became weak as well as foolish in my words. And after that I was obliged by her to build a temple of idols to *Baal*, and to *Rapha*, and to *Moloch*, and to the other demons.

130. I then, wretch that I am, followed her advice, and the glory of God departed from me; and my spirit was darkened, and I became the sport of idols and demons. Wherefore I wrote out this Testament, that ye who get possession of it may pity, and attend to the last things, and not to the first. So that ye may find grace for ever and ever. Amen.

CLOSING STATEMENTS / ANALYSIS

The Testament of Solomon is important for several reasons. Primarily because it deals with the spirits of the fallen giants. You see, since the giants were born of the fallen angels through women, their spirits were different to that of men. They, unlike mankind, doesn't go to the grave in rest awaiting a resurrection and judgment. They can roam the earth as they wish or until they are imprisoned by God. In this testament did Solomon encounter the spirits of the giants which further amplifies the existence of their fallen nature. That, even after the death of the giants, they still lived through other bodies and forms.

With a clear hatred of mankind, as was demonstrated during their fleshly lives, so too do they continue carrying out their vengeance upon mankind after their fleshly bodies expired. Not being confined to flesh, but able to inhabit flesh, and any form of matter - became their existence after their deaths. Disembodied spirits they would become. As you've read, Solomon summoned them to come before him. After Solomon's death, despite his very noble attempt to seal up the vessels containing the demons (spirits of the giants), did a group of nine knights find them. The Knights of the Templar, or Knights of the Temple Mount. They named themselves this because they excavated Solomon's temple for nearly a decade before they finally found what they were looking for: Solomon's ring, and the vessels he had sealed up the demons in.

After the knights had returned to Europe with their finds did the Catholic church honor them and give them riches beyond belief. They invented the modern day checking system and began bank rolling anyone they could. They black mailed several lords with threats of demonic activity, and even sometimes delivered on their promises. This of course didn't go unnoticed and eventually the Catholic church had them burned at the stake for consorting with the devil. Many of them died on Friday the 13th but not all of them were slaughtered. The ones who escaped would later form Freemasonry and the Illuminati. And so the book goes, you may be through with the past but the past isn't through with you.

External References to Enoch

Genesis 4:17 And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch.

Genesis 4:18 And unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech.

Genesis 5:18 And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and he begat Enoch:

Genesis 5:19 And Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:

Genesis 5:21 And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah:

Genesis 5:22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:

Genesis 5:23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:

Genesis 5:24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; **for God took him.**

Luke 3:37 Which was the son of Mathusala, which was the son of Enoch, which was the son of Jared, which was the son of Maleleel, which was the son of Cainan,

Hebrews 11:5 By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.

Jude 1:14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints,

COMPARE THESE 4 VERSES

Hebrews 11:5 By *faith* Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.

Hebrews 11:6 But *without faith it is impossible* to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

Enoch 4:5 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated and it ascended into the heavens I saw the holy sons of God.

Enoch 4:10 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens and I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals and between those crystals tongues of living fire.

BOOK OF JUBILEES

Jubilees 1:15 And in the second week of the tenth jubilee of Maleleel took unto him a wife Dinah, the daughter of Barakel, the daughter of his brother's brother and she bore him a son in the sixth year and he called his name Jared **for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth**, those so named the Watchers. - (*This verse seems to foreshadow the life and times of Enoch considering Jared was his earthly father.*)

Jubilees 1:22 And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and **Enoch testified against them all**.

Jubilees 10:17 And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For **Enoch's office**

was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the Day of Judgment.

Jubilees 19:24 And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noab, and **Enoch**, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam.

Jubilees 19:25 And these shall serve to lay the foundations of the heaven, and to strengthen the earth, and to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.

Jubilees 19:27 Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loves, may YAHWEH bless you from above the firmament, and may He give you all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and **Enoch**, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may he cause to cleave to you and to your seed forever, according to the days of heaven above the earth.

Jubilees 21:10 And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, **and in the words of Enoch**, and in the words of Noah.

Jubilees 38:8 And Simeon and Benjamin and **Enoch, Reuben's son**, went forth on the west side of the tower, and **fifty** men with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Aduram. *(This Scripture is a spiritual symbolism of Elijah another righteous man whom God took up who will be witnesses to the whole world Revelations 11. Adding to this and what makes one draw this spiritual insight is that this verse is not talking about the same Enoch who wrote the Book of Enoch but rather Ruben's son. If you make note of the same name use you may find that important when considering the Elijah and Elisha paradox...)*

ENOCK & ELIJAH IN REVELATIONS

Although Enoch is not mentioned directly by name, nor is Elijah, these are the only two biblical characters who never died. The Bible is very specific in regarding its records of people dying. It makes mention of when these biblical patriarchs die over and over again. Going out of its way to record them and yet there is no record of Enoch or Elijah dying anywhere in the whole of the body of biblical knowledge. So, then we have in the last book of the Bible, Revelation at chapter 11 the appearance of two prophets wearing sack cloth. Biblical scholars and myself included believe these two men to be none other than Enoch and Elijah. What they do in Revelations fits with the lives they lived completely. See for yourself and test the Scriptures to find out if it's Enoch and Elijah... The following is the chapter in question. Keep in mind, this happens in the future.

Revelation 11 - King James Version (KJV)

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.

3 And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.

4 These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.

7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and

kill them.

8 And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people and kindreds and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The second woe is past; and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

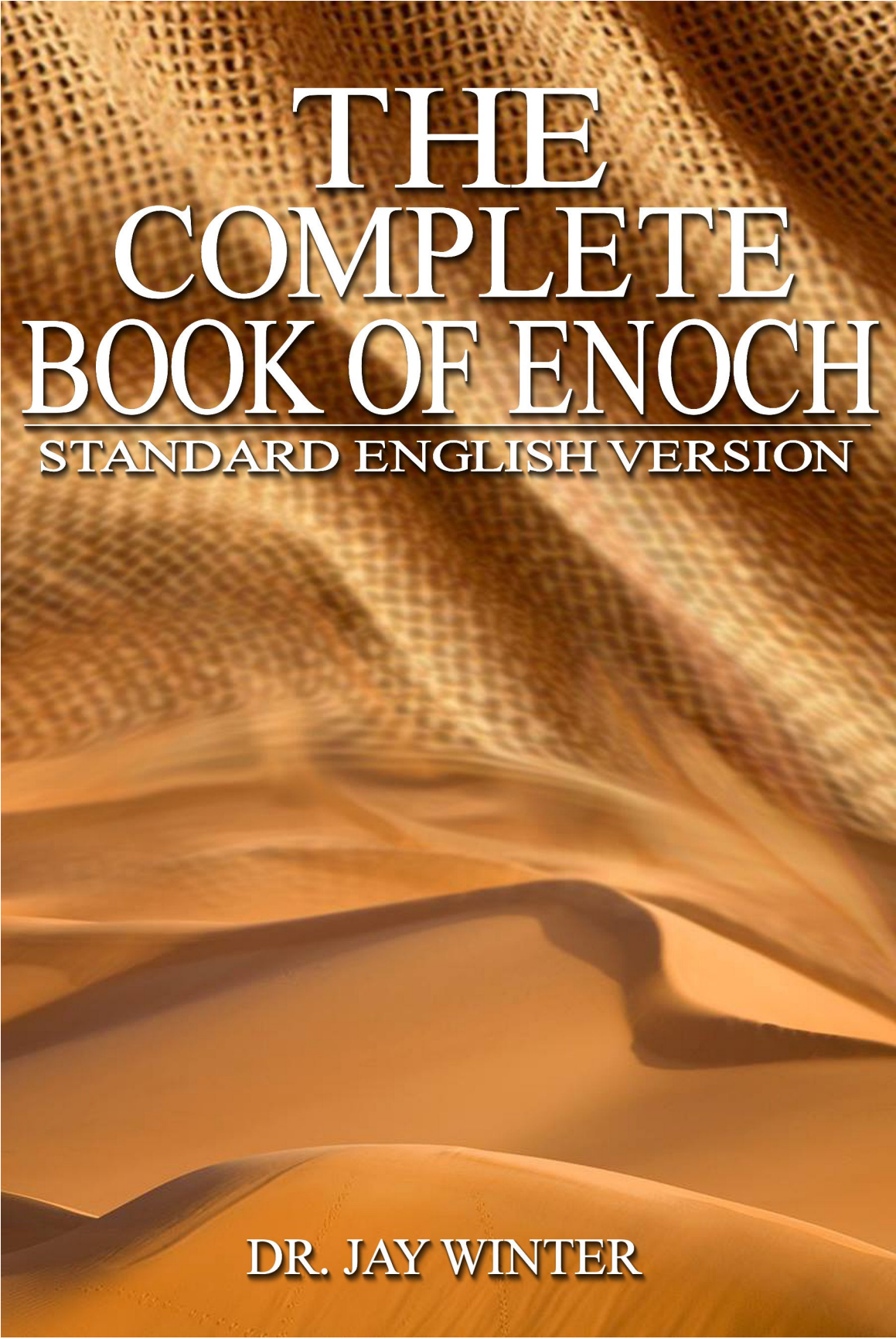
15 And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God,

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

The background of the cover is a composite image. The lower half shows rolling sand dunes in a desert, with soft shadows and a warm, golden-brown color palette. The upper half features a large, textured, golden-brown object that resembles a giant's foot or a large, crumpled piece of fabric, with a grid-like pattern of indentations. The title text is overlaid on the upper portion of the image.

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ENOCH

STANDARD ENGLISH VERSION

DR. JAY WINTER

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF
ENOCH

THIS new fragment of early literature came to light through certain manuscripts which were recently found in Russia and Servia and so far as is yet known has been preserved only in Slavonic. Little is known of its origin except that in its present form it was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its final editor was a Greek and the place of its composition Egypt. Its value lies in the unquestioned influence which it has exerted on the writers of the New Testament. Some of the dark passages of the latter being all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably 1200 years, it nevertheless was much used by both Christian and heretic in the early centuries and forms a most valuable document in any study of the forms of early Christianity.

The writing appeals to the reader who thrills to lend wings to his thoughts and fly to mystical realms. Here is a strange dramatization of eternity—with views on Creation, Anthropology, and Ethics. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years (or 6,000,000 years), and this would be followed by 1,000 years of rest (possibly when the balance of conflicting moral forces has been struck and human life has reached the ideal state). At its close would begin the 8th Eternal Day, when time should be no more.

CHAP. I

An account of the mechanism of the world showing the machinery of the sun and moon in operation. Astronomy and an interesting ancient calendar. See Chapter 15-17 also 21. What the world was like before Creation, see Chapter 24. Chapter 26 is especially picturesque. A unique account of how Satan was created (Chapter 29.)

THERE was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord,

and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

2 At that time, he said, when my 165th year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal.

3 After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-five years.

4 On the first day of the first month I was in my house alone and was resting on my couch and slept.

5 And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would happen

to me.

6 And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too were like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth with clothing and singing of various kinds in appearance purple, their wings were brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow.

7 They were standing at the head of my couch and began to call me by my name.

8 And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.

9 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from terror, and those men said to me:

10 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to thee, and lo! thou shalt to-day ascend with us into heaven, and thou shalt tell thy sons and all thy household all that they shall do without thee on earth in thy house, and let no one seek thee till the Lord return thee to them.

11 And I made haste to obey them and went out from my house, and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and summoned my sons Mathusal and Regim and Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels those men had told me.

CHAP. II

The Instruction. How Enoch instructed his sons.

LISTEN to me, my children, I know not whither I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my children, I tell you: turn not from God before the face of the vain, who made not

Heaven and earth, for these shall perish and those who worship them, and may the Lord make confident your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my children, let no one think to seek me, until the Lord return me to you.

CHAP. III

Of Enoch's assumption; how the angels took him into the first heaven.

IT came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons, that the angels took him on to their wings and bore him up on to the first heaven and placed him on the clouds. And there I looked, and again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and they placed me on the first heaven and showed me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly sea.

CHAP. IV

Of the Angels ruling the stars.

THEY brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two hundred angels, who rule the stars and *their* services to the heavens, and fly with their wings and come round all those who sail.

CHAP. V

Of how the Angels keep the store-houses of the snow.

AND here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

CHAP. VI

Of the dew and of the olive-oil, and various flowers.

THEY showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these *things*, and how they are made to shut and open.

CHAP. VII

Of how Enoch was taken on to the second heaven.

AND those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgment, and these angels were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours.

2 And I said to the men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these incessantly tortured?' they answered me: 'These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also is fastened on the fifth heaven.'

3 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: 'Man of God, pray for us to the Lord'; and I answered to them: 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? who knoweth whither I go, or what will befall me? or who will pray for me?'

CHAP. VIII

Of the assumption of Enoch to the third heaven.

AND those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there; and I

looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for goodness.

2 And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne *by them* bubbling with fragrant exhalation.

3 And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance, and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides *it is* in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits.

4 Its root is in the garden at the earth's end.

5 And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility.

6 And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round with quiet course, and go down into the PARADISE OF EDEN, between corruptibility and in corruptibility.

7 And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other elements.

8 And here there is no unfruitful tree, and every place is blessed.

9 And *there are* three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours.

10 And I said: 'How very sweet is this place,' and those men said to me:

CHAP. IX

The showing to Enoch of the place of the righteous and compassionate.

THIS place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungering, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

CHAP. X

Here they showed Enoch the terrible place and various tortures.

AND those two men led me upon to the Northern side, and showed me there a very terrible place, and *there were* all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unillumined gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flameth aloft, and *there is* a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere *there is* frost and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I said:

2 'Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place.'

3 And those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds, stealing, lies, calum-

nies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who, accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungering to die; being able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed down to soulless (sc. lifeless) Gods, who cannot see nor hear, vain gods, who also built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place amongst these, for eternal inheritance.

CHAP. XI

Here they took Enoch up on to the fourth heaven where is the course of sun and moon.

THOSE men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and moon.

2 And I measured their goings and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's.

3 Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like a wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day and night it has no rest.

4 Its passage and return *are accompanied by* four great stars, and each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, *and by* four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand, issuing with the sun continually.

5 And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night a thousand.

6 And six-winged ones issue with

the angels before the sun's wheel into the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

CHAP. XII

Of the very marvellous elements of the sun.

AND I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names *are* Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance *is* empurpled, like the rainbow; their size *is* nine hundred measures, their wings *are like* those of angels, each *has* twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from God.

2 Thus *the sun* revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

CHAP. XIII

The angels took Enoch and placed him in the east at the sun's gates.

THOSE men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the hours day and night,

2 And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium, and I measured *them* truly, and understood their size *to be* so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even, and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the succession of the seasons; thus *the period* of the

whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons,

CHAP. XIV

They took Enoch to the West.

AND again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the Eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter.

2 Thus again it goes down to the western gates, *and* draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord, and guarded [by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half *its course* under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

CHAP. XV

The elements of the sun, the Phoenixes and Chalkydri broke into song.

THEN the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.

2 The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness to light up the whole face of the earth, and they

showed me this calculation of the sun's going.

3 And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the computation of the hours of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit lasts twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

CHAP. XVI

They took Enoch and again placed him in the east at the course of the moon.

THOSE men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out of the customary times.

2 It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the second gates with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the third with thirty days exactly, by the fourth with thirty days exactly, by the fifth with thirty-one days exactly, by the sixth with thirty-one days exactly, by the seventh with thirty days exactly, by the eighth with thirty-one days perfectly, by the ninth with thirty-one days exactly, by the tenth with thirty days perfectly, by the eleventh with thirty-one days exactly, by the twelfth with twenty-eight days exactly.

3 And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year, while the lunar year has three hundred and fifty-four, and there are wanting *to it* twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the

whole year.

4 [Thus, too, the great circle contains five hundred and thirty-two years.]

5 The quarter *of a day* is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfils *it* exactly.

6 Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the number of days, because they change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards diminution.

7 And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements and angels flying; each angel has six wings.

8 It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

CHAP. XVII

Of the singings of the angels, which it is impossible to describe.

IN the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant voice and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and which astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvellous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

CHAP. XVIII

Of the taking of Enoch on to the fifth heaven.

THE men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers,

called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size was greater than that of great giants and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me:

2 Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and *wherefore* is there no service on this heaven?

3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took to themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity.

4 And therefore God judged them with great judgement, and they weep for their brethren and they will be punished on the Lord's great day.

5 And I said to the Grigori: 'I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them *to be* under earth till heaven and earth shall end for ever.'

6 And I said: 'Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?'

7 And they listened to my admoni-

tion, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! as I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

CHAP. XIX

Of the taking of Enoch on to the sixth heaven.

AND thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government of the world.

2 And when they see evildoing they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all *songs* of praise.

3 These are the archangels who are above angels, measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are *appointed* over seasons and years, the angels who are over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged ones continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice be-

fore the Lord at his footstool.

CHAP. XX

Hence they took Enoch into the Seventh Heaven.

AND those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me:

2 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear,' and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells here?

3 On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat.

4 And all the heavenly troops would come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord, and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

CHAP. XXI

Of how the angels here left Enoch, at the end of the seventh Heaven, and went away from him unseen.

AND the cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: 'Holy,

holy, holy, Lord Ruler of Sabaoth, heavens and earth are full of Thy glory.'

2 When I saw all these things, those men said to me: 'Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with thee,' and those men went away from me and thereupon I saw them not.

3 And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: 'Woe is me, what has befallen me?'

4 And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and *he* said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me.'

5 And I answered him, and said in myself: 'My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling,' and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and *it is* with them I go before the Lord's face.

6 And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

7 And I saw the eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet, and of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh Heaven.

8 And I saw the ninth Heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

CHAP. XXII

In the tenth Heaven the archangel Michael led Enoch to before the Lord's face.

ON the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns.

2 Thus I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvelous and very awful, and very, very terrible.

3 And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? And I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne very great and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of his glory?

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord with his lips said to me:

5 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand before my face into eternity.'

6 And the archistratego Michael lifted me up, and led me to before the Lord's face.

7 And the Lord said to his servants tempting them: 'Let Enoch stand before my face into eternity,' and the glorious ones bowed down to the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch go according to Thy word.'

8 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory.'

9 And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him. He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appearance of that ointment is more than the great light, and his ointment is like sweet

dew, and its smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked at myself, and was like one of his glorious ones.

10 And the Lord summoned one of his archangels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was quicker in wisdom than the other archangels, who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the Lord said to Pravuil:

11 'Bring out the books from my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing, and give *it* to Enoch, and deliver to him the choice and comforting books out of thy hand.'

CHAP. XXIII

Of Enoch's writing, how he wrote his wonderful journeyings and the heavenly apparitions and himself wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

AND he was telling me all the works of heaven, earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders, the sun and moon, the goings and changes of the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours, the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels, and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn.

2 And Pravuil told me: 'All the things that I have told thee, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.'

3 And all double thirty days and

thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

CHAP. XXIV

Of the great secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him face to face.

AND the Lord summoned me, and said to me: 'Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.'

2 And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke to me: Enoch, beloved, all thou seest, all things that are standing finished I tell to thee even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.

3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating, which I tell thee to-day.

4 For before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like the sun from east to west, and from west to east.

5 But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of placing foundations, and of creating visible creation.

CHAP. XXV

God relates to Enoch, how out of the very lowest darkness comes down the visible and invisible.

I COMMANDED in the very lowest parts, that visible things should come down from invisible, and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld him, and lo! he had a belly of great light.

2 And I said to him: 'Become un-

done, Adoil, and let the visible *come* out of thee.'

3 And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I *was* in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to create.

4 And I saw that *it was* good.

5 And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: 'Go thou up higher and fix thyself high above the throne, and be a foundation to the highest things.'

6 And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

CHAP. XXVI

God summons from the very lowest a second time that Archas, heavy and very red should come forth.

AND I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: 'Let Archas come forth hard,' and he came forth hard from the invisible.

2 And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red.

3 And I said: 'Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from thee,' and he came undone, an age came forth, very great and very dark, bearing the creation of all lower things, and I saw that *it was* good and said to him:

4 'Go thou down below, and make thyself firm, and be for a foundation for the lower things,' and it happened and he went down and fixed himself, and became the foundation for the lower things, and below the darkness there is nothing else.

CHAP. XXVII

Of how God founded the water, and surrounded it with light, and established on it seven islands.

AND I commanded that there should be taken from light and darkness, and I said: 'Be thick,' and it became thus

and I spread it out with the light, and it became water, and I spread it out over the darkness, below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say

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the bottomless, and I made foundation of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged it (*sc.* the water) like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, *and* the circumcession of the waters and the other elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good.

2 And I separated between light and between darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there was morning the first day.

CHAP. XXVIII

The week in which God showed Enoch all his wisdom and power, throughout all the seven days, how he created all the heavenly and earthly forces and all moving things even down to man.

AND then I made firm the heavenly circle, and *made* that the lower water which is under heaven collect itself together, into one whole, and that the chaos become dry, and it be-

came so.

2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big, and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected the sea in one place and bound it together with a yoke.

3 And I said to the sea: 'Behold I give thee *thy* eternal limits, and thou shalt not break loose from thy component parts.'

4 Thus I made fast the firmament. This day I called me the first-created.

CHAP. XXIX

Then it became evening, and then again morning, and it was the second day. [Monday is the first day.] The fiery Essence.

AND for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful nature, *which* is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and firmer than hard rock.

2 And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

Here Satanail with his angels was thrown down from the height.

3 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the

order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.

4 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

CHAP. XXX

And then I created all the heavens, and the third day was, [Tuesday.]

ON the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees, and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed *guardians* flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

3 [Wednesday]. On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly circles.

4 On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the third Aris, on the fifth Zeus, on the sixth Er-mis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the illumination of night.

6 The sun that it should go according to each animal (*sc.* signs of the zodiac), twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings, and their hour-markings, how they should succeed.

7 Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

8 [Thursday]. On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should

bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

9 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

10 [Friday]. On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one, his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

11 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness (*sc.* enjoyment).

12 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible and from visible nature, of both are his death and life and image, he knows speech like some created thing, small in greatness and again great in smallness, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.

13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south, from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two

ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him:

14 'This is good, and that bad,' that I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

15 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore *through* not seeing he will sin worse, and I said 'After sin *what is there* but death?'

16 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him a rib, and created him a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva.

CHAP. XXXI

God gives over paradise to Adam, and gives him a command to see the heavens opened, and that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.

ADAM has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I wanted to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, as a fugitive he made Sotona from the heavens as his name was Satanail, thus he became different from the angels, *but his nature* did not change *his* intelligence as far as *his* understanding of righteous and sinful *things*.

5 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva, but did not touch Adam.

6 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man, nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

CHAP. XXXII

After Adam's sin God sends him away into the earth 'whence I took thee,' but does not wish to ruin him for all years to come.

I SAID to him: 'Earth thou art, and into the earth whence I took thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee.

2 Then I can again take thee at My second coming!

3 And I blessed all my creatures visible and invisible. And Adam was five and half hours in paradise.

4 And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

CHAP. XXXIII

God shows Enoch the age of this world, its existence of seven thousand years, and the eighth thousand is the end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days.

AND I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that *the first seven* revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor

days nor hours.

2 And now, Enoch, all that I have told thee, all that thou hast understood, all that thou hast seen of heavenly things, all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations.

3 I am self-eternal, not made with hands, and without change.

4 My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are made, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror.

5 If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

6 And apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to thee, and take thou the books which thou thyself hast written.

7 And I give thee Samuil and Raguil, who led thee up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell thy sons all that I have told thee, and all that thou hast seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.

8 For I created all forces, and there is none that resisteth me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.

9 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read *them* and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.

10 And let them distribute the books of thy handwriting—children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.

11 And I will give thee, Enoch, my

intercessor, the archistrateges Michael, for the handwritings of thy fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared thy father.

CHAP. XXXIV

God convicts the idolaters and sodomitic fornicators, and therefore brings down a deluge upon them.

THEY have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickednesses, which are disgusting to relate.

2 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

CHAP. XXXV

God leaves one righteous man of Enoch's tribe with his whole house, who did God's pleasure according to his will.

BEHOLD from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many will be very insatiate.

2 He who raises that generation, *shall* reveal to them the books of thy handwriting, of thy fathers, *to them* to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.

3 And they shall tell another generation, and those *others* having read

shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

CHAP. XXXVI

God commanded Enoch to live on earth thirty days, to give instruction to his sons and to his children's children. After thirty days he was again taken on to heaven.

NOW, Enoch, I give thee the term of thirty days to spend in thy house, and tell thy sons and all thy household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by thee, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me.

2 And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of thy handwriting.

3 And after thirty days I shall send my angel for thee, and he will take thee from earth and from thy sons to me.

CHAP. XXXVII

Here God summons an angel.

AND the Lord called up one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure a stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

2 And the Lord said to me: 'Enoch, if thy face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold thy face.'

CHAP. XXXVIII

Mathusal continued to have hope and to await his father Enoch at his couch day and night.

AND the Lord said to those men

who first led me up: 'Let Enoch go down on to earth with you, and await him till the determined day.'

2 And they placed me by night on my couch.

3 And Mathusal expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my couch, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, 'Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.'

CHAP. XXXIX

Enoch's pitiful admonition to his sons with weeping and great lamentation, as he spoke to them.

Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

2 I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgment-day.

3 For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns,

4 You look now upon my eyes, *the eyes* of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.

5 You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.

6 You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect com-

pass, which has no end.

7 You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

8 And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of heaven, the controller of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

CHAP. XL

Enoch admonishes his children truly of all things from the Lord's lips, how he saw and heard and wrote down.

AND now, my children, I know all things, for this is from the Lord's lips, and this my eyes have seen, from beginning to end.

2 I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings.

3 I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude of them.

4 What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.

5 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names,

and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and raindrops.

6 And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out in measure (*sc.* gently) by a chain, lest by a heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.

7 I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust the treasure-houses.

8 And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in *one* weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.

9 And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgement-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell.

10 And I saw how the prisoners are in pain, expecting the limitless judgement.

11 And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgements (*sc.* sentences) and all their works.

CHAP. XLI

Of how Enoch lamented Adam's sin.
AND I saw all forefathers from *all* time with Adam and Eva, and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour:

2. 'Woe is me for my infirmity and for *that* of my forefathers,' and thought in my heart and said:

3 'Blessed *is* the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place!

CHAP. XLII

Of how Enoch saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing.

SAW the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguished lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth, and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some *good*, and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

CHAP. LXIII

Enoch shows his children how he measured and wrote out God's judgements.

I my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgement.

2 As *one* year is more honourable than another, so is *one* man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for

sharp wit, one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

CHAP. LXIV

Enoch instructs his sons, that they revile not the face of man, small or great.

THE Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made him small and great.

2 Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgement.

3 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgement every weight, every measure and every makeweight *will be* as in the market, that is to say *they are* hung on scales and stand in the market, *and every one* shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

CHAP. LXV

God shows how he does not want from men sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, but pure and contrite hearts.

WHOEVER hastens to make offering before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.

2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgement, the Lord will *not* increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.

3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or flesh (*sc.* cattle), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that *only* tests the heart of man.

CHAP. LXVI

Of how an earthly ruler does not accept from man abominable and unclean gifts, then how much more does God abominate unclean gifts, but sends them away with wrath and does not accept his gifts.

HEAR, my people, and take in the words of my lips.

2 If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to judgement?

3 Or if one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but *have* evil in his heart, then will not *the other* understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be condemned, since his untruth was plain to all?

4 And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgement for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

CHAP. LXVII

Enoch instructs his sons from God's lips, and hands them the handwriting of this book.

AND now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all come to

you from the Lord's lips.

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2 Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.

3 For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.

4 And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest places, nor in the one foundation.

5 The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible and invisible; he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?

6 I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

CHAP. LXVIII

Of the sun's passage along the seven circles.

THAT the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the, appointment of one hundred and eighty-two thrones, that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth

of Thevan it goes up.

3 And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is and makes grow its fruit, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.

4 All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed a measure by his wisdom, of the visible and the invisible.

5 From the invisible he made all things visible, himself being invisible.

6 Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.

7 And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but reject, who do not receive them (*sc.* the books), a terrible judgement awaits these.

8 Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgement.

CHAP. LXIV

Enoch instructs his sons not to swear either by heaven or earth, and shows God's promise, even in the mother's womb.

I SWEAR to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

2 The Lord said: 'There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.'

3 If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words 'yea, yea,' or else, 'nay, nay!'

4 And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, *but that* already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of the soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

5 Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

CHAP. L

Of how none born on earth can remain hidden nor his work remain concealed, but he (sc. God) bids us be meek, to endure attack and insult, and not to offend widows and orphans.

I HAVE put everyman's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his works remain concealed.

2 I see all things.

3 Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

4 Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

5 If ill-requitals befall you, return *them* not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return *them* for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men.

6 Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

7 Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

CHAP. LI

Enoch instructs his sons, that they hide not treasures in the earth, but bids them give alms to the poor.

STRETCH out your hands to the poor according to your strength.

2 Hide not your silver in the earth.

3 Help the faithful man in affliction, and affliction will not find you in the time of your trouble.

4 And every grievous and cruel yoke that come upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and thus you will find your reward in the day of judgement.

5 It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your creator.

6 Because every breathing thing glorifies him, and every creature visible and invisible returns him praise.

CHAP. LII

God instructs his faithful. how they are to praise his name.

BLESSED is the man who opens his lips in praise of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his heart.

2 Cursed every man who opens his lips for the bringing into contempt and calumny of his neighbour, because he brings God into contempt.

3 Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and praising God.

4 Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.

5 Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.

6 Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation into contempt.

7 Blessed is he who looks down and raises the fallen.

8 Cursed is he who looks to and is

eager for the destruction of what is not his.

9 Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his fathers made firm from the beginning.

10 Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his forefathers.

11 Blessed is he who implants peace and love.

12 Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.

13 Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.

14 Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.

15 For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgement.

CHAP. LIII

[Let us not say: 'Our father is before God, he will stand forward for us on the day of judgement,' for there father cannot help son, nor yet son father.]

AND now, my children, do not say: 'Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins,' for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.

2 You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, *all* that is done amongst all men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord sees all the imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.

3 And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: 'Why did our father not tell us?'

CHAP. LIV

Enoch instructs his sons, that they should hand the books to others also.

AT that time, not understanding this let these books which I have given you be for an inheritance of your peace.

2 Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

CHAP. LV

Here Enoch shows his sons, telling them with tears: 'My children, the hour has approached for me to go up on to heaven; behold, the angels are standing before me.'

MY children, behold, the day of my term and the time have approached.

2 For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

3 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

4 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all *his* good pleasure.

CHAP. LVI

Methosalam asks of his father blessing, that he (sc. Methosalam) may make him (sc. Enoch) food to eat.

METHOSALAM having answered his father Enoch, said: 'What is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that I may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings, and thy sons, and that thy people may be made glorious through thee, and then *that* thou mayst depart thus, as the Lord said?',

2 Enoch answered to his son Meth-

osalam and said: 'Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, *there has been no food* in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly!

CHAP. LVII

Enoch bade his son Methosalam. to summon all his brethren.

MY child Methosalam, summon all thy brethren and our household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.'

2 And Methosalam. made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, *and* said to them:

CHAP. LVIII

Enoch's instruction to his sons.

LISTEN to me, my children, to-day.

2 In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.

3 And Adam gave the names to all things living on earth.

4 And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.

5 Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.

6 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but ad-

judges the souls of men to their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.

7 And as every soul of man is according to number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

CHAP. LIX

Enoch instructs his sons wherefore they may not touch beef because of what comes from it.

WHOEVER defiles the soul of beasts, defiles his own soul.

2 For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

3 And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

4 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.

5 But whoever kills beast without wounds, kills his own soul and defiles his own flesh.

6 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

CHAP. LX

He who does injury to soul of man, does injury to his own soul, and there is no cure for his flesh, nor pardon for all time. How it is not fitting to kill man neither by weapon nor by tongue.

HE who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.

2 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is

no cure for him for all time.

3 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgement for all time.

4 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

CHAP. LXI

Enoch instructs his sons to keep themselves from injustice and often to stretch forth hands to the poor, to give a share of their labours.

AND now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks (*sc.* something) for his own soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time (*sc.* to come) are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.

2 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad (*sc.* houses) there is no peace nor return (*sc.* from them).

3 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and he (*sc.* man) cannot find the labour of his hands.

4 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

CHAP. LXII

Of how it is fitting to bring one's gift with faith, because there is no repentance after death.

BLESSED is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.

2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.

3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

CHAP. LXIII

Of how not to despise the poor, but to share with them equally, lest thou be murmured against before God.

WHEN man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.

2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil: ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.

3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh (*sc.* clothed) with his clothing he commits contempt, and forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.

4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.'

CHAP. XLIV

Of how the Lord calls up Enoch, and people took counsel to go and kiss him at the place called Achuzan.

WHEN Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and

near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together:

2 'Let us go and kiss Enoch' and two thousand men came together and came to the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons.

3 And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him:

4 'Our father Enoch, be thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before thy face.

5 For thou shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose thee, rather than all men on earth, and designated thee writer of all his creation, visible and invisible, and redeemer of the sins of man, and helper of thy household.'

CHAP. LXV

Of Enoch's instruction of his sons.

AND Enoch answered all his people saying: 'Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible and invisible things.

2 And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate.

3 And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven.

4 And in those he appointed the

hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, *their* alternation, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his commandments, and keep my handwriting from generation to generation.

5 When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be stuck together and will not be counted.

6 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor violence, nor night, nor darkness, but, great light.

7 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

CHAP. LXVI

Enoch instructs his sons and all the elders of the people, how they are to walk with terror and trembling before the Lord, and serve him alone and not bow down to idols, but to God, who created heaven and earth

and, every creature, and to his image.

AND now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone.

3 Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, but bow down to his picture, and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.

4 For the Lord sees all things; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it.

5 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.

6 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.

7 Walk, my children, in longsuffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in *reliance on* promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.

8 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgement, for they shall shine forth more than the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.'

CHAP. LXVII

The Lord let out darkness on to earth and covered the people and Enoch, and he was taken up on high, and light came again in the heaven.

WHEN Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men standing with Enoch, and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord is; and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again.

2 And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll in which was traced 'the invisible God'; and all went to their homes.

CHAP. LXVIII

ENOCK was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years.

2 He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty days.

3 He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when he was born.

4 As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life.

5 At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.

6 Methosalam and his brethren, all

the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at the place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.

7 And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.

8 All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.

9 And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age.

10 Amen.

THE TESTAMENT OF

LEVI

CHAPTER 1

1 The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement.

2 He was sound in health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when they were gathered together he said to them:

CHAPTER 2

1 I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem.

2 And I was young, about twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah.

3 And when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and lawlessness sat upon towers.

4 And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved.

5 Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and I was upon it.

6 And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.

7 And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging.

8 And further, I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant,

for there was a boundless height also therein.

9 And I said to the angel, Why is this so ? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.

10 And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mysteries to men, And shalt proclaim concerning Him that shall redeem Israel.

11 And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men, Saving every race of men.

12 And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life, And He shall be thy field and vineyard, And fruits, gold, and silver.

CHAPTER 3

1 Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens widen have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.

2 And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on men.

3 And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.

4 And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holi-

ness.

5 In the heaven next to it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;

6 Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.

7 And in the heaven below this are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.

8 And in the heaven next to this are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.

9 When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty.

10 But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.

CHAPTER 4

1 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent, and the sun quenched, and the waters dried up, and the fire cowering, and all creation troubled, and the invisible spirits melting away, and Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High, men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity. On this account with punishment shall they be judged.

2 Therefore, the Most High hath heard thy prayer, to separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son, and a servant, and a minister of His presence.

3 The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob, and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.

4 And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.

5 And therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding, that thou mightest instruct thy sons concerning this;

6 Because they that bless Him shall be blessed, And they that curse Him shall perish.

CHAPTER 5

1 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon a throne of glory the Most High.

2 And He said to me: Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel.

3 Then the angel brought me down to the earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me: Execute vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me.

4 And I destroyed at that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tablets.

5 And I said to him: I pray Thee, O lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation.

6 And he said: I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly, for every evil spirit attacketh it.

7 And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High, and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

CHAPTER 6

1 And when I was going to my fath-

er, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila.

2 And I kept these words in my heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor not to be circumcised; for I was jealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on my sister.

4 And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor.

5 And after this my brothers came and smote that city with the edge of the sword.

6 And my father heard these things and was wroth; and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been put to death, and in his blessings he looked amiss upon us.

7 For we sinned because we had done this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day.

8 But I saw that the sentence of God was for evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah and Rebecca as they had done to Dinah our sister, but the Lord prevented them.

9 And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his house, they most shamefully handled.

10 And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their wives by force, and they banished them.

11 But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the uttermost.

CHAPTER 7

1 And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord destroy the Canaanites, and will give their land

to thee and to thy seed after thee.

2 For from this day forward shall Shechem be called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them,

3 Because also they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Beth-el.

CHAPTER 8

1 And there again I saw a vision even as the former, after we had spent there seventy days.

2 And I saw seven men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of the head, and the ephod of prophecy.

3 And they severally carried (these things) and put (them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for ever.

4 And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement.

5 The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad me with a holy and glorious robe.

6 The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod.

7 The fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple.

8 The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive.

9 The sixth placed a crown on my head.

10 The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my hands with incense, that I might

serve as priest to the Lord God.

11 And they said to me: Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come.

12 And the first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be.

13 The second shall be in the priesthood.

14 And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles to all the Gentiles.

15 And his presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.

16 Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed, And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon, And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.

17 And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes; for by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.

18 And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream.

19 And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.

CHAPTER 9

1 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father.

2 And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And he would not come with us to Bethel.

3 And when we came to Bethel, my father Jacob saw a vision concerning me, that I should be their priest unto

God.

4 And he rose up early in the morning, and paid tithes of all to the Lord through me.

5 And so we came to Hebron to dwell there.

6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the angel of the Lord showed unto me.

7 And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices, whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings.

8 And each day he was instructing me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me:

9 Beware of the spirit of fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place.

10 Take, therefore, to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of strange nations,

11 And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash.

12 Of twelve trees having leaves offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also.

13 And of every clean beast and bird offer a sacrifice to the Lord.

14 And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

CHAPTER 10

1 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have heard from my fathers I have declared unto you.

2 And behold, I am clear from your ungodliness and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages against the Saviour of the world, Christ, acting godlessly, deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the Lord.

3 And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your shame.

4 And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach and for a curse there.

5 For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

CHAPTER 11

1 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha.

2 And she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land.

3 And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank.

4 And Kohath was born in the thirty-fifth year of my life, towards sunrise.

5 And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high in the midst of all the congregation.

6 Therefore I called his name Kohath, which is, beginning of majesty and instruction.

7 And she bare me a third son, Merari, in the fortieth year of my life ; and since his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is my bitterness, because he also was like to die.

8 And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

CHAPTER 12

1 And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei.

2 And the sons of Kohath, Amram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel.

3 And the sons of Merari, Mooli and Mouses.

4 And in my ninety-fourth year Amram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one day, he and my daughter.

5 Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt.

6 And behold, my children, ye are a third generation.

7 In my hundred-and-eighteenth year Joseph died.

CHAPTER 13

1 And now, my children, I command you: Fear the Lord your God with your whole heart¹, and walk in simplicity according to all His law.

2 And do ye also teach your children letters, that they may have understanding all their life, reading unceasingly the law of God.

3 For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured, and shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.

4 Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents, and many men shall desire to serve him, and to hear the law from his mouth.

5 Work righteousness, therefore,

my children, upon the earth, That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven.

6 And sow good things in your souls, that ye may find them in your life. But if ye sow evil things, ye shall reap every trouble and affliction.

7 Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence; For though there be a leading into captivity, and cities and lands be destroyed, and gold and silver and every possession perish, the wisdom of the wise naught can take away, save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.

8 For if one keep oneself from these evil things, then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him, and in a strange country a fatherland, And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.

9 Whosoever teacheth noble things and doeth them, shall be enthroned with kings, as was also Joseph my brother.

CHAPTER 14

1 Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness against Him; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.

2 For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world.

3 For as the heaven is purer in the Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.

4 But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blind-

ness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man, this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

5 The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions, eating (them) contemptuously with harlots.

6 And out of covetousness ye shall teach the commandments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah.

7 And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God.

8 For ye shall condemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

CHAPTER 15

1 Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness, and ye shall be captives throughout all nations.

2 And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God.

3 And all who hate you shall rejoice at your destruction.

4 And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

CHAPTER 16

1 And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices.

2 And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the faithful shall ye abhor.

3 And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.

4 And your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of him.

5 And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you through faith and water.

CHAPTER 17

1 And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood.

2 For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be perfect with the Lord, and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world.

3 In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all.

4 And the third priest shall be taken hold of by sorrow.

5 And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall gather itself against him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour.

6 The fifth shall be taken hold of by darkness.

7 Likewise also the sixth and the seventh.

8 And in the seventh shall be such pollution as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things.

9 Therefore shall they be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.

10 And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the Lord.

11 And in the seventh week shall come priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money, proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.

CHAPTER 18

1 And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.

2 Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest. And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed; And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days.

3 And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king, Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day, And he shall be magnified in the world.

4 He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth, And shall remove all darkness from under heaven, And there shall be peace in all the earth.

5 The heavens shall exult in his days, And the earth shall be glad, And the clouds shall rejoice ; And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas ; And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.

6 The heavens shall be opened, And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification, With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.

7 And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him, And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him in the water.

8 For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore ; And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever

9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, And enlightened through the grace of the Lord : In his priesthood shall sin come to an end, And the lawless shall cease to do evil. And the just shall rest in him.

10 And he shall open the gates of paradise, And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.

11 And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life, And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.

12 And Beliar shall be bound by him, And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.

13 And the Lord shall rejoice in His children, And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.

14 Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult, And I will be glad, And all the saints shall clothe them-

selves with joy.

CHAPTER 19

1 And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar.

2 And his sons answered him, saying, Before the Lord we will walk according to His law.

3 And their father said unto them, The Lord is witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word of your mouth. And his sons said unto him : We are witnesses.

4 And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons; and he stretched out his feet on the bed, and was gathered to his fathers, after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years.

5 And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.